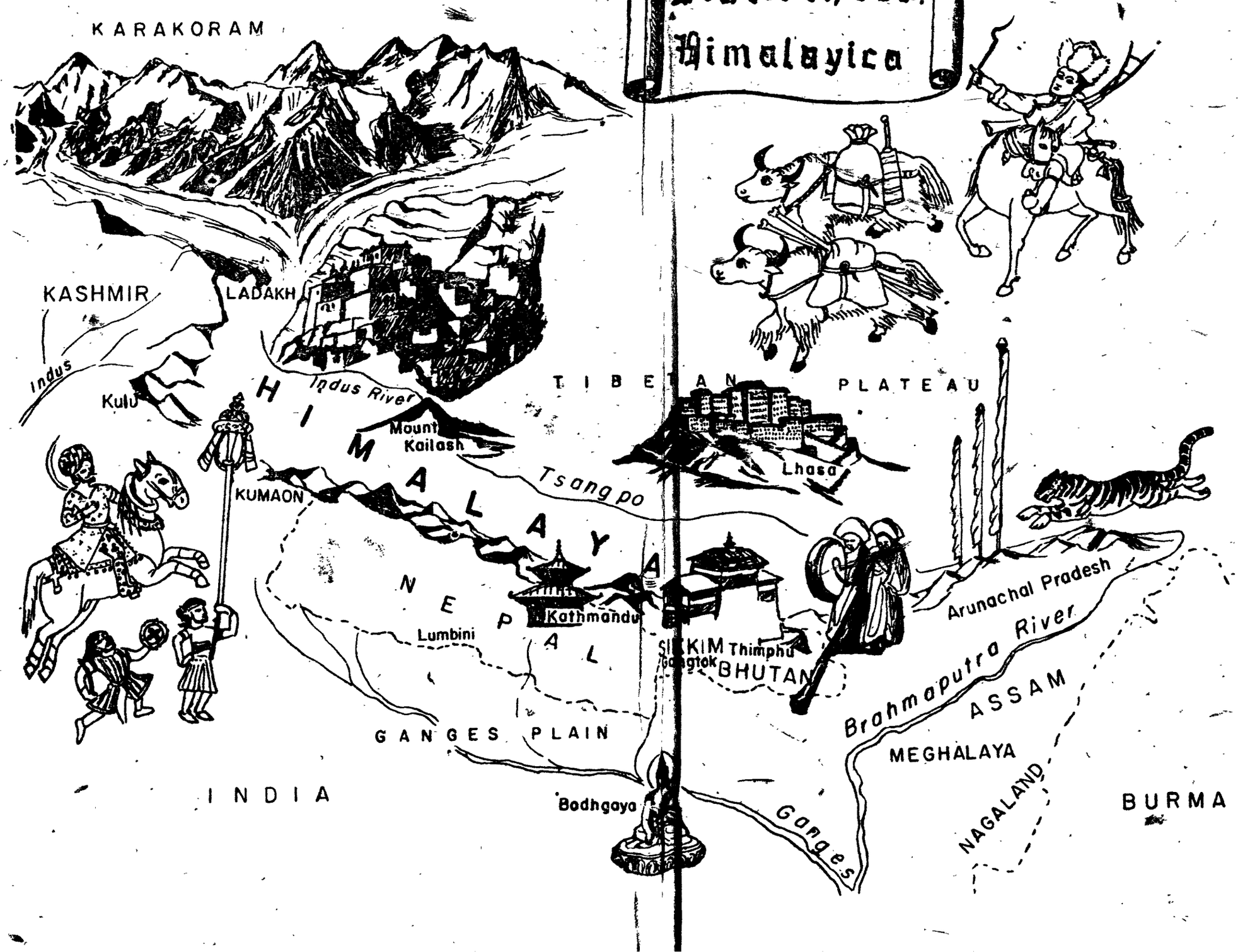
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His Majesty the King of Nepal,
TRIBHUBANA BIR VIKRAM SAH.

PREFACE

NEPAL remains, at the beginning of this second quarter of the twentieth century, an independent kingdom, full of antiquities and relics of the past, dowered with wealth from mine and forest, peopled from both the northern and the southern civilizations of Asia—remains, too, the last survivor of those Indian communities who stood for civilization, learning, and culture when Europe was still in the darkest period of its history. She alone among Asiatic Powers has never suffered either the galling triumph of the Moslem or the political and commercial results of Christian expansion.

It would be difficult to say which aspect of Nepal is that by which she is best known to the world at large. To one the total exclusion of foreigners —except within the most straitened territorial limits and after the deepest consideration of the claim of each candidate for admission—may in itself be the spur of his interest; to another, the sense that in Nepal alone still exists the India of the seventh and eighth centuries, dowered indeed with the inventions of the West, but free from the influence of its strenuous faiths; to another the strange blending in her shrines of the worship of Buddhism and Hinduism without clash or conscious inconsistency; to a fourth the charm may lie in the magnificence of her scenery and the crowning glories of the Himalayas, Api, Dhaulagiri, and her sister peak across the Black Gandak, the humped massif of unconquered Everest, and, last of all, the incredible splendour of Kangchanjanga, looking down upon our own hill-station of Darjiling. Katmandu is a name to conjure with—it has a restless magic in its very syllables. To the naturalist and the hunter Nepal offers a virgin field of research and the greatest of all big game shooting. To others the art and architecture of this jealously guarded kingdom may appeal. But to most—to those teeming hundreds of millions of Buddhists in all lands—that quiet thicket of rising ground where the Emperor Asoka set up for ever his pillar to witness that there the Blessed One was born.

One by one the homes of mystery have given their keys into the hands of the adventurer and the explorer. There are indeed remaining a score of

towns, some of them little known, some quite unknown. Balkh and Rudok still shut their gates against the European. Riadh and Hail have seldom been seen by eyes of lighter colour than those of Ibn Saud. Mecca and Medina are still denied to the non-Moslem visitor. But these are towns. The countries in which they are centres have been again and again traversed by Western strangers, unwelcome though they may have been. Of all the closed lands of this world—closed by the deliberate will and policy of those who live in them; closed whether from piety, superstition, jealousy, or perhaps above all from mistrust of the European—Nepal is the only survivor. The little Valley of Katmandu, some twelve miles by twelve, and the arduous track that leads up to it from the plains of India are indeed known to some six score Englishmen and to as many other Europeans as one may count on the fingers of two hands. The rest of Nepal—a great State five hundred miles in length and a hundred miles broad—is to this day as completely closed to Western observation and research as when the Emperor Asoka in 250 B.C. set up the five great stupas of Patan.

Nor is its history much better known. In the earlier days, above the tangle of fact and fiction that serves Nepal as her official Chronicle, some outstanding point is here and there recognized and certified by a ray of light from the history of an adjoining State. And even when, in later days, fact in some measure replaces the large fiction of antiquity, there is little presented to the reader but the picture of an ensanguined *mêlée* that scarcely prepares him for the recent and rapid advancement of Nepal among the sovereign States of the world. The story of that progress has never yet been told. Even during the last seventy years when attention has been more drawn to this mountain kingdom, the things omitted from the tale have been larger and more important than the things recorded. The reason for this deficiency is clear to anyone who knows Indian official life. The moment of excitement, the moment of compelling interest, the moment which elucidates a past decade or settles a policy for the next half-century, has been known only to two or three Englishmen, and it has been beyond their privilege to relate. One has only to read the pages of that most excellent of Nepalese historians, Dr. Oldfield, to realize that the censorship of the Indian Government lay heavy upon his pen exactly at those moments when the policy and the future of Nepal and India were decided.[1]

[1] As an illustration of this I may mention that Oldfield omits entirely the story of Jang Bahadur's journey to England, and all reference to the Anglo-Nepalese campaigns of

The habitual prudence of Nepal in allowing her inner history to be known to strangers is long standing. It is enough at this moment to say that the present Maharaja Marshal has so far departed from this tradition that in the fullest possible measure he has supplied me with material for writing of every aspect of modern Nepalese history, and, so far as lay within his power, has helped me to obtain a direct first-hand knowledge of temples, traditions, and policies that have never before received the attention they deserve. That many questions relating to earlier days remain undecided is still unfortunately true, and despite the great labours of that kindliest of French savants, M. Sylvain Lévi, the world will have to wait for the thorough examination and collation of the unpublished manuscript treasures of Katmandu before a final chronology and chronicle of Nepalese history can be begun. But the great days of Nepal are before her, not behind her. I have no wish to elaborate the international significance of this keen and united State of mountain soldiers, wholly independent of Indian political life; free from the disintegrating and troublesome rivalries of the India upon which she looks down from her hill fastnesses; in a military sense more highly trained than any other race in Asia; rich with traditions gilded by great and recent glory, and dowered also with an ambition which knows few limits.

But it is not only with a wish to tell the story of Nepal's political situation that these pages have been written. It is not merely the intention of the writer to record the chief architectural and other treasures of Nepal and illustrate them as no one has yet had a chance to do; it is not that some interest must perforce attach itself to this, the first connected account from original sources of the history of Nepal for the last century and a quarter; nor is it wholly in the chance that has been given by the Maharaja to realize unknown Nepal by pictures and by the word of mouth of his own travellers and agents, vitally important as this knowledge seems to be; the hope of the writer has been to present an ordered account of the people as well as the land; of the great reform movements that are now raising

1814-1816. In the latter case he seems to enter a protest by a line of asterisks. His account of the death of Bhim Sen has evidently suffered considerably at the hands of the censor. Very significant also is the complete omission of all incidents dealing with the Tibetan expedition from 7th December 1855 to 1st August 1856. Most noteworthy of all is the fact that, although his book was published in 1880, his narrative of Nepalese history ends abruptly with a description of the march of Jang Bahadur with 11,000 men to the help of the English during the Indian Mutiny. Not a word is added of the military exploits of the Nepalese.

Nepal to what she herself would be the first to admit were English standards. There has also been a desire that at last the English people shall have material for a better understanding of the tie between themselves and that one race on earth which has, with a loyalty and a generosity beyond the power of words to describe, identified itself with our interests and our honour. Free from any treaty, any obligation, any promise, the Gurkha people at once and ungrudgingly sent two hundred thousand of their men to help us in the Great War. It was nothing but the plain truth that a shrewd critic of the war penned when he wrote: " Almost wherever there was a theatre of war Gurkhas were to be found, and everywhere they added to their name for high courage. Gurkhas helped to hold the sodden trenches of France in that first terrible winter and during the succeeding summer. Their graves are thick on the Peninsula, on Sinai, and on the stony hills of Judea. They fell in the forests of Africa and on the plains of Tigris and Euphrates, and even among the wild mountains that border the Caspian Sea. And to those who know, when they see the map of that country of Nepal, there must always recur the thought of what the people of that country have done for us." If this book achieves little else, it may perhaps be a record of an international friendship, spontaneous, continual, and shirking no test of blood or labour, to which a parallel can scarcely be found in the chronicles of the world.

The long story of these mountaineers is one that remains almost unknown to the historians of the world. It has been the task of centuries to weld together this strong and intensely patriotic kingdom, gifted with a military enthusiasm that finds no outlet for its energies except in time of war. Often in the history of the world a race has begun well enough in the long struggle of self-expression and self-vindication. Afterwards, either the desire of gain, or a mistrust of its own strength, or the disloyalty of its leaders has brought its ambitions to the dust. In the case of Nepal it is now—and, so far as prevision can forecast the future, for generations to come it will be—the unflinching determination of all classes, governing and governed alike, to ensure for their mountain kingdom a weight and authority at the Asiatic council board which no one may henceforth leave out of account. Moreover, she is incorruptible. There is no record of any Nepalese official having been in the pay of an enemy.

It is no part of the task of the author to estimate the wisdom or the folly of recent attempts to develop the self-government of India. But if there were no other claim to the attention of Englishmen, the fact that a

grant of complete Home Rule to India would inevitably stir up communal strife from one end of the peninsula to the other, invests Nepal with an importance that it would be foolish to overlook. Englishmen should attempt to understand a little more thoroughly the high position which Nepal holds in the general Southern Asiatic balance, and the great and growing importance that she will possess in the future, in the solution of the problems which beset the present state of India. The place which Nepal —entirely independent as she is, and yet entirely friendly to the British— occupies in our Eastern affairs is often misunderstood. It has been proved by a score of instances that her great Prime Minister, throughout the long period of his autocracy—for his power is nothing less—has consistently displayed a steady confidence in the Indian Government and an unfailing willingness to help Great Britain to the utmost of his country's means.

As I have had occasion to remark before,[1] there is a tendency among writers upon Central Asiatic questions to ignore their indebtedness to those who have laboured before them in the same field. I therefore take this opportunity of acknowledging in the fullest manner my obligations to those who have gone before: to Brian Houghton Hodgson, one of the greatest labourers in the sphere of Indian research and record that has ever lived; to M. Sylvain Lévi in archaeological matters, to whom my debt is to be traced on a hundred pages; to Dr. Wright and Dr. Oldfield, scholars and surgeons; and to many others, such as Sir William Hunter, Sir Clements Markham, Sir John Shea, Colonel Loch, the Survey Department of India, Dr. Waddell, Sir Charles Bell, Laurence Oliphant, Bendall, Vansittart, Sir F. W. T. O'Connor, Sarat Chandra Das, General Padma Jang Bahadur, Percy Brown, and of course the earlier publications of Kirkpatrick, Hamilton, and Fraser. It would be impossible to record here the names of all those who have in a greater or less degree helped me by their personal knowledge of Nepalese topography, history, or custom, but I wish in an especial measure to note the help that I have received from Miss E. M. Shaw.

But when all is said, the assistance given to me by the present Maharaja Marshal of Nepal has been the help that has made the writing of this book possible. With the utmost generosity he has provided me with material referring to the least known periods of modern Nepalese history; he has afforded me full access to Nepalese archives dealing with such obscure

[1] *Lhasa*, vol. i, p. xi.

questions as the Tibetan wars of 1792 and 1856, with the East India Company's war of 1814-1816, with the part played by Nepal during the Indian Mutiny and the subsequent relations between Jang Bahadur and Nana Sahib, and, above all, with the record of the Gurkhas during the Great War. Besides this assistance in the military sphere, he has given me the fullest possible help in disentangling the story of family and racial struggles that made up much of the history of Nepal until the accession to power of Jang Bahadur. There has not been one request for information that has not been met at once and to the utmost of his ability by the Maharaja. He has moreover sent to me men who have travelled over the unknown districts of Nepal, and straitly ordered them to be as frank and full in their explanations to me as if they were dealing with himself. For the first time the story of the Court of Katmandu has, in these pages, been willingly told in its fullness by the Government itself. Hitherto we have had to rely upon such information as could be obtained uncertainly from the grudging and biassed authorities of the Court of Nepal, checked by such unofficial methods as were available to the Resident. Here the material has been freely given, and original documents submitted without hesitation. Beyond all, it deserves to be put on record that, during the writing of this book, the Maharaja has repeatedly enjoined upon me that in no circumstances whatever was an opinion or a statement to be included which I did not myself think justified to the full.

One result of this frankness has been that, in turn, I have not conceived it to be of interest to readers to set before them any personal estimate of the rights or wrongs of the story I have to tell. I shall provide them with the facts, and it is for them to make their own decision. I may, however, be permitted to recall to their attention the unwisdom of applying the bland ethics which are accepted as binding upon Western civilization to the fierce emergencies of an Eastern State that has fought its way through internecine strife to unity and to international recognition. To this self-denying rule I make but one exception. It has been beyond me to record without an expression of admiration and gratitude the services rendered to the British Empire during the late war by the present Maharaja of Nepal and his two hundred thousand countrymen.

All that has hitherto been known to Europeans of the territory of Nepal is the high road that leads from India to Katmandu, and the Valley of Katmandu itself. A few valleys a mile or so beyond the ring of hills which

hems in the central plateau have at times been visited by Englishmen for the purposes of sport by the special permission of the Maharaja.[1]

Practically nothing has till now been known of either Eastern or Western Nepal. Owing to the great altitudes, there is a scanty population along the whole range of the upper Himalayas; in this upper region there is little to discover except Muktinath, the pools of Gosain, and the two or three passes into Tibet. The description of the main routes threading together the chief towns of a hitherto unknown Nepal will be read with interest. They form perhaps as great a justification for this book as the new historical material that is now for the first time available.

It has been said that previous historians of Nepal have been in most cases bound by official reticence. In the case of Hodgson we must regret that his ceaseless industry in the matter of collecting and collating material was not succeeded by any attempt to shape into one consistent whole the fruits of his great labour. This perhaps was owing to the refusal of any appreciation of his work by the Honourable East India Company or the India Office—a refusal which Hodgson may have regarded as a criticism from those whose permission he, as an official, was compelled to seek. In the case of Dr. Oldfield we may read between the lines that he was officially hindered from dealing with two of the most interesting periods of Nepalese history—the war of 1814-16 and the action of Jang Bahadur during the Mutiny of 1857. Dr. Wright sets himself to record the early history of Nepal as portrayed in her own chronicles. No one saw better than he the impossibility of regarding these chronicles as other than a record of legends and traditions. As we shall see later, they are in few cases to be taken literally, though on the other hand they reflect to those who have a knowledge of Oriental hyperbole—hyperbole both in time and space —an interesting sketch of the traditions of Nepal.

Throughout her entire existence Nepal has been practically shut off from the observation, the visit, and the record of her neighbours. The Chinese have perhaps helped us most to reconstruct the earlier chapters of her life, and—though historians of Indian birth are not unnaturally biassed against an independent State that snapped its fingers in turn at the Buddhist of the Lesser Vehicle, the Bengali, and the Mohammedan—we

[1] In this connection it is as well to say that the Nepalese do not include in the forbidden territory the Tarai which borders upon India. Here the great big-game shoots are organized, the timber industry is developed by an Englishman, and facilities are granted to archaeologists and others. It is unnecessary to add that in all cases such visitors must receive the endorsement of the Indian Government.

may glean from Brahman and Buddhist histories enough to read local colour into these earlier pages. In archaeology, whether it deals with the early Buddhist relics or with the later inscriptions that M. Lévi has made his own, the student often seems to be on the edge of discoveries that still elude him. In the chapter dealing with the history of Nepal from the beginning of the Christian era down to the fourteenth century, I have in general accepted M. Lévi's conclusions.

The interest of Nepal lies in the romance of her existence as a remote and always unknown territory, round which from the earliest days legends collected, and whose history was invested with a picturesqueness that the unknowable has always invited. Another period of especial interest occurs with the sudden rise to power of Nepal in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is of this period that the close of the first volume and the chapters of the second volume deal. And if no other good is done by the publication of this work, the author will be satisfied if in future a better recognition shall prevail, not only of the power and potential wealth of this kingdom, not only of the lasting loyalty and friendship which has for a century bound together the Nepalese and ourselves, but of the wisdom of the Nepalese policy of isolation. This is not merely the policy of a very able Prime Minister. Even less has it been suggested by the Government of India, though Simla cordially welcomes the barrier thus created. It is ingrained in every Nepalese. It is a faith, not a foible. The presence, even the look, of a stranger is to them fraught with evil influence; his intrusion into the woods, hills and rivers, temples, pools, and springs of Nepal is often scarcely less than sacrilege. All of them are instinct with a divine immanence that the Nepalese would not, and perhaps could not, explain to a foreigner.

It can be imagined with what difficulty any ancient custom, however outworn, is ended in such a land. The work of the Prime Minister in gradually introducing reforms into Nepal has been hard indeed; but it has been carried out with resolution, steadiness, and tact. The rite of *sati* is now not merely discontinued but forbidden by law; the administration of justice has been straightened; trial by ordeal is at an end; and within the last few months the Maharaja carried through with all his strength the last remaining reform—the final abolition of the mild form of slavery which still existed in his country.

Secluded from other peoples—and especially from Western races—by her own deliberate act, Nepal remains perhaps the sincerest friend to the

British of all the sovereign states of the world. We have tried her fidelity a score of times, and she has never failed us. Her word is her bond—and more than her bond. For after the awful struggle of the World War, when her men, tired out, homesick, and sorely diminished, had at last returned to their own villages, the new call of India for their help against the invading Afghans along the north-west frontier, was answered instantly. There was no treaty obligation, no contract, not even an understanding between the two peoples, but the Gurkhas came down in their thousands to stand once more beside the Indians in a day of trial. Nothing could better express the relations between Nepal and India than the answer of a high authority in Simla to me when I asked what the policy of the Indian Government towards Nepal was. " We have no policy. We have only friendship." It is a great phrase, and it deserves to be remembered in Whitehall as well as in Simla and Katmandu.

Nepal stands to-day on the threshold of a new life. Her future calls her in one direction, and one only. In all the varied theatres of Indian politics there is nothing which surpasses in interest the ultimate destiny of Nepal. Inevitably she will become of greater and greater importance if we persist in our present policy of lessening British influence in India. It is not impossible that Nepal may even be called upon to control the destinies of India itself.

NOTE ON SPELLING

So far as is possible a consistent spelling of Nepalese names has been adopted. But considerable difficulty has been found in the transliteration of names which are obviously identical but have apparently equal authenticity in their various forms. I should like to point out that in the Treaty of 1923 Sagauli is quoted as Segowlie. If this means anything it means that the established script in important documents shall not lightly be interfered with. Taking this as a general rule, varied often by the acknowledged authority of Hunter, and occasionally by the traditional inaccuracies of such places as Calcutta, Lucknow, Cawnpore, and the like, the orthography consistently employed in these volumes will, I hope, be sufficiently clear. Of Tibetan and Chinese names there may be more uncertainty but I have done my best to make these as clear as possible. If any reader should have the curiosity to see the difficulty with which an English reader is confronted, the rendering of the style and title of the present Maharaja into Chinese characters will perhaps indicate the real trouble that exists, and probably will continue to exist, in the transliteration of Chinese and Hindu names. In some cases I have called a geographical feature such as the Tsangpo by its Tibetan name in Tibet and by its Hindu name in India. In other cases, sanctioned perhaps by long tradition, I have used a name recognized neither by Nepal nor by Tibet —such as Mount Everest. Where official quotations from treaties make it desirable I have entered in the Index the alternative form. But in general this has been an exceptional usage. Being obliged to select a permanent form for the constant prefix of the Prime Ministerial family of Nepal, I have chosen Sham Sher as that which is the best recognized by Hunter and the Indian Government. I have not wished to criticize those members of the Maharaja's family who spell their names with a difference. It has not been possible for me to make consistent distinctions between such forms as Bikram and Vikram. Similarly I have referred to the Vishnumati because a book of this description is necessarily read with greater interest in India where in general the "V" is accepted. I wish to conclude this paragraph with a full recognition of the kindliness and assistance that have been given me in Nepal by Mr. Marichi Man Singh, Mr. Hari Gopal Banerji, Mr Yajnamani Acharya Dixshit, and the Kharidar Sahib.

NOTES ON THE MAPS OF NEPAL

THE following notes should be studied, as the publication of an entirely new map raises certain questions of importance. The author was given all the material at the disposal of the Maharaja in Katmandu, and a fresh plan of the country embodying all the information that had been collected during the last twenty-five years was made for him, as well as an exact and detailed map of the Valley of Katmandu which is here reproduced. It may be mentioned that no map pretending to do more than fix a few points in the Valley had ever before been attempted.

The two plans containing the general map of the country have been reproduced from a careful draft made by the Survey of India. In it is included all the information that the Office has acquired since the early and somewhat sketchy maps of Nepal were first compiled, and the exact accuracy of the southern, western, and eastern frontiers is thereby assured.

The real difficulty lay in delimiting the northern frontier. In a general way the

direction of the border had been agreed upon by Tibet and Nepal since the war of 1792. There was the less chance of dispute because for nearly its whole length the boundary runs along ranges capped by perpetual snow uninhabited and unknown to any man. There were indeed two or three points that have created discussion. These were the indentations into what should geographically be Nepalese territory at the Kirong and Kuti passes. But these had been caused as a result of the treaty of 1792 and just or not there was no question about the frontier thus established. Three other small points exist where the Tibetans claim small pieces of land belonging to the Nepalese, but these are of no importance, as they concern glacier land only and are far removed from the only conceivable places of importance—those through which a possible entrance into Nepal could be effected.

But the information collected by the surveys of both Simla and Katmandu have introduced an element into the matter which needs careful statement. Comparison of the map here published with any old one will betray the fact that the precise conformation of this northern frontier has never hitherto been known with any accuracy. Even now the western portion may require further survey, but the work carried out by the Everest Expeditions has once for all settled the matters in dispute from the eastern corner of Nepal to a point where the Rongshar river cuts the frontier—a direct distance of about one hundred miles. From this point surveys less elaborate but entirely reliable carry on the work to the Nunud Himal—another distance of one hundred miles. Thus we have a certain survey to rely on for the most important section of the frontier—that comprising the two debated indentations of Kirong and Kuti. It will be seen later that difficulty is not thus avoided altogether, but for the moment it is as well to direct attention only to the trigonometrical aspect of this matter. From Nunud Himal north-westwards we have to guide us less unquestionable material. What has been acquired is based on trustworthy evidence but has not in general been the result of consistent or expert linking up of the main trigonometrically ascertained positions with local detail. No especial problem is presented by this uncertainty. The line is for the most part recognized as running along certain Himalayan crests, and the only change in its shape has been caused by the knowledge that we now possess of the actual lie of these icy uplands. This is a matter which may cause some uneasiness to the cartographers of the world, but does not affect the local inhabitants.

A more important question is that according to the map prepared for me in Katmandu, and accepted by the Survey of India at my request for the present purpose, three considerable alterations of a political character will be noticed. It is therefore necessary to state with clearness that the map published in this book is not to be regarded as official in any sense. The reader will form his own opinion of the extent to which any new change in the frontier is or is not of real importance. He will note that so far as the Kirong and the Kuti passes are affected, there has been no attempt—except the advancement of the frontier to the left bank of the Lundakhola to gain any territory on the part of the Nepalese in these vital regions. On the contrary, they have to the immediate south of Kirong and to the south-west of Kuti made considerable concessions to Tibet. Elsewhere it is difficult to express an opinion. The most important change thus made by the Nepalese draftsmen is the absorption of the Pânga basin in Nepal. Next to that the spur that has been made to run out to the south western slopes of Gosainthan or Shisha Pangma deserves careful attention. So far as I know there has not hitherto been made any claim by Nepal that the mountain of Gosainthan as well as the lakes of Gosain are within their territory. But I have myself found considerable difficulty in making myself clear when talking about the mountain as a Tibetan possession, and it is my belief that the spur thus drawn is in reality due to the unconscious connotation of
3 the word Gosainthan with the Lakes which are unquestionably within the Nepalese

frontier. The third discrepancy with the old—and admittedly inaccurate—maps, is the slice of land that has been added to Nepalese territory to the east of the Kuti pass. Here a line of snow ranges north of the Rongshar stream has been taken as the frontier line instead of the line somewhat more to the south of which Gaurishankar is the dominant peak. This addition to the conventional map secures for Nepal a glacial district of about 220 square miles.

I wish it to be clearly understood that neither the Survey of India, who have worked on the material I have given them, nor myself (nor, until the Maharaja has asserted his attitude towards the work done at his order for my benefit, the Nepal Government), is in any way attempting to deal with any political question. The map as it stands represents a vast improvement on anything that has hitherto appeared, and must remain the only trustworthy geographical record of Nepal until the survey by the Indian officers of the Indian Survey which has been arranged by the Maharaja has been completed. The thanks of my readers are in an especial manner due to the Maharaja for his large assistance and to Colonel Tandy of the Survey of India who has carried out his part of the joint work with all the means at his disposal.

P. L.

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

SINCE the author's lamented death, and at the moment of going to press, it has been possible by courtesy of the Surveyor General, Survey of India, Calcutta, to add the "Map of Nepal showing watersheds and drainage," based upon, and the first map to be published as the result of, the first regular survey 1926-27.

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RUMMINDEI.

From a water-colour drawing by the Author.

66489

NEPAL



CHAPTER I

THE EARLY DAWN

IT has already been said that Nepal remains the least known country of either hemisphere. A glance at a map of Northern India will explain clearly enough that its geographical position has had almost as much to do with this as the unwillingness of man. It is true that it lies on its mountain bed stretched out between the two great centres of early civilization in Asia, China and India, but the ice barrier of the Himalayas, which runs from one end to the other of its northern frontier, proved an almost impenetrable obstacle to any communication between the two countries. How terrible that barrier is may not at once be recognized from a first glance at the map. But in old days an attempt to penetrate into the two or three unbridged and precipitous gaps in the everlasting ice field was attended with such danger to pilgrims as practically made the enterprise an act of folly rather than of faith. There were other ways by which China could communicate with India, and the earliest travellers of whom we have record used them. Fa-hsien, about the year 400 B.C., set out from Ch'ang-an upon his great adventure. He was impelled by a pious determination to visit the holy places of Buddhism, and to obtain from the centres of religious instruction in India more perfect copies of the sacred books than any which then existed in China. He made no attempt to scale the Himalayas in spite of the fearful journey across the Gobi Desert which awaited him at the start. It is not without importance that Fa-hsien deliberately challenged the miseries of this route. Had it not already been a common belief in China that the Himalayas were impassable he would scarcely have faced this travel across the empty wastes of Central Asia. As he notes, " In this desert there are a great many evil spirits and also hot winds; those who encounter them perish to a man. There are neither birds above nor beasts below. Gazing on all sides as far as the eye can reach in order to mark the track, no guidance is to be obtained save from the rotting bones of dead men, which point the way." [1]

His journey may be taken roughly to represent the usual method of approaching India from the north. He passed through Khotan, Kashgar,

[1] *The Travels of Fa-hsien*, by Professor H. A. Giles, 1923.

and Peshawar. On the way he refers to the dangers of the latter part of the road—" the side of the mountain is like a stone wall, 10,000 feet in height. But nearing the edge the eye becomes confused and wishing to advance the foot finds no resting place." The rest of his journeys, except his visit to Kapilavastu and the Lumbini Garden, do not fall within the scope of this work, but in considering the notorious impassability of the Himalayas and his choice of an alternative, it is not without interest to note the comment of an anonymous Chinese writer quoted by Professor Giles, who records a meeting with Fa-hsien. The great pilgrim honestly confessed that " looking back upon what I went through, my heart throbs involuntarily and sweat pours down." The tracks through Nepal were



THE DHAULAGIRI PEAK AS SEEN FROM POKHRA

believed in these early days to be, and in fact were, worse still. For all practical purposes the kingdom was a kind of Himalayan *cul-de-sac* to be approached only from the Indian plains. Fa-hsien returned to China by sea.

If confirmation of this belief in the impregnability of the Himalayas were needed, we can find it in the preference of Hsüan Tsang who, in A.D. 629, chose the road through the Gobi Desert, Tashkent, Balkh, and the Khaibar Pass rather than face the horrors of the more direct road to India.[1]

To this day, in spite of improvements carried out at different periods,

[1] I-Tsing records the passage of nine early travellers from China to India through Tibet, the first of whom was Hiuen-Chiao in A.D. 650. But by this time Lhasa was in existence, and all of these found their way down to northern India through the Chumbi Valley, the extension of which into the Himalayas and its use as a precarious high road induced the Tibetans to occupy and administer it. It is difficult to speak with any certainty of a formal annexation in these early days.

the passes between Nepal and Tibet remain rather for local and military needs than for international transit or transport. During many months of the year they are, with two exceptions, so difficult as to compel the traders of India and Tibet to use the detour through Sikkim, arduous as that journey remains. As we shall see, Nepal in its earliest days looked to India, not only for its masters and its religion, but also for such trade as existed. The marriage of Amshuvarman's daughter, Dé-tsun,[1] in A.D. 639, was the beginning of any real intercommunication and mutual knowledge between the deserts to the north of Mount Everest and the fertile valleys to the south.

The fame of Nepal as a Buddhist centre challenged the pious pilgrims of those days to make the journey from northern India to Rummindei and the adjacent holy sites. Some of them penetrated up to Katmandu, where the six great stupas set up by the Emperor Asoka and the nearly coeval shrines of Swayambhunath and Boddhnath were more attractive to the devout than any other centres outside India proper. In speaking of Rummindei as being in Nepalese territory it must be understood that I do not assert that in those early days anything like the present state of Nepal existed. These territories were then and long afterwards remained in the hands of the ruling dynasty of the Ganges Valley, and they are included here because at the present moment they form part of the existing territory of Nepal.

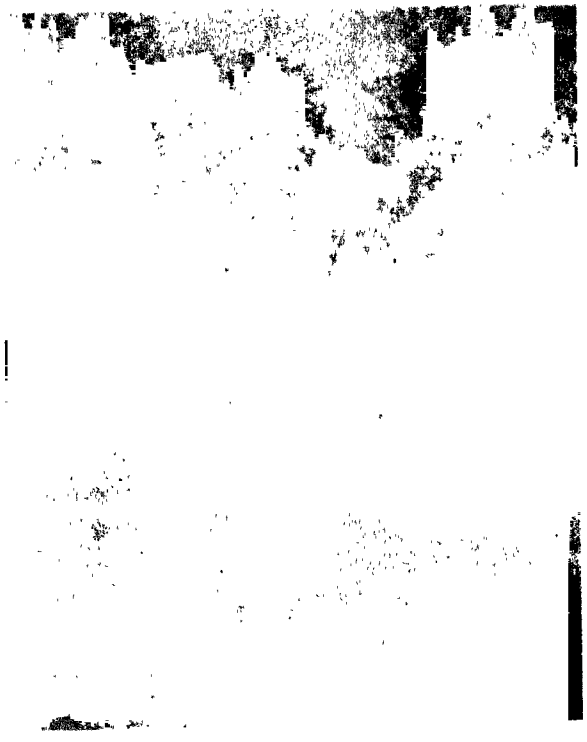
At this period the Tarai was in a sense no man's land. Nepal itself did not exist except as a congeries of independent and warring tribes occasionally overawed by a display of sovereignty from India. The more peaceful inhabitants of northern India veiled their fear of these hardy mountaineers by an ascription to them of godlessness and hostility to strangers. A distinction was recognized between those who dwelt in the Tarai and had been more or less civilized by their contact with Buddhism and with Indian culture, and the reivers of the foothills, and the pilgrimages that were made so frequently to the home and the birthplace of Prince Gautama were probably not attended with any serious danger. It was and is holy ground indeed.

To three hundred million people on earth to-day that lonely region of Rummindei, wherein a five-acre thicket of trees breaks the flat level of the surrounding plough-land, is sacred beyond all expression because, in the words cut as clearly as ever upon Asoka's pillar, " the Buddha Sakyamuni was born here."

It was by an accident, perhaps by one of the most curious accidents in the history of archaeology, that in 1895 Dr. Fuhrer chanced upon this missing pillar. It was set up by the Emperor Asoka 2,175 years ago upon the spot where Gautama was born. In 1894 Dr. Fuhrer reported that he

[1] Spelled Bri-btsun.





RUMMINDEI

Statue of Birth of Buddha

Birthplace of Buddha

had found the Nirvana stupa of a previous and mythical Buddha, named Konagamana, on the banks of the Nagali Sagar near Nigliva. He had indeed found the Asokan column recording the Emperor's visit in 250 B.C. Next year he was authorized to return to Nigliva in order to meet General Khadga, Governor of Palpa, to arrange for the continuance of the research. By an accident the meeting could not take place at Nigliva; the Governor actually met the antiquarian at Paderiya, fifteen miles east-south-east of Nigliva, and a mile north of the frontier station of Bagwantpur. On the following day, 1st December 1895, close to the General's camp there was discovered, in a thicket rising above the level of the surrounding fields, the great monolith of Asoka. A little Hindu shrine and a mass of early brick-work is still known by the name Rummindei—a natural modification of the old name Lumbini. Not far away flows the Oil River. The pillar was deeply imbedded in accumulated debris, and it was not until several feet of earth were cleared away that the inscription of the Emperor was discovered. Then it was at once clear that the pillar marked the position of the Lumbini Garden, where, according to the definite statement of the earliest Buddhist pilgrims and chroniclers, Prince Gautama was born. The inscription runs as follows: "King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods" —this was the personal formula generally used by the Emperor Asoka in his inscriptions—"having been anointed twenty years, came in person and worshipped here, saying, 'Here Buddha, the Sakya ascetic, was born,' and he caused a stone capital in the shape of a horse to be constructed and a stone pillar to be erected, which declares, 'Here the Blessed One was born.' King Piyadasi exempted the village community of Lummini from taxes, and bestowed wealth upon it."[1]

It is no easy matter to make a visit to Rummindei. Without the permission of the Maharaja of Nepal the visit is impossible, and without his assistance also it is practically beyond the capability of any visitor. It involves a night journey of eight hours in a palanquin from Bridgmanganj until the frontier is crossed. Here the palanquin is no longer possible, owing to the presence of deep streams, and elephants have to be used for the remainder of the way. At last the thicket is approached, and in the dry season the outline of the small shrine, to which reference has been made, can be seen through the leafless trees. The elephants will make their way to the new lodge built by the Maharaja of Nepal to the north-east of this shrine. Here the visitor dismounts, and he cannot fail to notice that practically the whole extent of what I have called a thicket is raised from ten to twenty feet above the surface of the surrounding country. It is, in fact, a huge mass of debris. He will probably first visit the little building, now identified with a Hindu goddess, of which the original dedication is made clear by a sculpture dimly to be seen down the flight of steps leading

[1] See Appendix X.

to the shrine—for the debris has engulfed the shrine itself to the extent of six or seven feet. This sculpture actually represents the birth of Buddha, and, though it cannot claim to be of anything like the age of the pillar outside, it was certainly set up in honour of the Master some time before Buddhism faded out from India in the seventh century.[1]

Leaving the courtyard of this shrine, where the capital of Asoka's pillar is still to be seen, one goes a little way down the slope, and there, twenty yards from the western wall of the temple, the Emperor's monument stands as firmly as ever. The Nepalese have attempted to save it from further disintegration by capping it with a flat stone, a device which at a



A HALT IN A TOPE NEAR RUMMINDEI

distance detracts from its grace. It would have been simpler and better to restore the original capital. No attempt has yet been made to investigate the surrounding ruins, except that Dr. Fuhrer made a partial excavation at the actual base of the pillar itself in order to ascertain its length and the manner in which it was supported.

A few yards away to the south are the remains of the pool mentioned by the Buddhist authorities as that in which Maya, the mother of Buddha, bathed immediately before the child's birth. It will be remembered that, in accordance with Indian custom, Maya was on her way from her husband's

[1] Among the illustrations of the muddling of Buddhist and Hindu personalities may be noted the information I received at Rummindei. I was told that the lady of the carving was a Hindu divinity, and that her name was Tathagata.

capital of Kapilavastu in order to give birth to her first son in her father's house at Devadaha. Here, fifty li to the east of Kapilavastu, on the eighth day of the second half of the month of Vaisakha, she and her maids reached a grove of sal trees, which had been arranged as a resting place for the Queen. After leaving the pool by the north side, Maya walked twenty paces. She then felt the pains upon her and, facing the east, grasped the branch of a tree above her,[1] and so her child was born from her right flank.[2]

We may assume that it was found impossible to look properly after the suddenly overtaken mother, and that this premature delivery was the direct cause of her death seven days later. But the child himself thrived and, by every tradition, grew up to be one of the handsomest and most athletic young princes upon whom the Himalayas have ever looked down. Although the city of Kapilavastu may well lie within the frontiers of Nepal, it is unnecessary here to recall the legendary youth of Prince Gautama. It is a story that belongs rather to that of the origins of Buddhism.

The story of Asoka's visit is thus recorded in the Buddhist chronicle. "Asoka, accompanied by the ancient and venerable Upagupta, the recipient of all the knowledge and traditions of the faith, visited Lummini in great state. With him went four battalions of troops, and the perfumes, flowers, and garlands of due worship were not forgotten. Arrived at the garden Upagupta extended his right hand, and said to Asoka, 'Here, O great King, the Venerable One was born,' adding, 'At this site, excellent to behold, should be the first monument consecrated in honour of the Buddha.' The King, after giving 100,000 golden coins to the people of the country, raised a stupa pillar and retired."

Eight hundred years later Hsüan Tsang visited the place, and by a happy accident recorded that the pillar had been struck by lightning and split, and the horse and the capital thrown down.[3] The former has been lost within the last few years, but the capital, of Persian design, is, as I have said, now resting in the courtyard of the shrine twenty-five yards away from the cleft pillar.

The identity of Kapilavastu with Tilaura Kot is a matter that will never perhaps be wholly settled. The question depends entirely upon the testimony of the two Chinese pilgrims, Fa-hsien and Hsüan Tsang. The

[1] It is to be noted that the sculpture in the Hindu shrine a few yards away faces the east.

[2] Edwin Arnold's description in *The Light of Asia* is full of inaccuracies.

[3] "By the side of the stupa is a great stone pillar; on the top of it is the figure of a horse which was built by an Asokan Rajah. Afterwards by the contrivance of a wicked dragon it was broken off in the middle and fell to the ground. By the side of it is a little river which flows to the south-east. The people of the place call it the 'River of Oil'—a river, the stream of which is still unctuous" (Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, 1884, vol. ii, p. 24). The crack caused by lightning descends about thirteen feet from the top and just touches the inscription.

stories of their approach to the Lumbini Garden from Kapilavastu cannot be reconciled in any way except on the assumption that two quite different places were pointed out to the pilgrims as the ruins of Kapilavastu. Both men started from Sravasti and both certainly reached the garden of the birthplace. The country was a jungle strewn with ruins, and the tradition of the site was either lost or recovered in the 230 years that elapsed between the two visits. It is clear that Piprawa was shown to Fa-hsien as the city of Suddhodana.[1] On the other hand Hsüan Tsang was undoubtedly shown Tilaura Kot as the site of Kapilavastu. Mr. V. A. Smith, who was the first to point out this almost certain source of the inconsistency between the descriptions of Fa-hsien and Hsüan Tsang, does not say of Tilaura Kot that there is no other place in the whole region which can possibly be identified with Kapilavastu. He says, however, that there is no other place which can be identified with the royal precincts described by Hsüan Tsang. The evidence has not been added to since Mr. Smith's examination of the claims of the two districts, and it is therefore impossible to come to any definite decision in the matter. We are, however, able to define with exactness the site of a town sacred to the memory of the previous Buddha Konogamana, for there the Emperor Asoka had set up a pillar in his honour beside the Nagali Sagar.[2]

There can be no question whatever of the identity of Rummindei with the Lumbini Garden with its defaced brick pool, twenty or thirty paces to the south, its river of oil,[3] and the Buddhist shrine upon the mound which has since been appropriated by the Hindus. The tree under which Maya gave birth to Gautama is differently reported by the pilgrims. Fa-hsien says that it was a sal tree (*Shorea robusta*): Hsüan Tsang asserts that it was an asoka tree (*Jonesia asoka*). There is at present no specimen of either tree within the limits of the thicket. With the exception of one magnificently grown fig at the south-east corner of the pool, there are no trees of any size, the majority being of the bel species—tc the fruit of which it is still customary to marry in infancy every Newari girl in order to avoid the disabilities of widowhood. Of other trees here there are tamarinds, pipals, guava, and amlosas with pink cherry-like blossoms. The weaver

[1] The evidence for Piprawa has been greatly strengthened by the discovery of the crystal reliquary in the stupa there. It bears the inscription: "Belonging to the brethren of the well-famed One, together with their little sisters, and together with their children and wives—namely, the kinsmen of Buddha, the Blessed One—this is a deposit of relics." This interpretation by Dr. Fleet is opposed by M. Senath and M. Barth, but is accepted by the chief epigraphists.

[2] A reproduction and translation of the mutilated text upon this monolith will be found in Appendix X.

[3] Tel Kosi. The name of Paderiya, the nearest village, is derived from Paudari, "the place of the footsteps." This refers to a legend that immediately after his birth the infant Gautama took seven paces.

birds build their laborious and dainty nests in the bamboos and a kind of jasmine is found.

The split in the column caused by lightning, mentioned by Hsüan Tsang, is still visible, and it is possible that the pillar is cleft some way below the existing earth level. At this moment only three lines out of the five engraved by Asoka are above ground.[1] The colour of the pillar would be black were it not for the pious rubbings of the faithful. Eighteen months ago some Burmese pilgrims put on patches of gold leaf. It is impossible to blame this ill-directed enthusiasm, as the walls and pillars of Jerusalem



RUMMINDEI
Courtyard of shrine showing capital of Asoka's pillar, and mistaken restoration of Ganesha

and Bethlehem have arisen as witnesses to as devout a faith and on lesser evidence. St. Helena of York was after all only an imitator of Asoka. It is worth noting that about the same time—300 years—elapsed between the birth of the founders of Christianity and Buddhism and the imperial recognition of their incarnations.

As I have said, the other place names have remained unchanged. I noticed that, in asking his way—Rummindei is a difficult place to get to—the mahout of my elephant always asked for " Rumpindei," and the name of the goddess now presiding over the Hindu shrine is Rupandehi Bhagavati.

[1] The pillar at Rummindei is twenty-one feet seven inches in height. Eight feet six inches are embedded in brick.

I give the spelling according to the instructions of the Suba or District Lieutenant of the Governor of Palpa.[1]

Inside the courtyard of the small shrine, besides the capital of Asoka's column, are several carvings. Some of them have been assembled without much regard for the unfailing proportions always observed by Hindu artists. For example,there can be no doubt that the Ganesha is in reality composed of the fragments of two separate statues.[2] The temple itself, though some feet above the level of the base of the pillar and therefore of later date, has been submerged in the rising tide of ruins, and the worshipper has to go down several steps before he reaches the floor level. The sculpture representing the birth of Buddha which, it will be seen, faithfully records the tradition that he was born from his mother's right side, has the not uncommon characteristic that the infant is also shown standing at his mother's feet, no doubt on the point of making the famous seven strides.

Upon the wall immediately over this carving may be seen an almost effaced painting of Buddha. He is in the " bhumisparsa mudra." The upper part of the body, the two legs, and the halo—of unusual size—may all be clearly distinguished, as well as the lotus throne on which the Master is seated.

It is proposed that the existing shrine shall be enlarged. If this is done, two or three results are probable. No extension to the west is possible without the inclusion within the new precincts of the pillar, which will thus become inaccessible to Western students. It will also be necessary to clear away a large amount—if not indeed all—of the debris of centuries which now forms the tree-covered mound of Rummindei. The upper strata of this mound are probably the ruins of Hindu work, and of course of less antiquity than the older or Buddhist remains.[3]

A full examination is likely to give back to the world the railing which Asoka seems to have set up round the pillar. It would no doubt be similar in character to the railings which were set up in India at or soon after Asoka's date. It would be difficult to over-estimate the historic and artistic value of such a discovery. Certainly some part of the walls of the earliest vihara or monastic cloisters would be found. Here a continual service of Buddhist monks was housed, and herein pilgrims from all countries found a temporary shelter. At the same time it would be possible

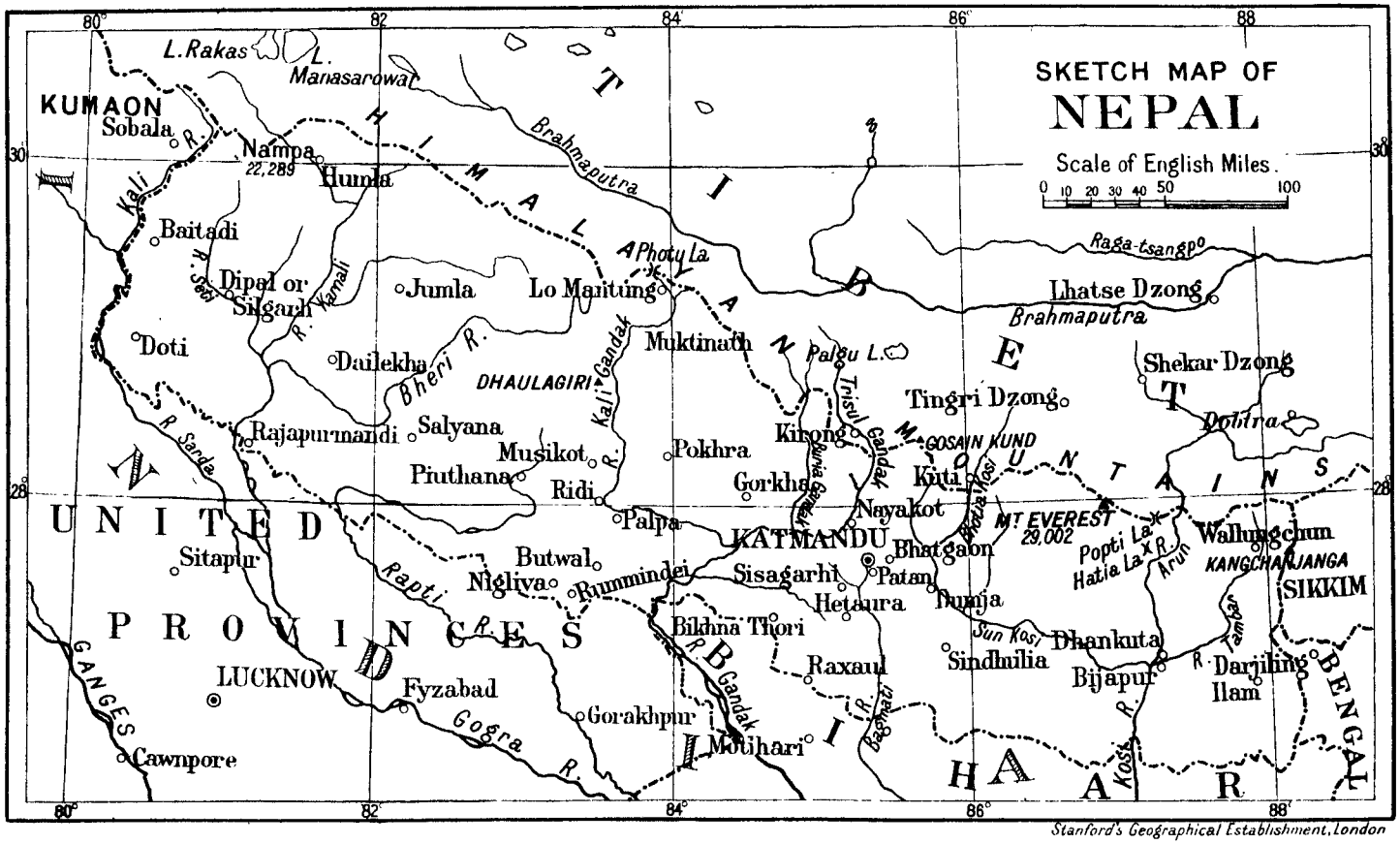
[1] I have much pleasure in recording the unfailing courtesy and help which I received from this official.

[2] It will be seen by reference to the photograph that the top of the statue of Ganesha has been wrongly placed on the headless body of a female deity. The two do not fit in any way. In the Indian Archaeological Department's report this has not been noticed by the Indian official sent to examine the site, and the obvious misapplication has been slurred over in the published sketch.

[3] The older—though not the oldest—temple, that upon which the present shrine was built, was twenty-one feet square. The modern shrine is sixteen feet in each direction.



CHOBAR



Stanford's Geographical Establishment, London

to trace and clear out the sides of the famous pool to the south. Other remains of unsuspected interest would also be found, and the smaller treasures in the shape of offerings, dedicatory copper plates, relics, seals, would be of the first importance. No site in India offers the same possibilities. For the birthplace was unquestionably a centre of pilgrimage at least as important as were the other three Great Places—Buddhgaya, where the Master received enlightenment; Sarnath, a few miles outside Benares, where he first turned the Wheel of the Law, or in other words preached the doctrine; and Kasia, where the Illustrious One entered upon Nirvana. Intense piety, with its accompanying rebuilding and restoration, has reduced the possibility of discovering anything new at Buddhgaya or Sarnath. The places were within easy reach of large towns, and a perpetual reconstruction and re-embellishment has rendered it unlikely that further discoveries, architectural or personal, will be found there. The same is not true of Kasia—the ancient Kusinara—where much no doubt remains. But the ruins there have already been carefully unearthed by Indian archaeologists, and enough has been found to suggest that this last hope, the forlorn little mound of Rummindei in Nepal, certainly contains materials that may set at rest some of the problems of earlier Buddhism. The Maharaja of Nepal fully understands the importance of the site, and has cordially agreed that, should he be able to carry out any work there, the assistance of the highest antiquarian authorities in India shall be invited.[1]

It is with these inscriptions in the Tarai that the recorded history of Nepal begins.

Before any consideration of the further visit of King Asoka to the Valley, it is advisable briefly to sum up the legendary history of that district. The whole history of Upper Nepal, as it affects and interests the world, is concentrated upon this central plain. The Valley, of which a detailed description is given elsewhere, is drained southwards into India through one narrow precipitous cleft in the rocks of Chaubahal, commonly known as Chobar, and, four miles lower, through the Pharping Gorge between the hills of Champadevi and the western slopes of the Mahabharata massif. The legend that dominates this mystical period is that, according to the faith of the believer, either Vishnu or Manjusri or Krakuchhanda—a previous reincarnation of the Buddha—cleft these two narrow gorges with a sword, and thereby allowed the waters of the lake, which previously filled the Valley, to escape into the Ganges and so to the sea. Geologists admit that the Valley was probably at one time a lake, and that, either by

[1] The water colour that is reproduced is one that I made in 1908, and represents fairly well the aspect of Rummindei in the cooler months. I tried to make another sketch in 1924, but there was no shade, the thermometer was 163° in the sun, and the Gurkhas, who were detailed by the Suba to hold umbrellas over my head, suffered too much to allow me to complete it.

some terrestrial upheaval or by constant erosion of the outlet through the southern barrier, the waters were drained off and the land reclaimed.[1]

Whatever the agency, the Valley of Nepal, raised from under the surface of the waters, has always possessed a soil of extraordinary and constant fertility. It soon attracted those who had been living a hard life among the surrounding mountains, and it is difficult to resist the assumption that, though under many different names, the district of Katmandu has always been inhabited by an industrious and agricultural class. They made, somewhere in the vicinity of the watersmeet of the Bagmati and the Vishnumati, various centres from which to control, organize, and, so far as they could, protect the labours of the workers on this rich alluvial field. To what degree of civilization these peasants attained it is difficult to guess, especially as we have no record of a permanent tenure of the Valley by any race sufficiently long to enable them to leave any trace upon the history of the older world.

But that this mountain garden was in a measure recognized by the Brahmans of northern India is reflected in certain allusions which may be understood to refer to Nepal. For example, there is the story that in the dim ages which modern research has agreed to place somewhere between the years 1500 and 1100 B.C., a prince of Nepal fought and died on Arjuna's side at the famous battle of Kurukshetra. But this meteor-like appearance of a kingship in Nepal leaves us where we were before, so far as any knowledge of the country and the people is concerned. Still we do get a persistent legend that at some time during the life of Gautama Buddha (563-483 B.C.) the Valley had attained sufficient reputation to induce the Master to make a journey thither. The visit of Asoka and his erection of shrines at places connected with Buddha's stay there, render this journey almost certain. It is, moreover, confirmed by the legends of the visits of Ananda and other disciples, which deserve some attention.

The climate of Nepal had a bad reputation among the early Indian writers. The following tales will be found set out at length in the first Appendix of the third volume of M. Lévi's work. The first, which is taken from the Mûlasarvâstivâdavinaya, recalls that when Buddha was

[1] It is not uninteresting to remember that this legendary drainage of inundated land plays a part in many other districts in Eastern Asia. The plain of Loyang—at one time the capital of China—is separated from the Yellow River by a range of hills, and local tradition insists that by a similar intervention of a deity, it was drained and turned into one of the richest centres of Chinese agriculture. An even more appropriate case is a similar legend in Tibet, just across the Himalayan barrier from Nepal. The central plain of Tibet, according to this story, was at one time so inundated that only monkeys were able to live here and there in the swamps. Even they had so hard a life that they appealed to Buddha for help, and, of course on the condition that they should become men and good Buddhists, the waters from the wide plain of Gyantse were thereupon drawn off by one of those underground channels which play so large a part in Indian mythology.

residing at Sravasti, some of his followers joined a troop of merchants making their way to Nepal. They did this in spite of the warnings of the traders. " Holy ones, in Nepal the ground is nothing but rocks, and it is



NORTH STUPA, PATAN



SOUTH STUPA, PATAN

as humpy as the back of a camel. Surely you are not going to enjoy your journey." They travelled with the merchants, and at last arrived in the Valley. The warnings of the traders had been justified, and the Buddhist devotees went next morning to ask of the merchants when they were returning to India, explaining that they were not feeling well. Naturally the

merchants declined to leave the Valley until their merchandise had been sold and other goods bought, but they said they had friends who would willingly escort the disillusioned Bhikshus down to the plains. The latter, with cries of joy, accepted the offer.

To this story is added the note that the cheapest goods in Nepal were wool and orpiment.[1] An even more interesting addition is the statement that the second lot of merchants bought wool in large quantities and with it charged their carts before leaving the Valley. It is evident that neither in those days nor in these could a carriage of any description be taken over either the Chandragiri or Sisagarhi passes.



CENTRAL STUPA, PATAN

In another part of the same book is an even more human reference to the natural terrors of Nepal. After recording the massacre of the Sakyas of Kapilavastu, the assertion is made that some of the survivors fled to Nepal; the latter being of the house and family of the famous disciple Ananda. Some time after, some Indian merchants made their way to the Valley where they found these Sakyas bitterly complaining of their lot, and demanding that Ananda should come to see their plight. In consequence the holy Ananda, touched with pity, went up into Nepal. He found the country very cold and snowy, and suffered severely from frost-bite. The skin of his hands and the soles of his feet were broken into ulcerated

[1] This mineral, otherwise known as disulphide of arsenic or "realgar," and to the Greeks as "sandarache," is not now included among the natural resources of Nepal.

" crevasses "; and on his return to Sravasti the disciples cried out upon the terrible state in which the holy Ananda had come back, " for," they said, " in old days you had hands as unbroken and smooth as your tongue." His answer was simple: " The kingdom of Nepal," he said, " is next to the Himalayan mountains, and because of the wind and the snow my feet and hands are in this state." The inquisitive disciples pressed him further. " But your relations there? How do they manage to live? " He answered: " They wear shoes." Again they demanded: " But why don't you wear them? " Ananda replied: " The Buddha has not yet given permission for their use." The little company of Bhikshus then went directly to ask the Master, who gave them this decision: " In cold and snowy places, the use of shoes is permitted." [1]

Next in order comes a slight but clear connection between the Jain religion and Nepal. About the year 312 B.C., while Chandra Gupta was driving out the last of the Nanda kings from Magadha, a division, which exists to this day, was being fomented among the Jains. Two men, Sambhutavijaya and Bhadrabahu—the author of the Mahavira—were jointly responsible for the direction of the Jain community until this date. In the year 312 B.C. Sambhutavijaya died, leaving his colleague in the curious position of being the sole initiate on earth who knew the Fourteen Purvas or chapters of the most ancient Jain Scriptures. Soon afterwards a famine began in northern India which lasted for twelve years, and Bhadrabahu went south to the Karnatic where food was plentiful. After the famine was over Bhadrabahu returned, but at once resigned his headship of the Jain faith and retired to Nepal to spend the rest of his life in penitence —probably for his want of courage in a moment of emergency.

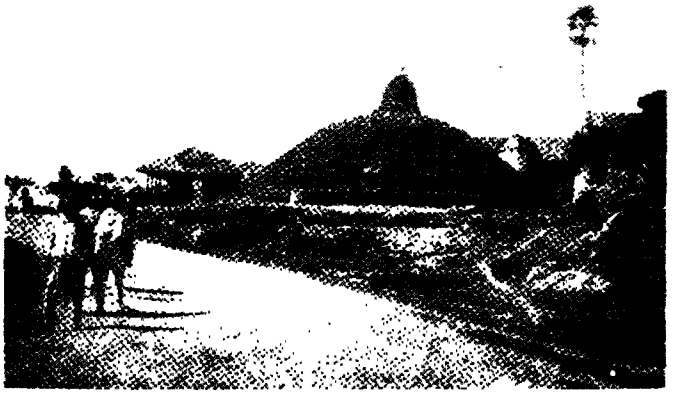
But the monks who had accompanied Bhadrabahu to the South took up a different attitude. On their return—about 300 B.C.—they carried the war into the enemy's camp by reproaching those Jains who had stayed behind in Magadha with laxity of morals and heresy. The local quarrel extended throughout the domain of Jainism. A Council of Jains was called at Pataliputra—which may roughly be identified with the modern Patna. The conference found itself in a position of difficulty, for Bhadrabahu was the only living soul who knew the mystic doctrines of the Fourteen Purvas. Without his co-operation the tradition of Jainism must for the future have been uncanonical. So Sthulabadra, a disciple of Sambhutavijaya, went to Bhadrabahu in Nepal and there obtained the Fourteen Purvas. To a student of psychology it is not uninteresting to note that on his return he asserted that only ten of these chapters could be communicated to others.

[1] M. Lévi admits that this second story may perhaps be a later addition, but he insists that the first tale is essentially part of the work. He also suggests that such an addition might well have been made by a Nepalese Buddhist.

In this way the great schism in Jainism began. Those monks who had accompanied Bhadrabahu to the South declined to accept the story that



EAST STUPA, PATAN

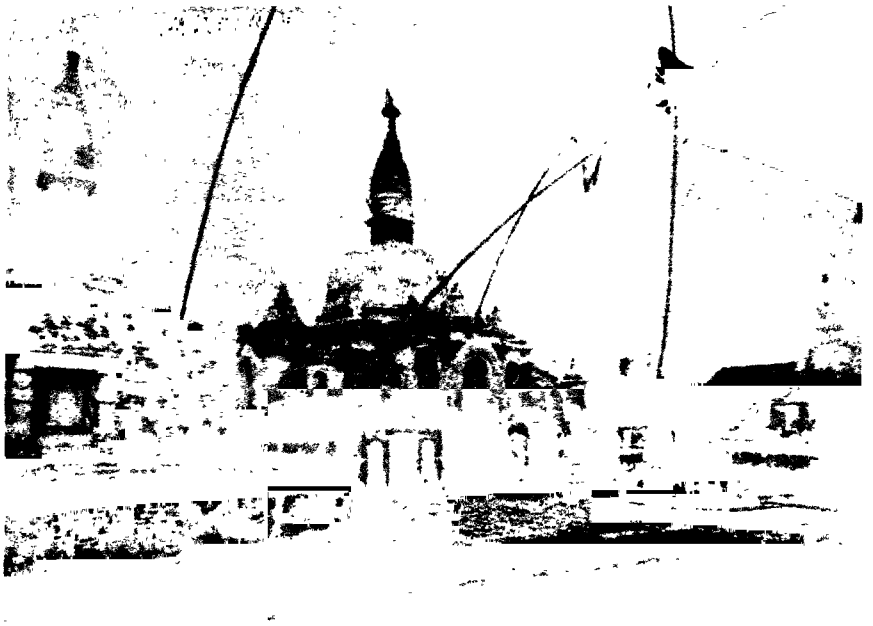


WEST STUPA, PATAN

was told by Sthulabadra or to attend the Council, and founded the Digambara sect. The remainder, under the name of Svetambara, continued the Jain tradition on the basis of the imperfect records that Sthulabadra said

he was permitted to divulge. This division of the Jain sects in India remains to this day. But this original distinction between the two versions of the faith has, for purposes of common interest, been eclipsed by another difference between the two schools. The Jains who followed Sthulabadra dressed themselves in white garments: the revolting monks of Bhadrabahu adopted the practice, as their name implies, of being clothed with the sky—which means that they lived entirely naked.

More definite assurance of Gautama's visit to Nepal is given by the undoubted conviction of the great Emperor Asoka in 250 B.C. that Gautama



CHAITYA AT KIRTIPUR

Buddha had not only visited the Valley but that some incident of unusual importance to the Buddhist faith had taken place there. For in Katmandu Asoka left more ponderous evidence of his visit than anywhere else in all his long career. To this day—and mercifully almost unchanged—the four great stupas with which he surrounded Patan are still standing. Other shrines also he built which may be traced, but in these cases the plain mounds of bricks and earth that he erected have been so ornamented by later generations that they have practically lost all resemblance to Asoka's monuments. But in their midst they probably to this day contain records and relics by which, and by which alone, light can be thrown upon these ancient recognitions of the holiness of the Valley.

These relics of the visit of Asoka will be dealt with in another chapter. Like the pillar at Rummindei they constitute definite proof of the visit of the Emperor in the middle of the third century B.C. In this connection it should be remembered that, whatever his practical authority among these mountains, Asoka regarded Nepal as definitely included in his own Empire.

It is perhaps hardly worth while to make more than a passing reference to the ancient legends which associate with both Pashpatī and Swayambhunath the miraculous enthronement of two distinct religions in this remote Himalayan hill-locked plain. In them the Buddhas of more than one reincarnation are recorded. Though the reputation of this home of sanctity was greatly increased by every legend that Oriental devotion could devise or remember, the plain fact is that Asoka, by his journey to Patan and by the erection of five stupas there and one at Kirtipur, conferred for ever a permanent and localized distinction upon the centre of the Valley of Nepal.[1] From that time onwards it has been a place of pilgrimage, and though the past and present relations between Buddhism and Hinduism form one of the most interesting and most complicated problems that modern religions offer, there is no doubt that from the point of view of the countries which lie to the north of Nepal, she maintains to this day centres of merit-giving which no incident in her history has in any way diminished.

The death of Asoka seems for the moment to have put an end to the imperial claims of India to Nepal. This was due no doubt less to the weakness of India than to the lack of any inducement to occupy a valley remote and difficult of access, however fertile it was and however sacred. From this time for nearly nine hundred years Nepal figures uncertainly, vaguely, and at long intervals in the recorded chronicles of northern India. It was at first regarded by the orthodox Buddhists, who were then at their zenith, as a country of savages. No doubt in many ways this contempt, though largely based upon religious narrowness, was not unjustified. That some form of Buddhism was kept awake within the Valley is likely. The great shrines of Swayambhunath and Boddhnath, and the more recent stupas of Asoka were in themselves enough to attract the casual visit of pilgrims probably as much determined to tread in the footsteps of Asoka as in those of Buddha. But they have left no record, and it is only in the persistent upkeep of the two former shrines that we can trace a continuous life in the religion which Nepal had taken as her own.

[1] The visit of the Emperor Asoka to Nepal is also associated with the foundation of the two northern suburbs of Katmandu called Deo Patan and Chabahil, but a more interesting relic of his presence is the legend that his daughter Charumati and her Kshatriya husband, Devapali, remained in the Valley and founded a vihara which is still identified by the faithful and is visited by many pilgrims.

CHAPTER II

VRSA DEVA TO THE MALLAS

> "By this time, like one who had set out on his way by night, and travelled through a region of dreams, our history now arrives on the confines, where daylight and truth meet us with a clear dawn, representing to our view, though at far distance, true colours and shapes."
>
> MILTON.

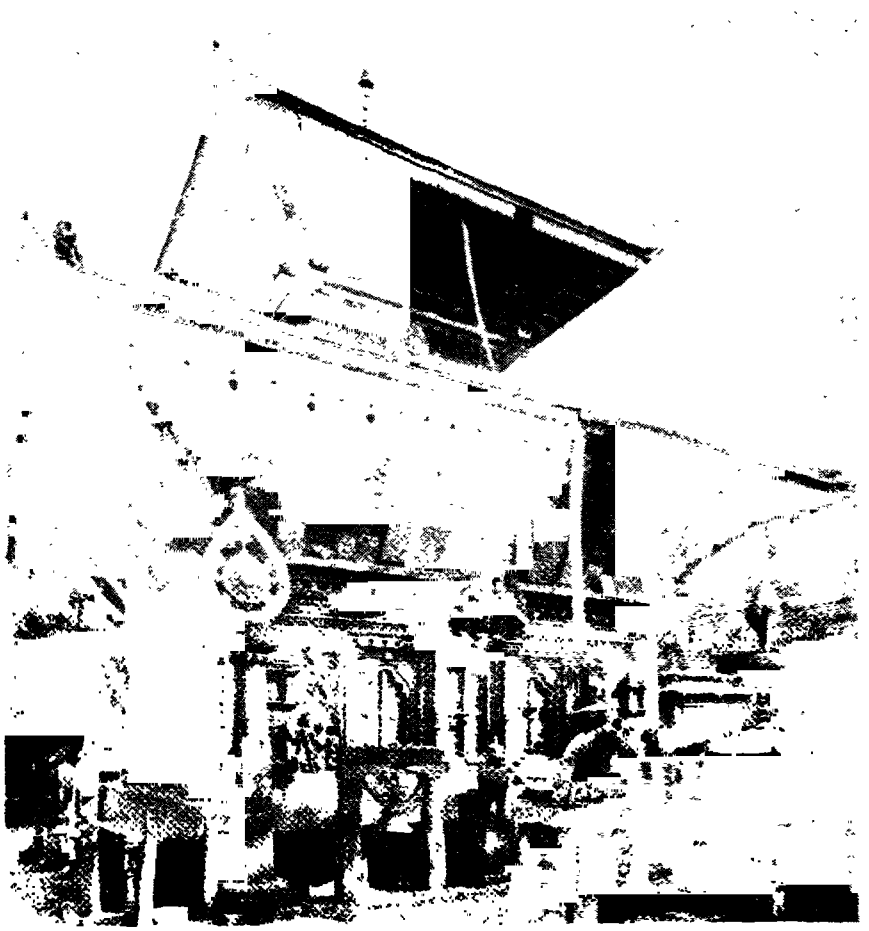
IN the case of Vrsa deva, who almost certainly reigned over the Valley in the last quarter of the fourth century, we are on more or less stable ground. For a time there opens a fairly well documented period of Nepalese history. From A.D. 496 to A.D. 880 the sequence of the Licchavi kings and their general policy are illuminated and confirmed by a valuable series of inscriptions in and near Katmandu, most of which have been deciphered and edited by Bendall, Fleet, Buhler, Bagvantlal, Sylvain Lévi, and Dahlmann. It need hardly be said that, owing to the inability of European savants personally to explore and copy inscriptions outside the Valley, this field of archaeological treasure has so far only been scratched. But the exertions of the experts I have just mentioned have already provided a small number of fixed points for the development of Nepalese historical research. Those who are interested in epigraphy will find an exhaustive and well illustrated study of recently discovered records in the third volume of M. Lévi's work. Here it is enough to say that from about A.D. 496 to the beginning of the seventh century the known story of Nepal is almost entirely based upon these inscriptions.[1]

Vrsa deva was the first of a line of kings who found favour with the religious chroniclers of Nepal. If these chroniclers are to be trusted, they combined valour and piety, wisdom and generosity with personal purity and a laudable respect for the Church. Their praises recur with somewhat suspicious regularity. One would like to have even ten lines of some non-

[1] The many different eras employed in Nepalese records are a serious difficulty in the work of chronologizing her early history.

Kali Yuga	begins	3101 B.C.
Samvat Vikramaditya .	„	57 B.C.
Shaka-Salivahana . .	„	78 A.D.
Licchavi	„	110 A.D.
Gupta	„	319 A.D.
Amshuvarman . . .	„	595 A.D.
Samvat of Nepal . .	„	880 A.D.

official tale with which to compare the eulogies that introduce these inscriptions. The sequence of conventional praise is, however, sometimes varied by a human touch. Mana deva, who as a child ascended the throne of Nepal shortly before the year 496, was under the tutelage of his mother,



CHANGU NARAYAN

one of the outstanding feminine personalities of these dark ages. She inspired him, and perhaps at times spurred him. It was to her that he referred at all times the policy that he contemplated, and it seems probable that Queen Rajyavati, both as consort and dowager, was throughout her active life the autocrat of Nepal. Mana deva's military exploits are recorded with pride and with some fullness on the pillar of the temple of

Changu Narayan, but always there is the suggestion that they are the work of one who continually and even obediently sought the consent and approbation of his mother.

Rajyavati joined her flats well. She made a notable offer to follow her dead husband upon the funeral pyre, but allowed herself to be dissuaded by the entreaties of the young king. Reconciled to a prolongation of her life and power, she foresaw the danger of allowing her son to acquire independent glory during military campaigns at which she could not herself be present. She therefore deputed her brother to act as her representative at head-quarters when Mana deva was away from her personal influence. Apparently in defiance of the law, she maintained her own courts, both spiritual and temporal; and it would be interesting to know whether grief or relief was the uppermost feeling in Mana deva's mind when, about the year 497, he dedicated in Lajanpat a carving of Vishnu which may reasonably be regarded as a commemoration of the recent death of his efficient mother.

At this time Nepal stretched from beyond the river Gandak on the west, and marched with the territory of the Kirantis on the east.[1]

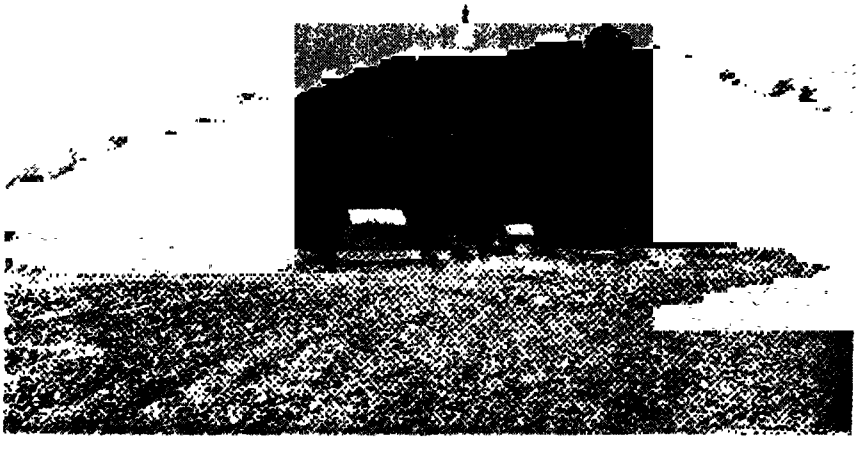
M. Lévi estimates that Mana deva reigned between A.D. 496 and 524. During this period—assisted no doubt by the attack of the White Huns to the south—he had been able to prevent the absorption of his country by the Gupta dynasty. No doubt he found it convenient to accept the nominal patronage of the sovereigns of Patna, just as it was no real infringement of Nepal's independence that, several centuries later, the Mogul Emperors of Delhi gave her permission to coin her own silver money,—and certainly the gift of one elephant a year in return was no great drain upon the teeming life of the Tarai.

These phantom claims to suzerainty were not uncommon among the vainglorious princes of this early and ill-informed period. The sanction given by the Gupta dynasty to the foundation of a Cingalese vihara at Buddhgaya was claimed by it as an indication of the tributary status of the distant island, but it is clear that any suggestion of vassalage would have been fiercely resented in Kandy. This form of vanity is apparent in our time also, in spite of the multiplication of means of obtaining information and the crystallization by treaty of most of the sovereign territories of the world.[2] It is therefore difficult to estimate the exact relations of

[1] These dispossessed tribes, like so many others in a similar plight, had retreated for safety into the mountains, and found a refuge among the almost unapproachable spurs of Mount Everest. The ranges which strike out in a southerly direction from that unconquered mass enclose unfertile though well watered valleys, and between the River Dudh-kosi and the River Arun the remains of these earliest recorded inhabitants of Nepal may still be found.

[2] It will be remembered that the annual subsidy paid by the Indian Government to the tribes of the Bhutan Tarai was represented to and accepted by the Dalai Lama in

Nepal with her neighbours at this period. In all probability they varied from time to time, and required a deft adjustment to the temporary supremacy of one or other. Like Korea, Nepal had on either side of her a powerful if somewhat inactive state. Just as Korea for many centuries had to steer her course between the rivalries of China and Japan until her final annexation by the latter, so Nepal probably found it convenient to make nominal concessions of small real importance both to India and Tibet. Neither of her great neighbours was anxious to risk the expense and hazard of an attack upon this mountain kingdom, the absorption of which would



SWAYAMBHUNATH FROM KATMANDU

bring it face to face with a powerful rival. For it is not improbable that even in those days the value of a buffer state was thoroughly understood. But from the point of view of Nepal, strength and tact were equally needed if a precarious sovereignty was to be maintained.[1] Mana deva had done

1903 as a proof that the entire British Empire was a vassal of that small Himalayan state. Burma is still included in Chinese maps as an integral portion of the republic. We shall have to consider in another chapter the relations between China and Nepal.

[1] We hear of a Raja of the name of Brikha deva. He was extremely pious. He died from a chill caused by a visit to the southern or Laghan stupa built by the Emperor Asoka. By mistake he was conducted to the infernal regions. But Yama, the King of Hell, rebuked his servants for having brought so good a man to his domain. He therefore returned to the earth and attributed his release to the intervention of Avalokiteswara who, he read, had once caused by his presence the suspension of the tortures of those in hell.

well; Mahi deva, his son, seems to have held his own. Of the subsequent kings Shiva deva is the most conspicuous. But there is no indication that any one of them was a ruler possessed of qualities other than prudence and piety. The unity and independence of Nepal could scarcely have survived had not a man been found gifted with more positive qualities, judgment, ambition, strength, and audacity. Such a man suddenly emerges above the nebulous clouds of Himalayan history.

Into the vexed question of the regnal years of Amshuvarman, successively councillor, *maire du palais*, and king, and the manner in which he gradually raised himself to power, it is not necessary to enter in detail. He was born about A.D. 595, and probably died in 640. He married the daughter of King Shiva deva, and seems to have been willing to keep himself in the background for many years. The only legend of note during his father-in-law s reign was the visit which is said to have been paid to Nepal by the famous calendar-maker, Vikramaditya, Emperor of Ujjain.[1] The visit of this just monarch to the Valley was marked by magnificent altruism. In order to ensure the acceptance of the famous era identified with his name—which became practically universal south of the Himalayas —Vikramaditya generously paid off the entire existing public debt of Nepal; for which reason the era is sometimes referred to in Nepalese chronicles as the era of the paying off of debts. The story of the visit of Vikramaditya is merely a picturesque way of saying that the Indian method of measuring time was adopted in Nepal about the beginning of the seventh century.

An almost impenetrable tangle of truth, legend, and falsehood prevents any adequate knowledge of the steps by which Amshuvarman, the one clear beacon in this twilight of uncertainty, shouldered his way to the throne.[2] It is not even sure whether Shiva deva was his immediate predecessor, his colleague upon the throne, or even his father-in-law. It seems probable that Shiva deva, anticipating Charles V, divided his country into fiefs which he granted to his relatives—Narendra deva, Bhima deva, and others—while he himself retired to a life of religious contemplation. He soon discovered, however, that he had been as much mistaken in his division of Nepal as in his belief that he had a call to a monastic life,[3] and summoning

[1] He had of course died several centuries before this.

[2] An illustration of the untrustworthiness of the Vamshavali of Nepal is that Amshuvarman is placed by it seven hundred years earlier than his right date. As another example of the chaos that generally prevailed I may quote the Vamshavali's statement that at one time—probably at the beginning of the twelfth century, A.D.— every quarter of the town of Patan had its own Raja, while in Katmandu there were no less than twelve independent princelings. The Chronicle then goes on to say that the Thakuris ruled the country for 225 years, "but as they were very numerous their names have not been recorded."

[3] Of Shiva deva it is written, that having great possessions he found it impossible to endure the strict rule that was binding upon the bhikshus, or Buddhist novices. He therefore begged his Guru, or teacher, to show him some means by which he could live

to his aid Amshuvarman, the one man of proved capacity in his reunited kingdom, gradually surrendered to him all executive power, though he retained the shadow of his former sovereignty till the year 630. Only by some such explanation can the inconsistencies that encumber this period



STEPS LEADING TO SWAYAMBHUNATH

of Nepalese history be in some measure reconciled, and the halting manner

comfortably in this world and yet obtain salvation in the next. The complacent Guru found a way by which the descendants of Prince Gautama were privileged to lead the life of a layman and yet were certain of salvation. Shiva deva became so holy that his end was sudden, for one day his skull burst with the burden of holy meditation—and from it came a large jewel. Now that jewel is still preserved, but only one person at a time is allowed to view it, lest, if more than one enter the shrine, they should begin to discuss among themselves the size and shape of that jewel.

justified in which Amshuvarman seems to have laid claim to the style of king long after his actual authority was uncontested.

By birth he was a Thakuri of good family, and the Chronicle records that he was "very strong-limbed and restless, and people feared his power." To his piety and learning Hsüan Tsang testifies in the brief reference to Nepal with which the written history of the kingdom begins.[1] In the extant inscriptions in Nepal Amshuvarman enjoys, of course, the adjectives that Oriental flattery regards as common form. Even before his accession to the throne these monuments record his victories in a

[1] The first reference to the Valley of Katmandu is that found in the relation of the travels of Hsüan Tsang. It is true that he does not actually mention the word Nepal any more than it was used by his predecessor Fa-hsien, who apparently travelled only in the Nepalese Tarai. Hsüan Tsang's journeyings may not have taken him up into the foothills of the Himalayas. He may never have known either the Valley or its king though the marriage of Srong-Tsan-Gambo with a Nepalese princess took place during his stay in Northern India. But, as M. Levi notes, his record is invaluable because it definitely dates the reign of Amshuvarman. His account of Nepal is sufficiently short to be quoted in full.

"The kingdom of Ni-po-lo is about 4000 li in circumference and the capital about twenty. It is situated in the middle of snowy mountains and, indeed, presents an uninterrupted series of hills and valleys. Its soil is suited to the cultivation of grain, and abounds in flowers and fruits. One finds there red copper, yaks, and birds of the name of ming ming. Coins of red copper are used for exchange. The climate is very cold. The national character is stamped with falseness and perfidy; the inhabitants are all of a hard and savage nature: to them neither good faith nor justice nor literature appeal, but they are gifted with considerable skill in the arts. Their bodies are ugly and their faces mean. Among them there are both true believers and heretics. Buddhist convents and the temples of the Hindu gods touch each other. It is reckoned that there are about 2000 religious who study both the Greater and the Lesser Vehicle. The number of the Brahmans and of the nonconformists has never been ascertained exactly.

"The king is of the caste of the Kshatriya (T'sa-ti-li) and belongs to the Licchavi (Li-ch'e-p'o) raçe, a man of high character and distinguished knowledge. He has a sincere faith in Buddhism. Recently there was a king called Yang-chou-fa-mo (Amshuvarman) who was known far and wide for the steadiness of his judgment and his sagacity. He had composed himself a treatise on sacred rhythm. He encouraged learning, respected virtue, and his reputation was spread far and wide.

"To the south-east of the capital there is a little pond. If one sets it alight, a brilliant flame rises at once on the surface of the water, and if one throws other things into it, whatever they are, they burn likewise."

This last marvel—which seems to suggest that petroleum was at one time found in the Valley—is referred to also by Li I-piao and by Wang Hiuen-t'se. The latter describes the phenomenon at some length, adding the note that the fire could not be quenched by water. The name of this pool, A-ki-po-li, remains to this day. "Poli" was the nearest that the Chinese could get to "pokhri" or pool. It is now known as Ankhe Daha. He also adds that the pond is forty paces in circumference, which still applies to the smaller of the two ponds at Chargarh. There is now no suggestion of oil in this locality, and the Government would be well advised to have careful expert opinion before attempting to sink a well. But the pool of fire certainly offered the Chinese pilgrims of the seventh century the most interesting object of the Valley, and their accounts are fairly consistent of this unusual characteristic.

multitude of great battles, and extol the fact that his political virtues at home had " spread his glories over the entire earth."

At first he seems to have had no great difficulty in maintaining and extending the dominions of Shiva deva and his own authority. He transferred the court from the royal palace, which had recently been built by Shiva deva at Patan,[1] to Madhyalakhu, the modern Kailasa-Kuta, and seems to have been an assiduous builder. But he is chiefly remarkable because all that relates to him and his reign is more surely recorded than are any incidents of a previous period in Nepalese history.

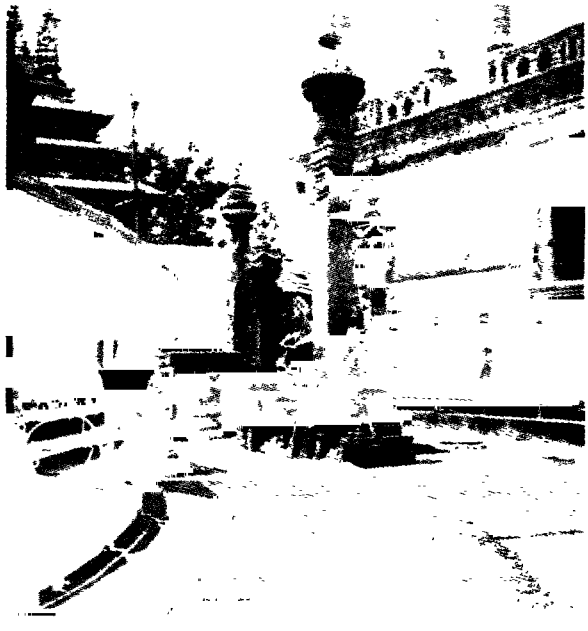
It was a curious moment in the history of their country, for in copying the legends of his day Nepalese chroniclers of a far later period seem to have recognized that the ancient regime was then passing. There is a significant passage in the Vamshavali in which is recorded a turning-point that most faiths have recognized. The old order was changing: a new and worse era was opening on the earth. " Down to the reign of this monarch the gods showed themselves plainly in bodily shape; but after his time they became invisible." The writer goes on to say that an ancient couplet had warned the world that after the residence of Vishnu on the earth for ten thousand years, of the Ganges for five thousand years, and of lesser local deities for a further twenty-five centuries, the gods would ascend to heaven. With no small pride the chronicler records that Nepal being the especially favoured resort of the gods, the deities consented to remain there three hundred years longer than the time thus fixed.

There is in this complacent note the suggestion of a wider judgment than is common in the chronicles, of a world-truth that was dimly perceived even in this remote Himalayan kingdom at the date of the composition of the originals of the Vamshavali. Perhaps in thus claiming for Nepal the continued presence of local deities long after they had fled from India, the later composer of the Chronicle, consciously or unconsciously, was referring to the fact that the rise of Islam was almost coincident with the reign of Amshuvarman, and that, alone of the many kingdoms of the peninsula, Nepal had never had—and never has had—to submit to the drastic changes and limitations that followed in the train of a Mohammedan conquest. Nepal lies outside the blood and dust of this eternal war. The fight goes on to this day in the plains of India—goes on perhaps more bitterly than ever. Not for a day has the Mohammedan empire over India been forgotten for an instant either by the Hindus or by the Moslems. It beckons Islam day and night. It challenges Hinduism unceasingly. It is, as much as the natural antagonism between monotheism and the ranked battalions

[1] The fact that Shiva deva renamed the town Gol from its circular shape seems a direct reference to Patan. Deo Patan, across the river to the north, can never have been of a plan greatly different from that which it exhibits at present, while Patan has always prided itself on its resemblance to Shiva's chakra.

of Hindu deities, the cause—the political cause—of the undying hatred that still exists between the two creeds in India.

This persistence in Nepal of the life of ancient India, in many ways unchanged—and where changed altered only by free choice and not by the compulsion of a foreign intruder—endows Nepal with one of its most interesting characteristics. The matter is referred to elsewhere, but it is not uninteresting to note in passing that the chronicles of Nepal, in their own quaint fashion, did not fail to realize that an old religious regime in



THE HOLY WAY OF SWAYAMBHUNATH

India was finding a more permanent home in Nepal than in the country from which it sprang.

Amshuvarman found some little difficulty in the fact that he was not himself of the blood royal. He had no intention of reigning in his wife's name or even of following her counsels, and a certain amount of dexterous adjustment was necessary to reconcile the royal conventions of Nepal—which seem to have had some resemblance to the ancestor worship of China—with those employed by his predecessor. Perhaps of all the learned and intricate investigations carried out by M. Sylvain Lévi into the tangled chronicles of Nepal, those by which he has verified the place in history and

in time of Amshuvarman are the most remarkable and the most admirable. He has dealt with a master's hand with the existing inscriptions, and in spite of the points that still remain to be cleared up, we may accept as final the verdict of the French savant in all that is known about this important period in Nepalese history.

If we may exclude Vikramaditya—who, we have seen, had been in his grave for centuries before Shiva deva and Amshuvarman were born—the most remarkable visitor to Nepal during this reign was Srong-Tsan-Gambo, King of Tibet. The Tibetans regard this sovereign as the political founder not merely of Lhasa but of their country—and with some justice. That he was a successful administrator and an ambitious soldier is clear; but his easy successes against China are probably to be attributed as much to the dissolute incapacity of Tai Tsung as to his own strength. The visit of this man to Nepal was destined profoundly to influence the future of his country, and it was through a woman that the transformation was brought about. The beauty of Princess Bri-btsun, daughter of Amshuvarman, enthralled the stranger, and, without any recorded opposition on the part of her father, he carried her off as his bride to his new capital, Lhasa, in 639. He brought away from Nepal more than he knew: for Bri-btsun—helped, if we may believe the legend, by several images and by a wonder-working begging-bowl of lapis lazuli that had once belonged to the Master himself—introduced Buddhism into her husband's country—of which for the last thirteen hundred years it has been the recognized home. She soon received assistance in this task from an unexpected and probably rather distasteful source. Nothing would satisfy Srong-Tsan-Gambo but a second and far more ambitious alliance. He sent to the Emperor Tai Tsung a demand for the hand of an Imperial princess of China. This insolence roused the Son of Heaven from his life of dilettantism and luxury: the request was met by a point-blank refusal. Thereupon Srong-Tsan-Gambo, who had already advanced his standards into Koko-nor and Kansu, invaded the very heart of the Celestial Empire and, according to the Tibetan legends, threatened, if he did not take actually, Tai Tsung's capital, Ch'ang-an. A Chinese princess, Wen-cheng, was then reluctantly surrendered to him in 641; and, accompanied by every necessity of her faith—including an image of Gautama as a young prince[1]—she set off on the long and hard journey to Lhasa with her new husband. Once arrived there, she collaborated so earnestly with Queen Bri-btsun that Lamaism canonized them both, and

[1] It is said that the cathedral of Lhasa, the Jo-kang, was originally built to enshrine this image. If so, the wealth of jewelry that adorns the later "golden Buddha" may be explained. Although the figure is that of an ascetic, who is of course forbidden to wear jewels of any kind, the incrustation of diamonds, turquoises, coral, amber, and gold is not unnatural if the shrine was originally built in honour of Gautama as a young and splendid prince.

gave them each a reincarnation and a place of high honour in the pantheon of northern Buddhism.[1]

But it was not Buddhism only that was introduced into Tibet by this marriage. Nepal, now become almost a dependent state of the Tibetan empire of Srong-Tsan-Gambo, deeply influenced the life of the new Tibetan capital. Her arts, her literature, and to some extent her crafts and industries were eagerly assimilated, and it is doubtless due to Princess Bri-btsun's earlier influence that the art of India rather than that of China has remained dominant in Tibetan craftsmanship.

Of the death of Amshuvarman we know nothing. But it proved the beginning of a long period of confusion in Nepal, of which no satisfactory record has been handed down to us. Of lists of kings there are enough indeed and far more than enough, and here and there an incident marks uncertainly the course of the chronicles, but it is impossible to draw any satisfactory picture of the political state of Nepal during the following centuries. The ordinary life and habits of the people remained as they had been described by Hsüan Tsang and later by Wang Hiuen-t'se.[2]

Of King Narendra deva, who entertained Li I-piao and Wang Hiuen-t'se, little is known except from inscriptions, which within their narrow limits support the account of Nepal which the Chinese envoys brought back to China. It is to be regretted that Wang Hiuen-t'se's final record of his travels (665) has been lost, and that we are dependent upon the quotations included by the monk Tao-che in his great compilation, Fa-yuan-chao-lin, for the meagre details that have survived. Shiva deva II, the successor and perhaps son of Narendra deva, makes a passing appearance in the fitful limelight of history because, it seems, he married the grand-daughter of

[1] No feminine figures in all the mythology of Lamaism—if the "terrible" form of Palden-Lhamo be excepted—are better known than those of the White and Green Taras. The latter is the embodiment of the Nepalese queen—probably because she had brought over from Nepal a miraculous sandal-wood statue of Tara. She is represented as a graceful woman, seated on the usual lotus plinth and daintily playing with one or perhaps two flowering lotus stalks. The White Tara, of exactly similar design, recalls in like manner the Chinese princess. De Blonay and Sylvain Lévi claim that the White Tara represents Princess Bri-btsun, and the Green Tara Princess Wen-cheng. Waddell contradicts this. As the evidence seemed to be about equally strong on each side, I made special enquiries in Peking during the spring of 1924, and Baron A. Staël Holstein, the well-known Asiatic philologist and ethnological expert, questioned a recently arrived Lama from Lhasa, whose knowledge of Lamaic tradition is probably second to none. This savant decided the question in the most positive manner. Bri-btsun is the Green Tara, and Wen-cheng is the White Tara. Waddell is correct.

It is remarkable that throughout their joint lives the Nepalese princess was always given the first place and precedence over the Chinese wife. Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 23, seems to be mistaken here.

[2] It is remarkable that during these dark ages the art of Nepal maintained its high standard. The two plates from Mr. Coomaraswami's *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism*, illustrating the bronze work of Nepal in the ninth century, should be studied.

Aditya-sena, Emperor of Magadha. This places his reign at the beginning of the third quarter of the seventh century, and he seems to have survived until A.D. 714.[1]

The story of the Valley now traverses a period of darkness almost impenetrable except for the embarrassing inconsistencies and legends of the Nepal Chronicle and the occurrence of a few names and dates that generally serve only to trouble still further the existing chaos. The employment of several different eras in Nepal at the same time completes the confusion that clouds over this period of Nepalese history. Even inter-

[1] The following record may be of use in roughly localizing the sequence of traditional and historical events in the early centuries of Nepalese history. It should be remembered that except in a few instances these dates are merely approximate.

B.C.

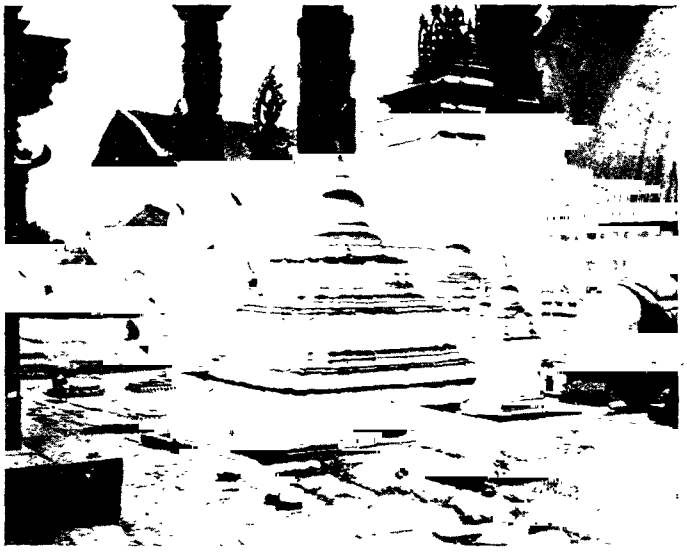
563 Gautama, or Siddhartha, afterwards the historic Buddha Sakya Muni, born at Rummindei in Nepal.
520 Sakya Muni visits the Valley.
360 Bhadrabahu, the Jain teacher, dies in the Valley.
250 The Emperor Asoka visits Nigliva, Rummindei, and the Valley, where he leaves Princess Charumati.
150 References to Nepal in Indian literature.

A.D.

340 Nepal is mentioned as one of Samudra Gupta's conquests on the Asokan pillar at Allahabad.
406 Fa-hsien visits Rummindei.
417 Vrsa deva born.
437 Machendra visits the Valley.
440 Shankara deva born.
460 Dharma deva born.
480 Mana deva born, and Vasubandhu visits the Valley.
496 Mana deva succeeds. His mother Rajyavati is Regent.
497 Rajyavati dies.
524 Mana deva dies and Mahi deva succeeds.
539 Mahi deva dies and Vasanta deva succeeds.
550 Shiva deva born.
565 Amshuvarman born.
585 Shiva deva succeeds.
595 Amshuvarman joint ruler with Shiva deva. He marries Shiva deva's daughter.
635 Visit of Hsüan Tsang to Rummindei.
639 Princess Bri-btsun, daughter of Amshuvarman, marries Srong-Tsan-Gambo, King of Tibet; introduces Buddhism into Tibet, and with her husband founds Lhasa.
640 Amshuvarman dies. Srong-Tsan-Gambo becomes King of Nepal.
641 Srong-Tsan-Gambo marries Wen-ch'eng, a Chinese Princess.
643 Vishnu Gupta usurps. Mission sent to China.
647 } Visits of Li I-piao, Wang Hiuen-t'se, Tao-fang, Tao-cheng, Hiuen-t'ai, Matisimha.
655 } Hiuen-hoei.
651 Narendra sends a mission to China.
657 Second visit of Wang Hiuen-t'se.
665 Wang Hiuen-t'se writes his narrative.

communication with India seems to have failed, and we only catch faint echoes of Nepal from time to time as a vassal of Tibet. At this period the Tibetan empire was of an extent and importance that has been generally overlooked by historians of Asia.[1]

About this time the following incident is said to have occurred which may have an interest for other than Asiatic students. A certain king of Kashmir, named Jayapida, flushed with other conquests, attempted to subdue Nepal also. The Nepalese sovereign, Aramudi, went to meet him and, as usual, secured a notable victory. The army of Jayapida was cut to pieces, and the intruder himself was shut up in a remote tower on the



COURTYARD OF SWAYAMBHUNATH

edge of the Black Gandak. But one of his ministers, wandering in search of his master, heard the songs of Kashmir dolefully intoned from the barred windows of the tower, and at the cost of his own life enabled Jayapida to escape. M. Lévi regards this predecessor of Richard Cœur de Lion as a Tibetan, and he believes that the tale may possibly reflect an actual occurrence.

In 879 or 880 Nepal added to the confusion of her chronology by introducing yet another *point de départ* for her chronicles. The new era no doubt is an echo of some great upheaval in the history of the country,

[1] In 760 the Tibetans captured Ko-long. In 763 Ch'ang-an itself, the capital of China, was occupied. In 786 the province of Shen-si fell into their hands, and four years later the far distant cities of Urumtsi, in N.W. Mongolia, and Kutcha were taken by them.

but, in spite of the earnest attempts of modern reconstructors of this period, nothing is really known of its origin. We only surmise from the introduction of a new era that some internal convulsion, greater perhaps than any that Nepal had yet known, had taken place.[1]

Among the phantom kings who about this time flit like grey moths across the fitful beam of the Vamshavalis, only making darkness visible, the name of Gunakama stays a moment longer in the light. About the year 723 he is credited with the foundation of Katmandu.[2] To anyone who knows the Valley it is clear that accurate information about the foundation of such a town is practically impossible. Katmandu undoubtedly existed as a riverside hamlet long before the Wooden House was built or a king deigned to hold his court there. It is manifestly impossible that in a valley so thickly peopled with villages the possibilities of a level, convenient, and well-watered terrain by the Vishnumati, and within an hour or two's walk of both the important religious centres of Swayambhunath and Pashpati, should have remained uncolonized. The mere fact that it stands precisely between—and almost in the middle between—these holy places[3] is enough to have invested it with importance and a population long before any of the official dates connected with its foundation.

But though we know little of Nepalese history, it will be remembered that we have China's impartial record of her commercial prosperity during these dark ages. Even more important than this fluctuating benefit was the gradual withdrawal to Nepal, and through Nepal, of the mass of northern Indian Buddhists who could brook neither the arrogance of the Mohammedan conquerors nor the malicious oppression of Brahmanism. Meanwhile, the succession to the Valley's throne seems to have been decided by the intrigues of surrounding chieftains. It was an age of jarring feudalities, and when Atisha, the greatest of later Tibetan pandits, went on pilgrimage to Swayambhunath in 1040, he was escorted thence to a sovereign of Nepal who lived far to the west in Palpa.

Again the curtain descends upon the scene. In 1097 a southern Rajput named Nanya deva grasped the crown of Nepal. He founded a dynasty

[1] The disagreement of the experts is discouraging, and it is only as a tentative suggestion, not as an explanation, that the coincidence of this new era with the first year of Raghava deva is put forward. M. Lévi has had the ingenuity to collate the new era with the date of the assassination of Lang-darma, the Julian of Tibet. In the chaos which followed Nepal may have been able to regain her independence. It is impossible, without further evidence, to decide the point.

[2] Tradition ascribes its long narrow curve to the wish of its founder to honour the sword of Devi or of Manjusri, but its position along the bank of the winding Vishnumati would in any case have caused this rough resemblance to a scimitar.

[3] The British Legation is built on a spot exactly midway between Pashpati and the great Buddhist shrine of Swayambhunath.

named from his capital Simraon, a town in the Tarai twenty miles east-south-east of Raxaul. He came from the Karnatic, and the fantastic philology of another generation which identified " Newar " with " Nair " should not restrain us from noting the existence of continual links between Nepal and the far south. These may have been religious only, but they seem to have left a still distinguishable influence upon the manners and customs of the mountain state. It is tantalizing that the Vamshavalis omit all reference to this dynasty. Nepal is rated as a vassal of the Chalukyan Emperor in 1162.[1] That it was ever actually under any such sovereignty may be doubted. But the addition of her name added a finish and even a flourish, to the high-sounding pomp of words that flattered Indian kings. Nepal, the remote and legendary home of pilgrimage, served as Jerusalem served in mediaeval Europe to gild more than one royal escutcheon.

After the disappearance of the Simraon line Mana deva II appears for a moment, and about 1138 subsides again into the friendly and perhaps forced obscurity of his namesake's monastery. It should, however, be noted as a curious characteristic of Nepalese abdications that they rarely prevented the retention by the ex-prince of a nominal and sometimes a real share in his successor's authority.

No useful purpose would be served by any imaginative reconstruction of the tangled and broken threads of Nepalese history at this time. The condition of this mountain region must have been somewhat similar to that of Scotland in the days of its warring clans. And unless the distant authorities of Tibet or India thought it worth their while to maintain the international highways which passed through Nepal, it seems unlikely that even as a means of communication with India did any importance attach to the collection of small jarring kingships that established themselves and were in turn destroyed in and around the little Valley of Katmandu.

But during this troubled period we may trace the first beginnings of a new dynasty that was destined to play an important part in the later history of Nepal. The name of the Mallas appears from very early days among the tribes of India. They seem to have developed an individual existence in the old state of Kamarupa, and the code of Manu gives them rank beside the Licchavis as one of the castes that could claim Kshatriyan descent. Their name is cut on the earliest of the inscriptions of Nepal—the pillar at Changu Narayan which records the successes of Mana deva and his mother in 496.

In the year 889, nine years after the establishment of the Nepal era,

[1] An unexpected corroboration of the semi-legendary suzerainty of the Chalukyan emperors over Nepal is found in the name of a king, Someshvara deva, who was born during the reign of Someshvara III. About this time the Mallas appear in the front rank of Nepalese princes.

Nanya (or Nand) deva from the South Karnatic country is said in the Vamshavali to have introduced the Shaka era and to have expelled the "Malla Raja." At the close of the tenth century two Malla chieftains founded the village of Champagaon, which still exists in the south of the Valley. Towards the middle of the thirteenth century the Mallas are found established both in Katmandu and Patan, and the story of the foundation of Bhatgaon by Ananda Malla at this time is commonly accepted by the Nepalese.[1]

[1] But Bhatgaon had long been a flourishing rival to the old capital of Patân. It was probably founded about the year 865.



CHAPTER III

THE MALLAS

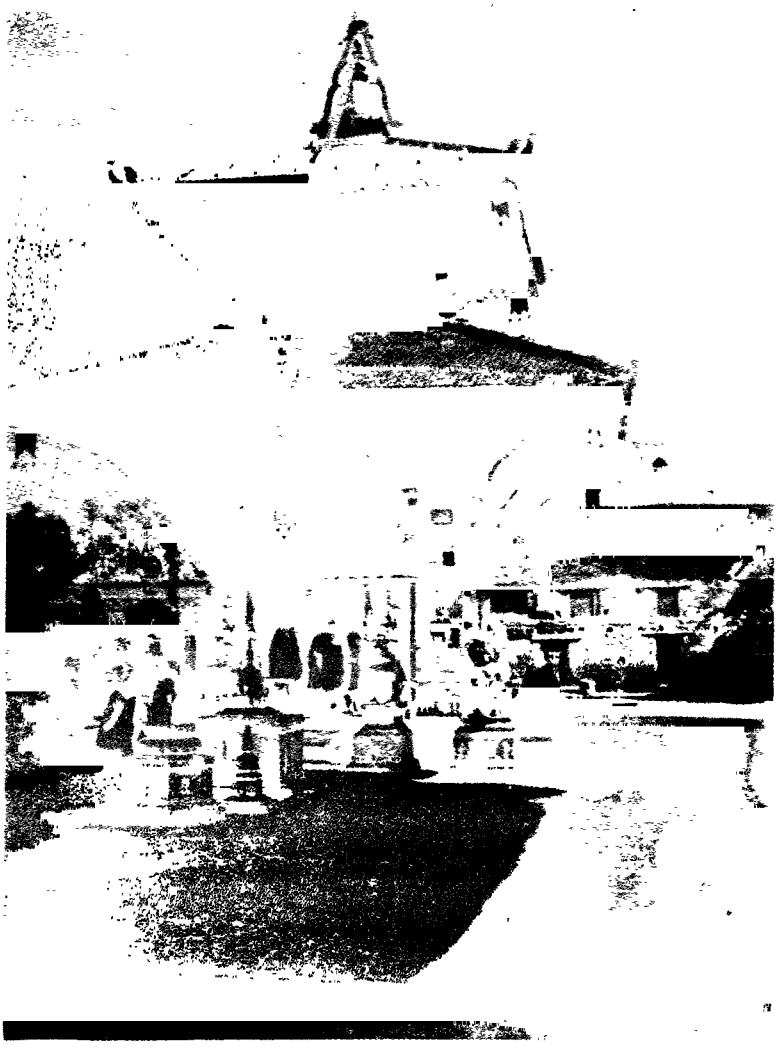
OF the origin of the Malla family not much is known.[1] As has already been said in the last chapter, they belonged to one of those hereditary landowning clans in India that are at once the challenge and the despair of students. It was in the Malla district at Kusinara—the modern Kasia—that Gautama Buddha died,[2] and the name recurs at intervals as that of a traditional and well established tribe that had neither risen nor sunk much in the social scale in the course of centuries. With the Licchavis, they carried on a desultory hostility which secured for them the doubtful distinction of being included on the pillar set up in A.D. 496 by Mana deva and his mother Rajyavati at Changu Narayan. This among other triumphs commemorated the storming of the capital of the Mallas by the young king. They were of great antiquity. The code of Manu has recorded them side by side with the Licchavis as an oblique caste of the Kshatriyas, and the literature of India bears a scanty but consistent witness to their position on the frontier between Audh and Nepal, and the references in later inscriptions to the special levy required from Nepalese landowners either to buy off or to defend the country from the Mallas, reminds an English reader of the " Dane-gelt " that England was raising at no very different time for no very different purpose. As we have seen, a Malla, resident in Patan, founded the town of Champagaon in the south of the Valley about the year 991.[3] It is curious that in the far south of the

[1] The name is derived, according to Nepalese chroniclers, from the fact that Ari deva was attending a prize fight at the moment his son was born. The name Malla, or champion bruiser, thus given to the child and his descendants, was extended retrospectively to Ari deva himself and to his father, Jayashi deva.

[2] Buddha's invitation to the Mallas of Kusinara to visit him upon his death-bed is a witness to the importance of the race—of which the Master himself championed the ancient repute when Ananda demurred to the wretched nature of this village of mud hovels which was to witness the Great Passing. Buddha explained that Kusinara had been the residence of King Sudassana, a mighty and-virtuous monarch, and at his orders Ananda bade the Mallas come family by family and salute the Light of the World before it was extinguished for ever. So at this last sad audience the Mallas alone were present.

[3] There is an assumption of the title of " Malla " by certain victorious fighters, which must not be confused with this family name. By a coincidence, it anticipates almost to the letter the boast painted in a later day upon the tomb of Edward I of England—
9 " Malleus Scotorum " (the Hammer of the Scots).

peninsula the city of Kanchi, from which the first legendary king of Nepal, Dharmadatta, was said to have come, had as its rulers for some time a family of Mallas.



TEMPLE OF MIN-NATH, PATAN

According to some modern historians Ari deva Malla reigned at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and was succeeded by Abhaya Malla, whose two sons, Jaya deva Malla and Ananda Malla, divided the royal

inheritance. The former retained Katmandu and Patan; the latter founded Bhatgaon and created several new towns outside the Valley to the east. As a matter of fact, this man's name was Ananta, and he had neither part nor lot in the foundation of Bhatgaon, or in the establishment of the new Nepalese era which has also been credited to him. It is also doubtful whether Jaya deva was his brother.

Mukunda deva was the next to overrun the Valley, and was accompanied by the Khas and the Magars. This was but a brief triumph, and Nepal emerged again—only to fall once more, and this time to a descendant of an earlier conqueror. In 1326 Hari Singh deva of Tirhout mounted the throne. An offshoot of the Karnatic dynasty, and long established at Simraon on the frontier, he fled from Gheyas-ud-din Tughlak into the hills, and there without difficulty recaptured a new kingdom. Bhatgaon surrendered to him without a struggle. Then, 227 years after their capture by his ancestor and predecessor, Nanya deva, Patan and Katmandu also fell into his hands.

Hari Singh seems to have helped himself freely to the temple treasures of the conquered cities. But he did not remain long in the country. Gheyas-ud-din Tughlak died in Delhi a few months later, and after founding a nominal dynasty in the Valley, Hari Singh returned to Tirhout and left Nepal to the uncertain control of his descendants for a period which did not survive the century.

Once again the problem of the sovereignty of the Valley recurs. In 1384 a Chinese Emperor, Hang Wu, appears upon the scene. He sent two emissaries to the King of Nepal whose name was Mati Singh. It appears in Chinese under the form Ma-ta-na, with the addition of "lo-mo," which is due to the current belief in China that every one of the sovereigns of Nepal was a lama. The Chinese envoy brought an official seal, confirming Mati Singh in his kingly office. In return the Nepalese sent to Peking a gift containing golden shrines, sacred books, and thoroughbreds.[1]

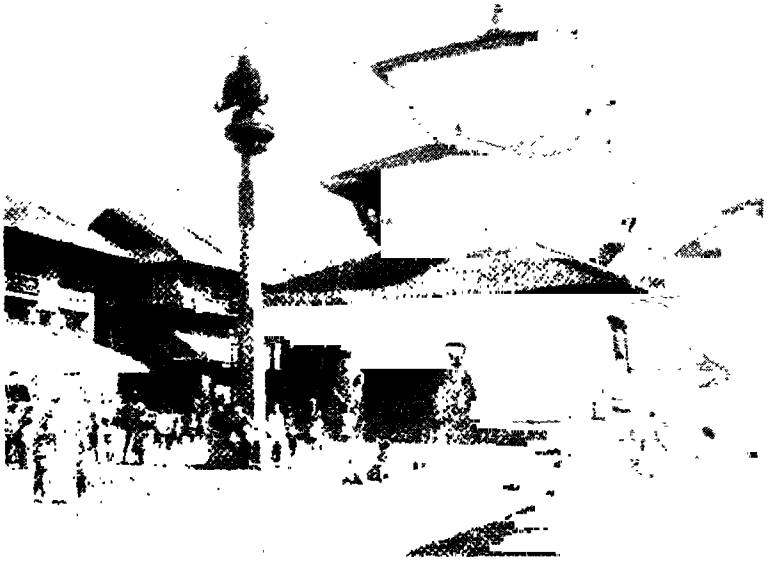
As late as 1415 Shyama Singh, the last of Hari Singh's descendants, although he was by this time an outcast, again received from the Chinese Emperor a seal of confirmation in his royal office.

Obscure though the history of Hari Singh's descendants is, their continuance upon the throne between 1387 and 1418 is attested by the definite and trustworthy evidence of the Chinese chronicles, although Jaya Sthiti Malla was certainly established in Katmandu and Patan for a considerable portion of these thirty years. He had married Rajalla devi, daughter of Nayaka devi and of Jagat Singh, and in the name of both of the royal

[1] This exchange of missions was repeated in 1390 and 1399. Yung-lo in 1413 returns the visit of the Nepalese in 1409. King "Chakosinti" of Nepal sends return gifts in 1414 and 1418. There was no further mission to China till after the war of 1792.

families of Nepal he occupied the throne from 1380 to 1394 or 1395, and possibly for a longer period.

It is remarkable that a king of the Hari Singh stock, Jaya Singh Rama, seems to have assumed the crown of the Valley about the year 1395. The two ruling families had perhaps some such relation one to the other as that which now exists between the family of the King of Nepal and that of the hereditary Maharaja Marshal. All power probably lay in the hands of Jaya Sthiti Malla and his sons, though in such cases as the arrival of an embassy from China or an interregnum in the succession of the other family, the representative of Hari Singh naturally came to the front.



TEMPLE OF DATTATRAYA AT BHATGAON

Jaya Sthiti Malla and his most distinguished son Jyotir left a lasting impression upon the Nepalese nation; indeed, their influence upon the social organization of Nepal remains to-day. They introduced for the first time a definite Brahman predominance into the daily life of the country, and seem to have been capable and judicious sovereigns.

The former king left three sons, who at first governed the kingdom jointly from Bhatgaon; but about 1413 Jyotir, the youngest of the three, assumed a supreme and sole authority. He seems to have been a man of unexpected religious impartiality, for, in spite of his Brahmanical tendencies, he restored the Buddhist shrine of Swayambhunath which had suffered severely from an earthquake in the previous century. He died in

1427 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Yaksha Malla, who, if we are to believe Kirkpatrick, extended his territory so as to include Tirhout, Gorkha, Gaya,[1] and even Digarchi or Shigatse in Tibet, besides finally crushing out his rivals in the Valley itself. If these claims were at any time justified, it is clear that at Yaksha Malla's death the newly acquired territories had again been lost. There is no reference to any of them in the carefully limited domains which he then devised to his children. It was this monarch who in 1480, after a brilliant reign of fifty-three years, conceived the disastrous idea of dividing his kingdom into four parts. Bhatgaon itself he gave to his eldest son, Raya Malla. The second son, Rana Malla, received the principality of Banepa; the third, Ratna Malla, was given Katmandu, while Patan itself, if we are to believe certain records, was given by Yaksha Malla to his daughter. This was, however, only a temporary diversion, for Patan soon returned to a natural union with its neighbour Katmandu.

This fatal mistake of dividing up the Valley of Nepal into three minor and bitterly jealous principalities proved ultimately to be the ruin of the Mallas. Already in the Vamshavali the King of Gorkha[2] had made his appearance, and the mention of his name is always associated with some menace to the existing regime of the Valley.[3]

[1] Unless this indicates some unknown district in the Indian Tarai, the mention of the name may signify that a small enclave of territory had been reserved for Nepal in the grounds of Buddhgaya in Bihar.

[2] Where the town of Gorkha is mentioned, the original spelling has been kept, but the spelling "Gurkha" for the ruling race in Nepal is so familiar that it has been thought well to retain it.

[3] These predestined Gurkha invaders of Nepal were, like Hari Singh, driven from their home in Rajputana by the steam-roller of the Mohammedan invasion. Some of them—and there seems no reason to doubt Tod's assertion that they came from the Rajputs of Chitor—made their way into the west of Nepal, seeking in these mountains the shelter which was denied them in the plains. They seem to have arrived there about the time that Hari Singh fled before the Moslem conquerors to Tirhout. As we have seen, Hari Singh invaded the valley of Katmandu to the east, the men of Chitor moved more slowly upon Gorkha to the west.

These western invaders seem to have adopted a policy of pacific penetration, though this theory is perhaps based more upon the omissions of the Chronicle than any direct evidence. In any case they easily secured the place from which their descendants took their name. The town of Gorkha, which to-day consists of the ruins of a fort, the remains of a small princely residence, and a village of no great size, was occupied by them, and for several generations they were content to consolidate their interests in a comparatively narrow sphere. Of the history of the Gurkha princes during this period there are almost no records. It has been said, possibly with truth, that they intermarried with the upper castes of Central Nepal; and even that special regulations were sanctioned for the recognition of their descendants as members of the Kshatriya or Rajput caste. It is impossible to obtain any certainty, but we may agree with the writer of *Rajasthan* that, with the endorsement of the Brahmans—the only judges in this matter—the status

KATMANDU

It was to the third son of Yaksha Malla that Katmandu fell. Ratna seems to have imitated Jacob beside his father's death-bed, and obtained thereby a semi-divine formula of invocation which invested him with a certain hierarchical authority. M. Lévi draws a little picture of the difficulty which confronted Ratna in taking over the charge of his new State. A dozen Thakurs were in control, and Ratna therefore without hesitation poisoned them. Outside the Valley the Thakurs of Nayakot believed themselves strong enough to challenge his authority. The challenge took the curious form of a repainting of the statue of the goddess Rajyeshvari without asking Ratna's permission. He at once declared war upon Nayakot, and, after a complete victory in 1491, he brought back a piled-up mass of flowers and fruits which he dedicated to the shrines of Pashpati. He afterwards had trouble with the Tibetans and the Bhutanese, and it was in connection with assistance then rendered to him by the chief of Palpa that the endowment of Brahmans in Katmandu was begun—a matter that it will be seen was destined to play a not unimportant part in the later history of the country. From this moment the slow interpenetration of Hinduism and the popular Buddhism, which up to this moment had been the undisputed creed of Nepal, may be dated. Perhaps to religious tolerance but more probably to an appreciation of the advantages of increased trade may be ascribed the permission given by Ratna to Mohammedans to visit and reside in Nepal.

His successor, Amara, was both artist and archaeologist, but no record is left of his activity. After him a series of comparatively unimportant princes is marked only by the visit of Mahendra to the Indian Emperor Humayan at Delhi, to whom he brought a white swan and some falcons. In return he received permission to coin silver mohars. They have remained the standard and the unit of Nepalese coinage to this day.[1] It is curious to notice that, according to Kirkpatrick, Mahendra placed upon his earliest coins a " representation of Lhasa "—probably a rough suggestion of the palace of the Dalai Lama—which, it need not be said, was at that date

of the military and princely caste of India was unquestionably enjoyed by the invaders of Nepal.

Elsewhere will be found genealogies of the royal and prime ministerial families. It may be pointed out that these are in no sense the fanciful creation of professional genealogists. Even less are they due to the easy flattery of a Court scribe. It will be noted that although, as has been said, the Brahmanic acceptance of the Rajput descent is practically a final proof of this connection, there is no attempt to insert any names for which definite and existing authority is not available. In view of the accepted tradition of an unbroken Rajput descent of both families, this unwillingness to base the records of this Chronicle upon anything but ascertained fact is notable.

[1] An appendix dealing with the coinage of Nepal will be found in vol. ii, p. 305.

by no means the magnificent structure which it is to-day. It was this prince who built the temple of Taleju in Katmandu and largely increased



MAHABUDDHA TEMPLE, PATAN

the area and buildings of the town. The Vamshavali notes that for the first time " people were allowed to build high houses in the city."

During the reign of his son Sada Shiva [1] the very remarkable temple

[1] According to Sir Clements Markham, Ralph Fitch, a traveller in India in 1583, although he does not mention the name of Nepal, refers to the routes through that

in Patan called Mahabuddha was built. One Jivaraj, a Buddhist devotee, returned to Buddhgaya, where he had been born, and spent some years under the shadow of the temple there. On his return to the Valley he determined to build a facsimile on a smaller scale of the temple at Buddhgaya. This is in existence to this day, and to anyone who is interested in the migration of architectural theories from one country to another, it is of interest.[1]

Sada Shiva provoked a revolution as much by his carelessness of the interests of the people as by his personal selfishness. He allowed his horses, of which he was inordinately proud, to trespass upon and destroy the crops of his people; and his immorality, which extended to the capture of almost any good-looking woman in the Valley, led at last to a general revolt. The people of Katmandu rose in a body and literally beat him out of his palace and out of his kingdom. Sada Shiva fled to Bhatgaon, where his kinsmen kept him as a prisoner until the day when, in some manner that is not related, he ceased to exist. With him his dynasty in Katmandu came to an end.

In his place Shiva Singh (1585-1614) was elected king. The Nepal Chronicle asserts that Shiva Singh was a brother of Sada Shiva, but M. Lévi thinks it probable that the new prince was elected as the most distinguished

country which permitted the exchange of Tibetan and Chinese commodities with those of India.

[1] It is difficult to get a clear view of this temple in Patan as it is closely hemmed in by the vihara, or cloisters. where the Buddhist monks are housed. To anyone who is acquainted with Buddhgaya itself, the differences between Jivaraj's imitation and the original are as remarkable as the resemblances. The surface of the building is covered to excess with ornamentation, and the same criticism applies also to the spire. It is clear that no drawings of any kind were brought away from Buddhgaya by Jivaraj, and the result is a mere record of the recollections of the founder. The proportions are incorrect, but there has survived an unquestionable resemblance in detail which it might perhaps have been as well for the restorers of Buddhgaya to take into their consideration before deciding upon the new form that the temple should assume. I do not mean to say that the Mahabuddha shrine in Patan necessarily is more like the old Buddhgaya than is the present Buddhgaya. But it might have been useful to have drawings of this Nepalese temple in deciding such cardinal matters as the relative height of the four lesser chaityas which surround the main spire.

In this connection it may be noted that there is another temple erected in similar circumstances by another returned devotee from Buddhgaya. This temple lies a mile or two outside the north-west corner of Peking, and presents an even more astonishing perversion of the proportions of Buddhgaya. The matter is more interesting perhaps from a historical and human outlook than from an architectural point of view. We have here two attempted copies made by men who had been for years devotees, and therefore constantly and without interruption living under the very shadow of Buddhgaya. On his return to his own country, each produced a curious parody of a structure that they had not merely seen for so long, but had been invited almost to worship. It is an interesting test of the validity of human memory, and nothing perhaps is a better illustration of the danger of trusting to any Oriental recollection than these two echoes of Buddhgaya.

representative of the Thakurs of the Valley and its neighbourhood. Like many another sovereign he found his consort, Ganga Rani, of more energy and efficiency than himself, and he allowed her to direct the religious side of State affairs. The temples of Pashpati, Changu Narayan, and Swayambhunath were all restored during her lifetime.[1] The Rani must have made herself acceptable to her deities for, at the moment of her death, so loud a noise of lamentation arose from Pashpati that the hearers thereof became deaf.

During the lifetime of Shiva Singh there had been a palace revolution which resulted in the separation of Katmandu from Patan. Hari Hara Singh drove out his elder brother—who took refuge in the house of an outcast dhobi of Katmandu. This man's daughters rendered him such service that he undertook to raise the caste of the washer folk. Probably there is no real truth in this legend; but it is interesting to note that in Nepal the question of caste was apparently not one entirely for the Brahmans to decide. His brother, Hari Hara, crossed the river and assumed the dignity of King of Patan in 1603, eleven years before the death of his father.

Shiva Singh's eldest son, Lakshmi-Narsingh, succeeded his father upon the throne of Katmandu. It is with this Raja that the modern name of Katmandu appears in the Nepalese Chronicle. It is worth quoting in the form there given: "In this reign, on the day of Machendranath's jatra, the Tree of Paradise was looking on at the ceremony in the form of a man, and, being recognized by a certain Biseta, was caught by him, and was not released until he promised the Biseta that, through his influence, he would be enabled to build a satal with the wood of a single tree. On the fourth day after this, the Tree of Paradise sent a sal tree, and the Biseta, after getting the Raja's permission, had the tree cut up, and with the timber built the satal in Kantipur, and named it Madu-satal. From this being built of the timber of one tree it was also named Kathmado. This satal was not consecrated, because the Tree of Paradise had told the Biseta that, if it were, the wood would walk away." [2]

Bhima Malla, one of the kazis of Lakshmi-Narsingh, was distantly connected with the princely household. He was a great merchant. He established thirty-two shops in Katmandu, and sent his representatives into Tibet. He, in person, extended his operations as far as Lhasa itself, and besides carrying on a profitable commercial enterprise there, he

[1] It is difficult in these early chronicles to distinguish between fact and fiction. It is recorded of this princess that she caused a rope of honour to be suspended between a temple in Pashpati and the palace in Katmandu. This is a distance of nearly three miles.

[2] This is the building which has given its name to the city of Katmandu. Local tradition asserts that the smaller house over the way—*i.e.*, on the left-hand side of the road leading out of the Darbar square—was also made from the timber of the same tree.

secured for Nepal the administration of the property of Nepalese subjects who died in Lhasa. It is recorded in the Chronicle that he induced Tibet to sanction the transference of Kuti, and therefore the Kuti Pass, to Nepal.

Bhima Malla, after his return from Lhasa, seems to have interested himself too much in politics. In his wish to extend his king's authority



THE WOODEN HOUSE FROM WHICH
KATMANDU TAKES ITS NAME

over " the whole country " he laid himself open to the charge of wishing for the throne himself. Lakshmi-Narsingh put him to death. The Chronicle makes the curious note that, as his wife immolated herself on her husband's funeral pyre, she uttered the curse: " May there never be sound judgment in this Darbar." Lakshmi-Narsingh afterwards expressed regret for his action, but did not so escape his fate. He became insane, and though he lived afterwards for eighteen years, the government was entrusted to the hands of his son, one of the most distinguished of Malla

princes. It is noted in the history that with the insanity of Lakshmi-Narsingh there died out the knowledge of the famous formula of invocation of which Ratna had cheated his elder brother.

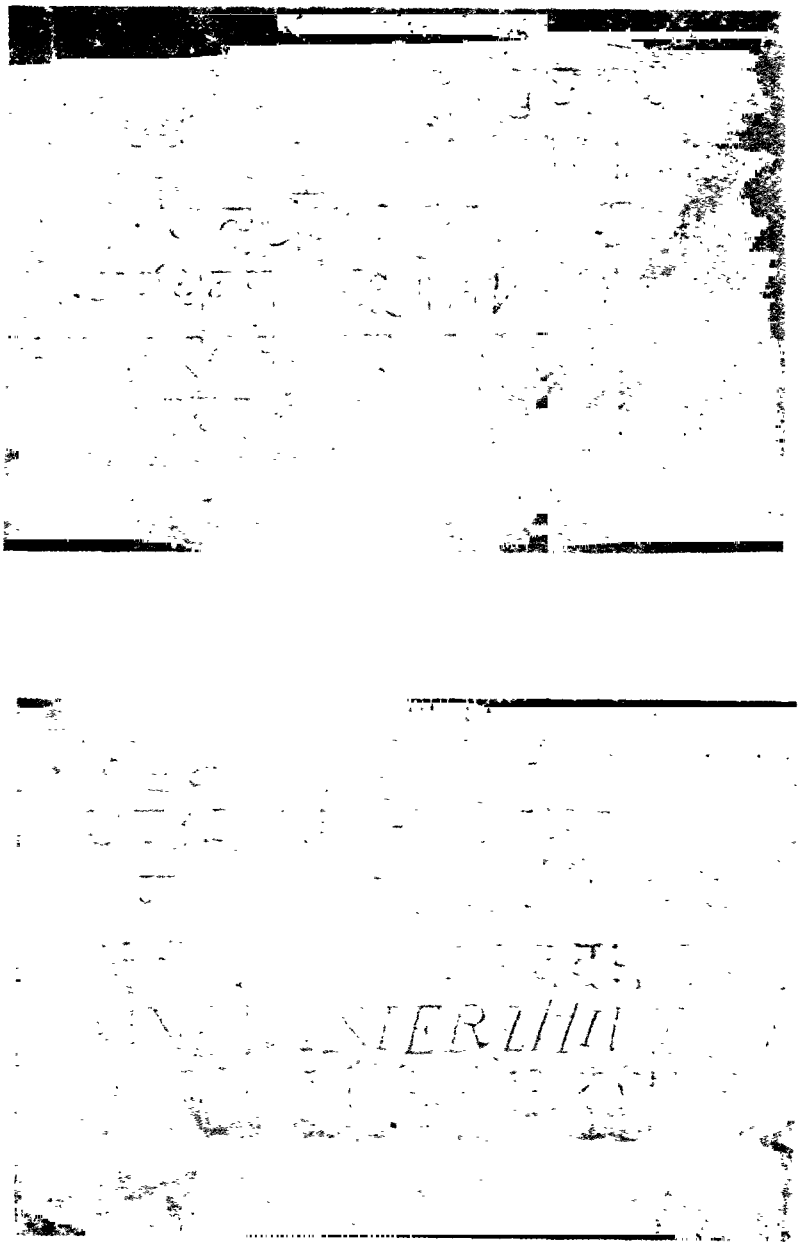
Pratapa Malla ascended the throne in 1639. He seems to have been a man of character and learning. It is possible to disentangle from the confused story of his religious enthusiasms a fairly complete picture of a man who, during sixty-one years, maintained the independence and apparently the prosperity also of his kingdom. Personally he must have been a man of no little literary pride. He caused coins to be struck on which his title to fame is based rather upon his poetical achievements than anything else. Vanity was probably his besetting sin, and of it there remains to this day one of the most curious records that exist in the world. Set into the side of the Darbar square of Katmandu is a series of inscriptions cut in black stone, dating from 1654. As the Chronicle relates: " He composed a prayer to Kalika and had it inscribed in fifteen different characters, all of which he had studied." Among these fifteen different languages occur three words which, in a manner, for reasons which have never yet been properly explained, recall Europe in the midst of this remote Himalayan kingdom. There are two words in French—*automne* and *l'hivert*—and there is the single English word—*winter*. For what conceivable reason except his own personal vanity and a wish to impose upon his people, Pratapa had these words engraved, it is impossible now to guess. A reproduction of them will be found on p. 46.[1] Within a few yards of this inscription stands the image of the monkey god Hanuman, guardian of the main door into the palace.

It was this Raja also who originated the legend that no Raja of Katmandu should in any circumstances visit the famous semi-submerged recumbent figure of Buda-Nilkantha. It would be curious to know whether at this time the historic Prince Gautama had been generally accepted as a reincarnation of Vishnu. The author was assured in Katmandu that the reason why the King was forbidden to visit Nilkantha was that His Majesty was himself a reincarnation of Vishnu, and that it was impossible for the two to meet. Whatever the truth may be, it is beyond question that the King does not visit the great figure, though he is allowed to go to Balaji and pay his respects to the similar but smaller image there.

In 1640 the authority of Lhasa seems to have been recognized in the matter of Swayambhunath. The enormous central timber which rises from the interior of the stupa and supports the upper structure of gilt copper, was renewed by the Tibetans.

Pratapa was a young man, and perhaps his aesthetic perceptions contributed to a certain amorousness which seems to have scandalized his

[1] It should perhaps be noted that this inscription has been misrepresented in Dr. Wright's edition of the Nepalese Chronicles.



INSCRIPTION BY PRATAPA MALLA IN
DARBAR SQUARE, KATMANDU

people. In any case, as the result of an action for which no excuse can be offered, he fled to Pashpati and remained there three months to expiate his sin. He seems, however, to have been mercilessly squeezed by the priests, and a large amount of the existing architecture of Pashpati is due to his enforced residence there.

During this reign there is an echo of the ancient legend of an oil-field in the Valley of Nepal. The Chronicle refers to the sub-aqueous fire, but it is almost impossible to identify the spot where Pratapa took precautions against the uprush of the oil.

The title of poet claimed by Pratapa gives a clue to the nature of a prince unusual in these mountain fastnesses. He was no doubt a religious man, but it is not perhaps uncharitable to suggest that he took as much delight in the composition of his religious hymns as in the act of worship that they implied. Katmandu still retains several of these compositions engraved in places of sanctity and distinction. M. Lévi does not hesitate to say that to him poetry was only another form of religious exaltation or mysticism. No mystic can be tied to the forms of any one creed or cult. Pratapa, like Akbar in India and Kublai Khan in Khan-balik, listened with impartial attention to the exposition of all the faiths that were known at his court. It is curious to notice that, in spite of the remoteness of Nepal, the wealth at the disposal of the prince of Katmandu was sufficiently great to enable him to accomplish the well-known rite of Tula-dana. This consists in the weighing of the would-be benefactor of the people or, as is more likely, of the Brahmans, against an equal weight of gold and precious stones. It is true that in the case of Pratapa a baser metal may have been used as a makeweight, but the general munificence with which he adorned his capital and the surrounding shrines make it clear beyond doubt that Pratapa either maintained a lucrative trade with India or took a considerable toll of the caravans that passed through his country from India to Tibet.

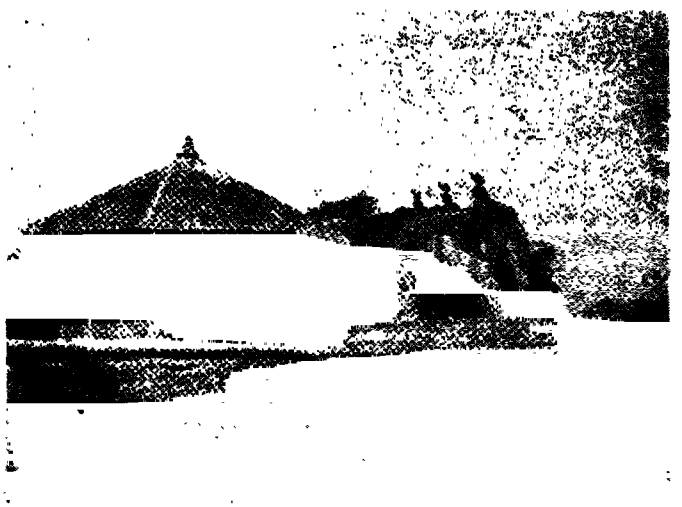
It is unnecessary to record in detail the many acts of piety that marked the reign of Pratapa Malla. There is perhaps interwoven with them a certain touch of charlatanism which was possibly not unwelcome to the miracle-loving peoples of the Valley. The general impression left by the record of Pratapa is that of a man of considerable culture, considerable vanity, and an intimate knowledge of human nature. That he was eccentric in some ways is clear from the fact that at one time he temporarily abdicated the throne in favour of his four sons, each of whom was to reign for a year. Three of them carried out the duties for the full period, but the last, Chakravartindra, reigned only for one day and then died. It need not be added that an explanation of this tragic incident was found in the unfortunate association of unlucky emblems upon the coins struck to commemorate Chakravartindra's year of royalty.



NILKANTHA

It was in connection with the loss of this son that the famous tank which remains one of the great features of Katmandu—the Rani Pokhri—was dug. This is still a place of pilgrimage, and it was under the waters of this lake that until recent days the trial by ordeal was carried out. Pratapa caused a large stone elephant to be set up on the southern bank. The Nepalese Chronicle asserts that the figures upon the back of the elephant are those of Pratapa and the mother of the deceased prince. It will be seen from the illustration below that there are three figures on the back of the elephant, and it is doubtful whether any one of them is that of a woman.

Of the succeeding princes of Katmandu it is only necessary to refer to



THE MALLA ELEPHANT, TUNDI KHEL, KATMANDU

Pratapa's grandson, Bhaskara Malla, who seems to have been an effeminate youth, and offended the susceptibilities of his people by insisting upon celebrating the Dasahra festival during the unlucky month which was from time to time interpolated into the Nepalese calendar in order to bring it in correspondence with the astronomical year. A legend says that, as a punishment for this action, plague was let loose in the Valley and that, in spite of Bhaskara's belated attempt to appease the gods by giving a full meal to every subject, he did not escape the fate that had been written. Hearing that the plague had abated, he broke out from a strictly quarantined estate south of Swayambhunath and returned to his palace in Katmandu, a mile and a half away. He died that night.

Thus in 1702 the Solar dynasty of Katmandu became extinct, and it is

curious to notice that the succession was decided, not by any council of nobles or by the introduction of any military predominance, but by the choice made by Bhaskara's surviving wives and concubines. Of these there were four, and after having sent for a distant relative, Jagaj Jaya Malla, they invested him with the principality and at once mounted the funeral pyre. Jagaj Jaya took the name of Mahipatindra.

During his reign there was a drought which was believed to be due to the resumption of what would in England be called church lands.[1]

Jagaj Jaya was succeeded by his son, the famous Jaya Prakasha. The first grumblings of the storm, which was destined to overwhelm the Valley, were heard in the reign of Jagaj Jaya. A fakir or Hindu wandering fanatic made his way to Katmandu and there warned the prince that Prithwi Narayan, the Rajput King of Gorkha, was pressing in from the west and had already overrun Nayakot.[2]

[1] It is not without interest to note that within the past few years a similar explanation of a long continued scarcity of water was offered to the existing Nepal Government by a holy priest from Lhasa. He asserted that encroachments had been made upon the sacred lake of Taudah and that until the lake was restored to its original dimensions, rain could not be expected. The Nepalese Government accepted his contention and the lake was restored to its previous dimensions. The drought then ceased. It is to be noted in connection with this lake that, during the reign of Jang Bahadur, the persistent story that a vast treasure of gold was buried beneath its waters induced the great Prime Minister to have the bottom of the lake most efficiently dredged. Nothing was found, but the incident is remarkable because there can be little doubt that the legend arose from an identification of Taudah with the petroleum lake referred to by Chinese visitors. It will be remembered that here the King of the Nags, or serpent kings, coiled himself above a heap of treasure which was supposed to be that of Manjusri, like another Rheingold. But the site of this legendary pool of fire is beyond doubt identified, not merely by its position but by its name, with the pool Ankhe Daha.

[2] It is stated by Colonel Tod that the Gurkha dynasty was founded towards the end of the twelfth century by the third son of the Raja Samarsi of Chitor. Between the years 1495 and 1559, which is known to be the year of Drabya Sah's capture of Gorkha, nine rulers of Nayakot, Kaski, and Lamjang are recorded—an impossible number. It is perhaps not safe to trace the royal ascent name by name beyond Jag deva Khan, who was probably born about the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

We know that Drabya Sah, the first of the Gurkha dynasty, was the younger son of Yasobam Sah, Raja of Lamjang. Yasobam Sah was the youngest son of Kulmandan Sah, Raja of Kaski. His father Jag deva Khan conquered Kaski, and received from the Mogul Emperor the title of Sah or Shah.

The story of the exodus of the Gurkha dynasty from Chitor is as follows: Fateh Singh of Chitor had a daughter whom the Mogul Emperor sought in marriage. The Rajputs readily offered their lives and their wealth in the service of the Emperor, but they did not hesitate to suggest that the Emperor's caste was not equal to that of the Rajputs. Chitor was then attacked. After a defence that has become historic for its gallantry, Chitor was overwhelmed. Fateh Singh himself was killed, and among 1,300 Rajput women who then and there committed sati, the girl who had been the innocent cause of the trouble saved her honour by leaping into a cauldron of boiling oil. The survivors fled in two directions. One founded the dynasty of Udaipur, which remains there to this day the senior Rajput

Now Prithwi Narayan's principality had been a vassal of Katmandu, but a new and vigorous chief " took advantage of the dissensions of the other kings of Nepal "—I here quote the words of Father Giuseppe, an eye-witness of the Gurkha conquest—" and attracted to his side several of the hill chiefs, promising them not only to confirm them in their possessions but to increase their importance and authority. If any one among them failed to keep his engagement, Prithwi Narayan at once annexed his territory just as he had possessed himself of those of the kings of the Marecajis, although he was their relation."

Worn out with political anxiety and religious apprehension Jagaj Jaya



KIPACHO

Residence of the Rajas of Tanku from whom Prithwi Narayan was descended

died in 1732. In spite of a military insurrection in favour of his brother, Rajya Prakasha, Jaya Prakasha succeeded his father and reigned in Katmandu for thirty-seven years. Rajya Prakasha went across the river to Patan, and was well received by Vishnu Malla. Vishnu Malla had no children, and at his death he appointed Rajya Prakasha prince of Patan.

Jaya Prakasha in Katmandu encountered much difficulty. Malice domestic as well as foreign levy persecuted him throughout his entire reign. The military opposition had been disposed of by the exile of Rajya, but

line; the others under Manmath Ranaji Rava went to Ujjain. The latter had two sons, of whom the younger, Bhupal Ranaji Rava, went up into the Himalayas. About 1495 he returned to the plains from Ridi, and his younger son Micha Khan established himself as
11 Raja of Nayakot, near Butwal.

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the Darbar officials, offended by some scruple of court etiquette, attempted to replace Jaya by yet another brother, Narendra Prakasha. They seem to have succeeded for a few months in creating a purely artificial principality, of which the capital was Deo Patan, to the ten-mile-distant village of Sanku on the road to Tibet. Jaya Prakasha took immediate steps, and his brother fled for refuge to Bhatgaon, where he soon died.

Not even so were the intrigues of his people discouraged. Jaya Prakasha next found that the Darbar officials had won over his own wife, the Princess Dayavati, and they so far succeeded that Jaya Prakasha was obliged to fly from his palace and to submit to the humiliation of hearing his own eighteen-months-old child proclaimed as king. For a time Jaya Prakasha's star seemed to be obscured. He was driven from one place to another in the Valley. Eventually he managed to defeat the Darbar officials in Katmandu, and returned to his palace. Princess Dayavati, with a quick and feminine recognition of the new situation, immediately hanged the kazi who had placed her son upon the throne. But even this did not appease the anger of Jaya Prakasha, and after a short imprisonment in a cell in her own palace, her life came to an end.

Jaya Prakasha, having for the moment disposed of his internal troubles, was now able to turn his attention to external affairs. His first action was to call together an adequate and loyal council of good men and Brahmans. His next step was to raise an army and drive Prithwi Narayan out of Nayakot and back to his own country. Thus the land had peace for a few years, but the King of Gorkha was strong enough to bide his time. He had by different means won over to himself no small part of the discontented faction of the Valley. About 1743 he made another attempt to secure Nayakot, a position of considerable strategic importance for the campaign of conquest which had become the sole object of his life. Kasiram Thapa, of the family which was destined to perform such yeoman service for Nepal, apparently undertook to hand over the town to the Gurkhas. This is the earliest reference in the Chronicle of Nepal to this great family which has played so distinguished a part in the modern history of Nepal. It would seem from the account in the Chronicle that this was the outcome of a long-standing opposition on the part of the Thapas to the sovereignty of Jaya Prakasha. Before Kasiram could carry out his promise, however, he was summoned to the royal presence, and in spite of his protestations of innocence, he was put to death at Chabahil, a suburb of Katmandu.

Something more seems to underlie this tale, as the Nepal Chronicle goes on to say that " the Raja said that Thapas, Budhathoki, Bist, Bagli, and Basniat were his enemies, because they had said to his father that they would not accept him, Jaya Prakasha, as King." This execution of Kasiram Thapa moved Prithwi Narayan to deep anger, and he at once took action. He came in force to Nayakot, and besides taking the town,

gave way to a family failing by expropriating the lands of no less than thirty-two Brahmans from Tirhout and confiscating a large number of privately owned estates. From that day, says the Chronicle, " Jaya Prakasha's fortune began to decline. He ought not to have put Kasiram Thapa to death." One can almost hear the grim comments of Prithwi Narayan as he watched with satisfaction the further and increasing troubles of his rival in Katmandu.

Jaya Prakasha does not seem to have been able to make any effective protest against this attack. It is probable that he was one of those unfortunate rulers who have the fatal gift of antagonizing almost everyone who comes in their path. He seems to have been in many ways a pious and industrious sovereign, but he was beset by a personal vanity which obliged him to follow up and punish, sometimes with ridiculous excess, anyone who in his opinion had challenged either his omnipotence or his omniscience. His enemies were not only of his own household, but of his own family. The actual occasion of his fall is worth narrating in full. It will be remembered that his brother had become prince of Patan. To his horror he now received news that six Pradhans of that town had deprived Rajya Prakasha of his eyesight. The distance between the two cities is only about two and a half miles, and it cannot have been a difficult matter for Jaya Prakasha to inveigle these ruffians into his own territory. Once in his hands he took the step—perhaps the unwise step—of sparing their lives but of making them the object of amusement and contempt to the people of Katmandu. The six men were driven round the city and were compelled to beg a handful of rice cake from every shop. Their wives did not desert them, but as soon as Jaya Prakasha had them in his power also, he added to the humiliation of the men by dressing the women up as witches and obliging them to accompany their husbands on their progress through the streets. The Nepal Chronicle adds darkly that afterwards, " treating them very ignominiously, he let them go." It would be difficult to better the succeeding words, also of the Chronicle. " These Pradhans, after their release, endeavoured to dethrone Jaya Prakasha. The Gorkhali Raja was very glad to hear of all these things."

Soon after this Prithwi Narayan—who for the first time in the Chronicle here assumes the family name of Sah—made an attack upon Kirtipur. Eventually the Gurkha attack was beaten off, and Prithwi Narayan himself had a narrow escape. A curious incident in this struggle was the presence of 12,000 sipahis "brought from the plains of India by Saktiballabh Sardar." The Chronicle reports simply that these 12,000 were killed. Dismissing as gross exaggeration these figures, it is curious that there should have been any reinforcements of the Nepalese troops from the plains. Even if we divide the numbers by six, it is a remarkable thing that as many as two thousand troops made their way from India to Nepal at this period. The

battle lasted five hours. It is almost impossible to set an exact date to this attack on Kirtipur. As a matter of fact the ambition of the Gorkhali Raja to become master of Nepal was not relaxed during the entire reign of Jaya Prakasha. The Gurkha was helped by internal disaffection. It seems that the Tirhout Brahmans, who had been expelled from their property at Nayakot by Prithwi Narayan, had acquired considerable influence in Katmandu. This aroused the resentment of the Tharus, who deserted and surrendered to the Gurkhas certain places which were within the territory of Katmandu.

The situation in the Valley of Nepal was now desperate. Internal dissensions had not only weakened its power of defence but had greatly contributed to the strength of the invader. Petty quarrels continued to embitter the relations between the three capitals of the Valley. Ranjit Malla, the chief of Bhatgaon, imprisoned some visitors from Katmandu on the silly pretext that they were too proud of their dress. Jaya Prakasha protested, and the men were released. But the prince of Katmandu did not confine his protest to the recovery of his own people. He imprisoned in Deo Patan some of the inhabitants of Bhatgaon province who had come to Pashpati for religious purposes, and only released them after they had paid heavy ransoms. Later he committed the enormity of robbing the temples of their lands and their treasure in order to pay the mercenaries whom he had employed against the Gurkhas.

It may perhaps have been due to some feeling of fear of the older faith in Nepal that Jaya Prakasha, while robbing the Hindu shrines, seems to have been careful to respect the centres of Buddhism. Once again the central beam of Swayambhunath was renewed. Of this restoration a full description is there recorded upon stone. It is remarkable because once more there is indicated a desire to amalgamate the two creeds of Hinduism and Buddhism. Vishnu himself is therein reported to have assisted the reconstruction. What is most curious is the following sentence: " Through the interest taken in its completion by such great gods, Sri-Sri Jaya Prakasha promised to carry out the repairs; and the Raja of Gorkha, Sri-Sri-Sri Prithwi Narayan promised to have the large beam dragged to its place." It is difficult to understand what lies behind this apparently innocent statement. Prithwi Narayan, about the year 1756, had made the noble offer of this beam—a beam splendid enough to serve as the core of the most famous Buddhist temple belonging to his enemy. Except on the principle of the Trojan horse, it is hard to see why this offer should ever have been made. It is possible that Prithwi Narayan, defeated in his first attack upon the Valley, determined, under a cloak of religious enthusiasm, to send emissaries into the enemy's country. The fall of Katmandu took place in 1769, but it will be necessary to postpone a description of the final attack until we have dealt with the story of the other two capitals of the Valley.



EASTERN ENTRANCE, SWAYAMBHUNATH

PATAN

Hari Hara Singh was the first of the Patan line. Neither he nor his immediate successors played a large part in the history of the Valley. Their time was occupied in religious observances and in consolidating the good opinion of the Brahmans. Two at least of these princes abandoned the world and became ascetics. It would serve no useful purpose to record their names here. In the second quarter of the eighteenth century Vishnu Malla ascended the throne. He seems to have been interested in architecture as well as religion, but the most important action of his life was the adoption of the Katmandu prince, Rajya Prakasha, as his successor.

But although two brothers sat upon two adjacent thrones, there was no peace between them. Rajya was a weak man, totally unfit to hold a position of responsibility in these troubled times.[1] His end soon came. Six Pradhans "taking advantage of his simplicity, deprived him of his eyesight. He did not long survive this, and after his death the Pradhans of the Dhalachhekachha caste brought in the Raja of Bhatgaon, Ranjit Malla, and made him Raja of Patan also. After a year's reign, however, the Pradhans drove him away. They then made Jaya Prakasha,[2] the Raja of Kantipur, Raja of Patan also, and he ruled over both States." But Jaya Prakasha's rule was almost as brief as that of Ranjit Malla. Finding him impossible as a sovereign, the Pradhans expelled him and placed upon the throne a grandson of Vishnu Malla. But he also was found to be a check upon their autocracy, and after four years they invented a charge of misconduct with one of their women and cut him down at the door of Taleju.

The manner in which this unhappy man had earned his fate was then made clear. He had evidently opposed the introduction of Prithwi Narayan into the Valley, and had to be cleared out of the way. The lords of Patan then threw off all pretence and elected the prince of Gorkha as their overlord. Prithwi Narayan considered the offer but declined it, suggesting that the choice should fall upon his own brother, Dalmardan Sah. Another bitter fraternal rivalry was thus inaugurated. Dalmardan Sah at first accepted the position as the regent of his brother. But the lords of Patan seem soon to have realized the folly of their action in inviting Gurkha influence into Nepal. They insisted upon Dalmardan Sah becoming actual King of Patan, seemingly as an act of defiance directed against Prithwi Narayan. Dalmardan Sah consented with alacrity, and it seems actually went to the length of declaring war against his brother.[3] Four years later,

[1] It is possible that he introduced the worship of shaligrams into Nepal. See vol. ii, p. 14.

[2] This is probably the prince who is called by Dr. Oldfield "Gainprejas."

[3] Dalmardan's personality is vague, and the only certain thing is that he left a son, Kula Chandra Sah. Rana Bahadur, the King of Nepal, destroyed the boy's eyesight by

in 1765, these fickle electors had had enough of Dalmardan Sah also, and deposed him. In his place they put up a man of straw, Tej Narsingh Malla, who retained his nominal authority for three years. And then came the deluge. Prithwi Narayan swept into Nepal, and Tej Narsingh fled to Bhatgaon. The words of the Chronicle are worth remembering, at the close of this record of vacillation, and folly: " Prithwi Narayan, knowing the six Pradhans to be traitors, bound and killed them."

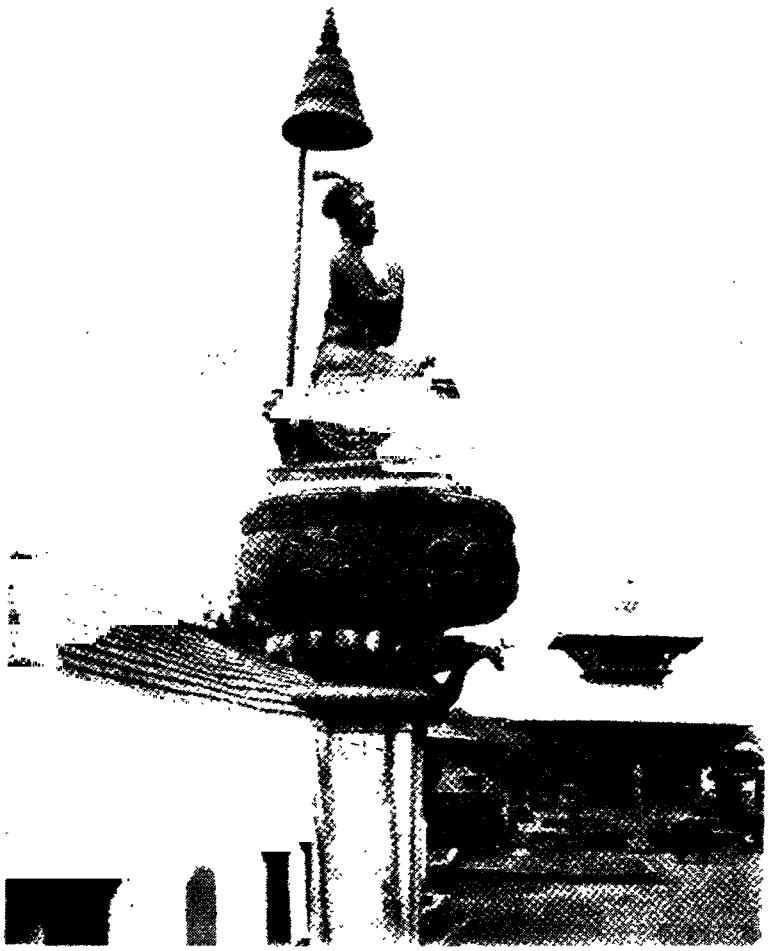
BHATGAON

The succession of the princes of Bhatgaon is not so clear. After Raya Malla came a succession of more or less visionary princes of whom Jagat Jyotir Malla is known because of the introduction into Nepal of Indian corn. There was a violent protest made against the importation of this new and dangerous grain. M. Lévi aptly parallels this incident by a reference to the loss by shipwreck in the Indus of a cargo of seed and manuscripts which Hsüan Tsang was anxious to bring back to China. " The King of Kapisha met the famous pilgrim on the banks of the river and said to him: ' I have learned, O venerable Master, that in mid-stream you have lost many sacred books. Were you by chance also bringing from India the seeds of flowers and fruits? ' ' I was,' answered Hsüan Tsang. ' That,' added the king, ' is the one and only cause of the misfortune which you have experienced. From the earliest days to our own time such has been the fate of anyone who wished to cross the river with a collection of such seeds.' "

Jagat was an artist and especially interested in dramatic art. He seems also to have been able to devote his attention to lighter themes. A remarkable characteristic of his work is that in his own compositions he abandoned the traditional languages and wrote them in the vernacular. He interspersed music and singing, and indeed may have been the earliest author, certainly the earliest royal author, of the modern revue. His son —or grandson—had the same vain love of literature as that which possessed Pratapa, his contemporary in Katmandu. Father Grueber, who passed through the country during his reign, reports of him that he had caused much irritation by his constant action against Katmandu, and it is said that the worthy Father assisted in his overthrow by the loan of a telescope. After him came Jitamitra Malla, who seems to have been raised to the throne during the lifetime of his father. This prince also had literary ambition, but his fame has been eclipsed by that of Bhupatindra Malla,

pouring the milky juice of the cactus into his eyes in order that he should be disqualified from putting up any claim against Rana Bahadur's illegitimate children. He left no legitimate heir. Kula lived to a great age and Dr. Oldfield met him in February 1854 at Thapathali.

who was a great builder. The Darbar of Bhatgaon and the Five-Roofed Temple were his work. The former is a magnificent structure of wood elaborately carved, and possessing as its chief jewel the famous Golden



BHUPATINDRA MALLA AT BHATGAON

Door, of which a description will be found elsewhere. This palace was finished in 1697, and it is not uninteresting to remember that as a curiosity he included in one of the windows of this building a pane of glass which had
12 been sent to him from a friend in India. The Five-Roofed Temple is an

equally remarkable relic of his architectural enthusiasm.[1] This was finished six years later in 1703, and no doubt the Darbar square in Bhatgaon owes much of its beauty to Bhupatindra.

He was succeeded by his son, Ranjit Malla, who seems to have had the tastes of a collector and the prudence of a financier. The following quotation from the Chronicle may be useful in summing up the private hostilities and antagonisms of the Valley. " Being desirous of erecting a stone pillar, like the one in Kantipur, Ranjit Malla requested Jaya Prakasha, the Raja of Kirtipur, to send men to put it up. Jaya Prakasha complied with his request, but privately told the men to spoil it. They went to Bhatgaon and prepared to set up the pillar. But while doing so they let it fall, and broke it into three pieces. Seeing that the Raja was displeased at this, they joined the pieces together again and put up the pillar. Ranjit Malla and Jaya Prakasha Malla both gave the men dresses of honour.

" At this time the Rajas of Bhatgaon, Lalit Patan, and Kantipur were on bad terms with each other.[2] Hence Narbhupala Sah, the Raja of Gorkha, laid claim to the throne of Nepal and crossed the Trisul Ganga to invade the country. Being, however, opposed and defeated by the Vaisya-Rajas of Nayakot, he was obliged to return to Gorkha after burning the bridge over the Trisul Ganga."

It seemed that whatever his opponents did merely strengthened the position of the prince of Gorkha. He was a man who knew well how to take advantage of every opportunity that fate put into his hands. M. Lévi's summing up of the man is admirable: " Prithwi Narayan was a man who fell on his feet wherever he was. To a boundless ambition he added a tenacity of purpose which never tired. He saw a situation at a glance, made his decision at once, and acted with cold determination. To those who had been of service to him he showed himself generous; to those who opposed him he became merely a brutal savage. So far as he was concerned religion, priests, the gods themselves were nothing but instruments put at his service for the achievement of the empire he coveted."

The moment for action was soon to come.

[1] See p. 218.

[2] M. Lévi says that from the end of the fifteenth century until the beginning of the seventeenth, the dynasty of Katmandu and that of Bhatgaon reigned at the same time over the two halves of the Valley. The dynasty of Katmandu, it is true, was split into two about 1600, and Patan became the seat of a third dynasty. But, as a matter of fact, the kings of Katmandu and of Patan only formed a single family, as Father Grueber attests thirty-five years after the description of Father D'Andrada. Kantipur is, of course, Katmandu.

CHAPTER IV

1766-1816

THE King of Bhatgaon then committed the disastrous folly of calling in Prithwi Narayan to help him in his futile and perpetual quarrel with Jaya Prakasha in Katmandu. Prithwi Narayan swept forward again, and once more secured Nayakot. Thence he sent a strong force into the Valley. He laid siege to Kirtipur, apparently without exciting any protest from the King of Patan, to whom Kirtipur owed allegiance. But Jaya Prakasha, who was no mean man of action in an emergency, came down from Katmandu with overwhelming force and completely defeated the Gurkha forces. Prithwi Narayan's brother was wounded,[1] and he came near to death himself. Only "that divinity doth hedge a king" saved him. One of Jaya Prakasha's men had already raised his sword for a *coup de grâce* when his companion stayed him with the words, "He is a king, and kings we may not kill." Two men of low caste carried him off the field to Nayakot, and one at least of them received special court honours for his gallantry.

In the excitement of his victory Jaya Prakasha believed that he had finally put an end to the encroachments of the Gurkhas. But it is curious to note that he does not seem to have taken any steps outside the Valley to ensure the good behaviour of a man who was still nominally under his allegiance, but had betrayed his intentions so openly and so often. He contented himself with making still more enemies around him, and even went out of his way deliberately to insult the men of Kirtipur. They had stoutly defended the Valley against the invader, and now invited him to become king of the gallant little town. *Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat.* It will hardly be believed that his sole response to this was the arrest of the deputation, the slaughter of not a few of the nobles of Kirtipur, and the deliberate humiliation of one of them, Danuvanta, their chief, who was compelled to walk through his own town dressed as a woman. In his company were many others similarly habited. All that survived were then sent to prison.

Prithwi Narayan of Gorkha was above all things a dogged man. There was no turning back for him when once he had set his hand to the plough. But for the moment he recognized that he could not meet Jaya Prakasha

[1] This man, Sarupa Ratna, was looked after and healed by the Capuchin Father, Michelangelo of Tabiago.

in the field. He therefore adopted the policy of cutting off all supplies into the Valley. This was not as difficult as it might seem. There were—and still are—but seven passes by which roads or tracks entered the Nepalese Valley. Every man, woman, or child who brought in food, salt, or cotton was incontinently hanged and their bodies left to rot beside the path.



PRITHWI NARAYAN

(From a contemporary picture in the Old Palace, Katmandu)

Jaya Prakasha steadily refused to take the initiative against his persistent and now crippled enemy. He was perhaps suffering from a mortal disease. He seems to have been content with his victory in the Valley, where, however, Prithwi Narayan still used every means in his power to undermine his influence, including that of religious propaganda, to which two thousand Brahmans willingly lent their aid. Folly after folly was committed by the

unhappy man. He had soon estranged the one remaining source of assistance, Bhatgaon, and at last committed the inconceivable folly of robbing the treasure house of Pashpati.

So bitterly was Jaya Prakasha hated by the head men of the Valley for his headstrong folly that at last they bound themselves by an oath to kill him, even at the cost of their own lives. But it was too late. The half-insane chief of Katmandu had fulfilled his destiny, and the Valley lay at the mercy of any resolute invader. In 1767 Prithwi Narayan advanced once more to the assault. Without opposition he swept over the western hills and again surrounded Kirtipur. Katmandu was within four miles, but no attempt to relieve Kirtipur was made by Jaya Prakasha. The town held out for six months, and then it was no other than Danuvanta who had been so grossly insulted in Katmandu who surrendered not only Kirtipur but, as twelve months were to show, the entire Valley to the Gurkha conqueror.

The story of this surrender is marked by one of those revolting incidents which invites and chains the attention of the world. The inhabitants, though driven from their outer walls, had still a chance of continuing the defence in the inner fort. With something still in their hand to bargain with, and despairing of all help from outside, they came to terms with Prithwi Narayan. The Gurkha chief gave them an assurance that if Kirtipur were surrendered, the inhabitants should go scatheless. Two days later Prithwi Narayan sent from Nayakot an order that all the male inhabitants of Kirtipur, except children at the breast, were to have their noses and their lips cut off. This order was carried out in the most exact way, and it adds rather than detracts from the savagery of the conqueror that the only persons spared were men who were skilled in playing wind instruments. The grim statistic is added that the weight of the noses and lips that were brought to Prithwi Narayan in proof that his order had been obeyed amounted to no less than eighty pounds. Father Giuseppe, who was present at the time, records the horror with which he saw so many living men whose faces resembled skulls.

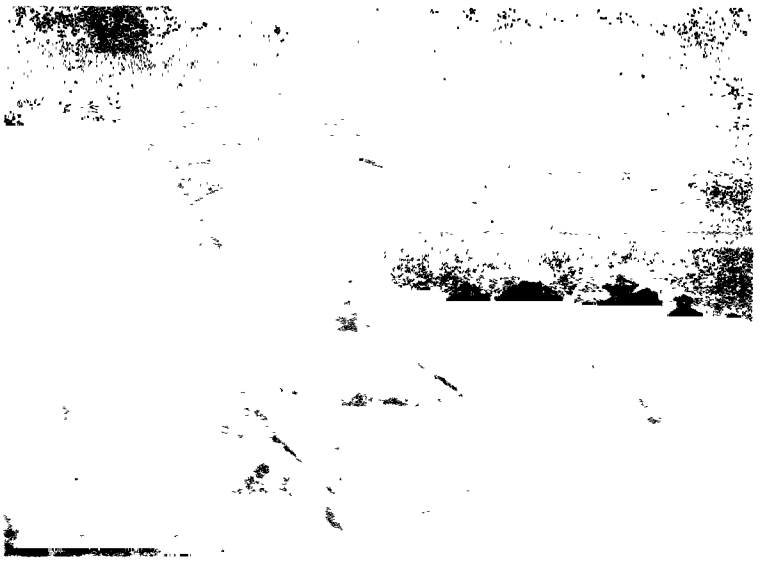
Prithwi Narayan's policy in this matter was identical with that of the Germans when they invaded Belgium in 1914. One of their officers explained that the outrages committed during their march were perpetrated with a deliberate military purpose. He said, much as Prithwi Narayan would have said, that brutalities carried out on a small scale rendered the capture of the next large town a far easier affair. When Prithwi Narayan went on a few miles and besieged Patan, the valour of the defenders was undoubtedly chilled by his threat that unless the town surrendered at once, they would lose not only their noses and their lips, but their right hands as well. But the advance of Captain Kinloch with a small detachment of troops from India created a diversion, and Patan was for the moment saved. The siege



KIRTIPUR

was raised, and Ram Krishna was ordered to oppose their advance. He met the English at Hariharpur where, on the 25th August 1767 he won a victory which compelled the invaders to retreat.[1]

After the retreat of the British forces, checked by bad weather and sickness, Prithwi Narayan returned to his work in the Valley. This time his objective was the rich and slack city of Katmandu, where he had carried out a steady propaganda within the walls by means of Brahmans in his pay. On the 29th September 1768 the madness of Jaya Prakasha



DARBAR BUILDING AT NAYAKOT WHENCE PRITHWI NARAYAN DIRECTED HIS ATTACK UPON THE VALLEY

seems to have infected the whole city. The occasion of a religious festival —the Indra-Jatra—seduced from their military duties nearly all the garrison of the town. The Gurkhas entered the city almost without opposition. Jaya Prakasha fled across the river to Patan and, taking with him the king, Tej Narsingh, sought refuge in Bhatgaon. Prithwi Narayan, once in possession of Katmandu, ordered the orgies connected with the festival to continue.

[1] This probably refers to the advance of an English detachment at the request of Nepal. This contingent stayed too long in the Tarai, and lost by death or sickness the majority of the troops. They were obliged to retire. It is curious to note that the Nepalese also sought help from Nawab Kasim Ali of Murshidabad. According to the Gurkha chronicles these were encountered at Karra, and were defeated.

The Gurkha prince then sent messages to Patan undertaking in the most solemn form to respect not only the lives but the property of the nobility. These overtures were accepted, and for some months he treated the head men of Patan with diplomatic care. Then, having beforehand taken the precaution of retaining their children in Katmandu as hostages, he made a formal entry into the town of Patan. It will not surprise the student of Prithwi Narayan's methods to hear that he at once put to death the nobles who had assembled to greet him, nor perhaps that he then gave the order that their corpses were to be mutilated.

Bhatgaon still held out. The three kings of the Valley, bitterly convinced of their folly, gathered there a force of some importance. There was no organization or union in the Valley, but the Gurkhas knew to their cost the stubborn resistance they would meet in attempting to storm Bhatgaon itself. Other small towns, even villages, to the east had fought magnificently against the onrush of the Gurkhas.[1] It was not until eight months later, about July 1769, that, having conquered the rest of the Valley, Prithwi Narayan appeared in force before the walls of Bhatgaon. Here he had no doubt as to the issue. He had bought the seven illegitimate sons of Ranjit Malla. He undertook to exercise merely a suzerainty over the city which should be left in their possession. M. Lévi even suggests that these seven men assisted their enemy with munitions. There was no opposition at the western gate, and the Gurkhas carried the town and surrounded the palace. Jaya Prakasha, mad but valiant, once more confronted the troops of his old enemy. But he was wounded in the foot, and Ranjit Malla could do no more. He had taken into his service Tibetan mercenaries, but in the hour of trial he mistrusted their loyalty and burnt them all alive in their barracks. Prithwi Narayan then entered the palace of Bhatgaon, and Jaya Prakasha rebuked with dignity the laughter which ran through the Gurkha company when at last they saw defeated and helpless the three Malla princes.

Prithwi Narayan's first action was to invite the king of Bhatgaon,

[1] The story of Chaukot deserves recognition from any man who values sheer courage. On the approach of the Gurkha forces most of the inhabitants fled. Mahindra Singh was in command of the place. To him came one of the citizens of Chaukot, and advised his chief to retreat with the others. Mahindra contemptuously invited him to fly; for himself, he intended to hold the village. The citizen was encouraged to remain, and it seems fought with gallantry against the invading Gurkhas. But the odds were overwhelming, and the Gurkhas, outflanking the men of Chaukot, killed Mahindra and seriously wounded his companion. The Gurkhas began to set the little town on fire. The citizens, dismayed at the loss of their leaders, fled. That the defence was effective and worthy of these mountaineers may be gleaned from the fact that therein the Gurkhas lost 332 men.

Next morning Prithwi Narayan rode over the field of battle, and seeing the body of Mahindra, had one of those rare fits of generosity that partly redeem his life, and took under his protection the family of the dead hero.

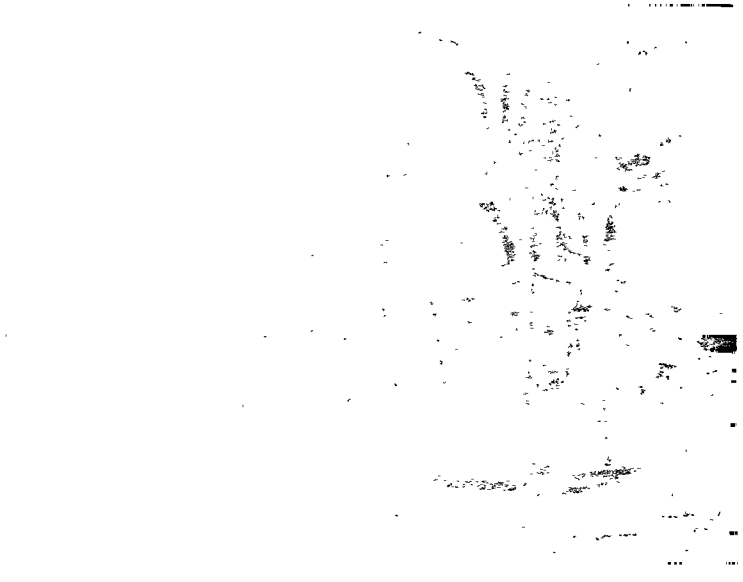
Ranjit Malla, to remain upon the throne of his little principality. But the latter had had enough of this tempestuous and bloody work; he asked only that he might be permitted to retire to Benares. Permission was readily granted, and he left Bhatgaon at once. There is a story that when, from the height of Chandragiri Pass, he looked back for the last time upon the Valley, he laid a curse upon the seven traitors who, by every tie of blood, should have stood beside him to the end, but who had surrendered his city to the enemy. Even before the words had been said, his curse had been fulfilled. Prithwi Narayan summoned the seven cowards of Bhatgaon and, after bitterly denouncing their infamous conduct, cut off their noses and confiscated their entire possessions.



THE DARBAR BUILDING AND THE TEMPLE OF BHAWANI AT GORKHA

He then asked the mortally wounded Jaya Prakasha what last favour he could grant him. The answer was simple. "Carry me to Pashpati: let me die in the royal ghat." The request was at once granted; and then there ensued an incident which illustrates the superstitious nature of the conqueror, and his determination to leave no loophole for any further recrudescence of the power of the Mallas. Prithwi Narayan asked whether there was anything that Jaya Prakasha wished as a comfort for his last hours. In reply Jaya Prakasha sent back the curious request for an umbrella and a pair of shoes. The strangeness of the petition made Prithwi Narayan consider its possible significance. In the imagery of Nepal—and indeed of the larger part of Asia—an umbrella is a mark of
13 royal dignity, and into the demand for shoes the Gurkha prince read a

suggestion that Jaya Prakasha had not renounced all hope of returning, if not in this life then in the next, to his royal state. The umbrella and the shoes were sent, but with an accompanying message: " I send you what you have asked for, but I forbid you to make use of them during the lifetime either of myself or of my son." In this way he believed that he had prevented the reincarnation of Jaya Prakasha as lord of Katmandu. The dying man accepted the condition, was laid upon the royal slab,[1] and died. From the weak king of Patan Prithwi Narayan could obtain no reply. He was therefore put in prison, where he died shortly afterwards.



THE CAVE TEMPLE OF GORAKHNATH AT GORKHA, THE SACRED HEARTH OF THE GURKHA RACE

The last act of Prithwi Narayan during these final days of victory was to take, as the meed of his mercy, a valuable necklace of precious stones from the neck of the aged mother of Jaya Prakasha. It is curious that history repeated itself ninety years later.

Prithwi Narayan had no doubt as to the proper capital of his kingdom. He established himself at Katmandu and set to work at once upon the complete pacification and unification of his vastly increased domains. One of the most notable aspects of his administration was his intense suspicion of European influence. He drove out the Capuchin missionaries, who had, after their expulsion from Tibet, taken up their abode in the Valley. He

[1] See chap. x, p. 223.

shut his passes to all European merchandise, and in a letter to the Dalai Lama he implored that, in return for free access of Indian goods to Tibet, the Lamaic Government should join with him in forbidding the entrance of anything and everything that was associated with the now gravely suspected ambitions of the East India Company in Bengal.

He died in 1771, and after the short reign of his son, Pratap Singh Sah, who increased the Nepalese dominions slightly to the south-west, the notorious Rana Bahadur Sah succeeded as an infant to the throne in 1775. Pratap Singh's brother, Bahadur Sah, acted as Regent, and for a long time conducted the policy, external as well as internal, of Nepal.

The conquest of the three cities of the Valley by no means satisfied the victorious Gurkhas. Realizing their superiority over the unwarlike or the unprepared races which surrounded them, they lengthened their cords and strengthened their stakes in all directions. Bahadur Sah sent the chief of Morung to invade Sikkim in 1788, but seems to have retired after the Tibetan Government had bought them off by ceding a piece of land at the head of the Kuti Pass and by the promise of an annual tribute. Their encroachments west and east and into Audh were eventually certain to bring them into trouble with the authorities of India, and a curious underestimate of the power of China was the cause of the raid into Tibet in the year 1790. Without much opposition the Gurkha forces had swept eastwards overwhelming both the Kirantis and the Sikkimese. Peking had always maintained shadowy claims, partly spiritual and partly political, over both Sikkim and Bhutan. It was a more serious affront to them that the Chumbi Valley should be thus directly threatened. When an actual invasion of Tibet followed these expansions, China realized that it was necessary to act, and to act with vigour against these efficient intruders.[1]

After some minor violations of the northern frontier, achieved in all cases without loss, the Gurkhas invaded Tibet itself. It may easily be imagined that these successful raiders were more tempted by the wealthy cities and monasteries of Tibet than by the comparatively barren districts of Garhwal, Kumaon, and Sikkim. The latter possessed neither wealthy establishments nor great towns, nor indeed the promise of agricultural or other wealth. The road into Tibet was a hard one, but the prospect of loot which the Lamaic country held out was incomparably greater. In this year the Nepal Government, on the pretext that the Tibetans insisted upon circulating base coins at an unfair rate of exchange, sent an army which marched through Kuti " over one of the most difficult roads in the

[1] Damal Damodar Panre and Bam Shah conducted the first Nepalese retreat from Tibet in 1790 through " Khartah " and " Hutterah " (the Hatia pass). Two thousand men were frozen to death during this return, and no doubt many more were crippled for life. The way for the Chinese victory of 1792 was paved by this foolhardy choice of a route that is impossible so late in the year, when Kuti was still available.

world," and thence to Tashi-lhunpo, 257 miles farther on. The Gurkhas, 18,000 strong, covered the distance with great rapidity and captured the Grand Lama's palace without resistance. Peking insisted on the immediate restoration of the loot from the palace. This was made a test of Nepalese submission to Peking. The patience of China was exhausted. It would perhaps have been a better policy had the Nepalese consented to negotiate at this high tide of their prosperity. They would without difficulty have secured for themselves those districts along their northern frontier which remained a source of ambition and disquietude. But the Chinese Emperor's delegate was received with discourtesy, and his messages proudly rejected. K'ien-lung, who had been accumulating troops for a twelvemonth, struck



THE MARKET OF BETRAVATI

immediately and in strength. He despatched a large army under General Fu-kang an, against which the Gurkhas were helpless. The flood of Chinese warriors that descended with uncanny rapidity upon the too-confident Nepalese left the latter no choice but to conduct as efficient a retreat as was possible, and to hope to defend their mountain passes with such vigour as to leave the way still open to a settlement which should at least preserve to them their honour and their territory.

On the open plains of Tibet the Nepalese could do nothing against the overwhelming numbers of the Chinese. But although they were unable to defend their Himalayan gates, we may read through the lines of the chronicles which on both sides commemorate this expedition that the Chinese suffered considerably in the mountain warfare. After a final stand at Betravati on the banks of the river Tadi above Nayakot, a deadlock

ensued, neither party caring to recommence the struggle. The Chinese General to settle the difficulty turned his guns from the rear upon his own men and forced them on to the treacherous bridge. Elsewhere [1] will be found an account which suggests the stubborn way in which the advance of the Chinese was opposed. But, as was to happen again, the Nepalese Government had the wisdom to make terms with the enemy while he was still on the way to the capital. At Nayakot, one day's journey only from Katmandu, a treaty of peace was signed, and the Chinese returned to their own country, not, however, without having secured terms which, in characteristic fashion, could be read very differently by the contracting parties.

At the time of the first Chinese onslaught the Nepalese Government had sent for the help of the British. Lord Cornwallis refused to give any armed help, but sent Colonel Kirkpatrick to act as mediator. The latter, however, did not arrive in time to vary in any way the terms of the peace with China, but was enabled to write the first and a fairly complete account of the Valley at that period, which was published in 1811. But Nepal had not done badly in the field of diplomacy. It is true that she was obliged to surrender a small part of her territory Tibet, however, which thus enjoyed a certain material victory, lost more than she gained. For the Chinese Emperor took this opportunity of imposing his yoke upon that country far more securely than before.

The policy of the Celestial Empire had always been to exact little from those outlying states which Peking was unable except at great cost effectively to administer or control. It was sufficient for K'ien-lung to colour these doubtful suzerainties with a faint shade of the Imperial yellow. The terms he exacted from Bahadur Sah were light enough. He demanded a recognition of Chinese suzerainty and the periodic mission to Peking of a Nepalese deputation bearing conventional presents.[2] The Nepalese Chronicle, after the usual claim to have cut the invading army to pieces, makes the significant note that " the Chinese Emperor, thinking it better to live in friendship with the Gorkhalis, made peace with them."

Not the least remarkable fact of Nepalese history at this time is that, in spite of this disastrous invasion of Tibet and the subsequent desperate resistance of Nepal, the military activity of the Nepalese to the north-west continued unabated, and in 1794 they added to their long mountain empire

[1] See vol. ii, chap. xii, "Unknown Nepal," and Appendix xxi.

[2] According to the terms of the treaty this mission should leave Nepal every fifth year. The last mission took place in 1908. It had long ceased to possess political importance, though command of it was eagerly sought for by highly placed officials in Nepal. For it carried an exemption from all customs and *likin* dues both going and returning, and the trade profits that were thus to be secured were of very considerable amounts. In Peking the mission was treated with great courtesy, but the discourtesy and even violence which it endured on the road, and especially in Tibet, was the cause of many bitter passages between Katmandu and the offending districts.

the provinces of Garhwal and Kumaon. The country then extended from Kashmir to the centre of Sikkim, and the site of Simla was Nepalese.

Ram Krishna played a large part in this brilliant and permanent extension of the Gurkha dominions. He also achieved the comparatively easy task of occupying the country to the east. After having extended his sovereign's frontiers as far as the Mechi, he died on the 21st March 1771.

His son, Ranjit Kunwar Rana, born in 1753, was appointed Governor of Jumla. His administration seems to have been the chief cause of the revolt against the Gurkha domination, but the ultimate success of the Gurkhas was also due to him, and he was made one of the four Kazis, or Civil Councillors, of Nepal.

In 1775 Ranjit annexed to Nepal the States of Someshwar and Upadrang, and in 1781, under King Rana Bahadur Sah, annexed the States of Tanhung, Kaski, and Lamjang.

Intoxicated by these successes King Rana Bahadur and his advisers overestimated their strength and invited disaster. Rana's forces proceeded to Kangra, which they overran without difficulty. But the Prince of Kangra was a shrewd diplomatist. To gain time he offered an annual tribute of 100,000 rupees and the services of his eldest son in the Nepalese army, as well as one of his daughters in marriage to the King of Nepal. But at the same time he sent a message to a greater man than himself. Ranjit Singh, in Lahore, aroused by this intrusion on the part of the mountaineers, invited the Prince of Kangra to Lahore, and finally sent him back to his own territory with an overwhelming force, and—as he no doubt intended—under a permanent obligation to the Sikh kingdom. Against such a relieving force the Nepalese could do nothing, and a period of guerilla warfare was soon ended.

But the Nepalese lost all sense of perspective. This was perhaps due to the action of the young prince Rana Bahadur. Up to this time, 1795, he had been treated almost as a cipher by his uncle, but he then declared himself sovereign, arrested his uncle Bahadur Sah, and at once inaugurated a policy of egoism and violence, accompanied if not mitigated by a genuine appreciation of the fine arts, and at the beginning a marked patronage of the Brahman priests—so long, it should be added, as they acted according to his wishes. The Nepalese apparently recognized in him a reincarnation of Jaya Prakasha, whose return to this world was, it will be remembered, Prithwi Narayan's intention to prevent. The act which more than all others alienated the sympathy of his people was his choice of a Brahman's daughter as his wife. Such an intermarriage between a Kshatriya and a Brahman was an inconceivable profanity. The Brahmans were not slow to answer. They issued to the world a prophecy that neither the king nor his favourite would long survive what they regarded as an incestuous union. Perhaps as the result of the anxiety which any Brahman woman must have

felt in such a position, the queen fell ill. Rana Bahadur made unlimited offers to the Brahmans in the hope that they would remove the curse. They did not spare the king of his treasures. But though he carried out in



TEMPLE OF TALEJU AT HANUMAN-DHOKA, KATMANDU

the minutest particular the expensive rites that the Brahmans demanded as the price of reconciliation, the queen did not survive. She had been attacked by smallpox, and it is said that, although she recovered, the first sight of her disfigured face in a mirror drove her to suicide. Rana Bahadur

behaved like a madman. He demanded the repayment of the money paid to the Brahmans. He defiled and smashed to pieces the chief idol of the royal temple of Taleju in Katmandu, and even went so far as to haul out from their shrines some sacred images in the Valley, and grind them to powder under the fire of his artillery. It was too much. The Nepalese rose in revolt, and Rana Bahadur realized that he had fatally compromised his position. He pleaded that he had no longer any wish to retain the royal prerogatives, and under the name of Nirgunanda Swami retired as a priest to the sacred solitudes of Benares. But though he was for the moment willing to resign his own position, he did not intend that his son should suffer with him.



DAMODAR PANRE

In spite of his irregular birth, Girvan Judha Vikram was designated by his abdicating father as his successor, and the Nepalese, glad at any cost to be rid of this semi-lunatic ruler, swore allegiance to the son. Vacillating as ever, Rana Bahadur attempted at the last moment to alter his decision, but meeting with no support, he gave up for the time the attempt to re-establish himself, and retired to India. His legitimate queen, Tripura Sundari, accompanied him into exile, and the slave woman who had been his mistress before his ill-fated marriage with the Brahman girl remained as regent. The whole story is one that mocks probability, and would be incredible were it not historically true. Damodar Panre assumed the responsibilities of government and paved the way for the famous Prime Ministers whose capacity and determination have built up the present prosperity of Nepal.

It need hardly be said that at Benares Rana Bahadur quickly abandoned

all pretence of a life of meditation. He fell in love with a new mistress, and after robbing his queen of all her jewels began to borrow money from the East India Company. This gave the Directors the opportunity they had long watched for. Although they must have been perfectly well aware that Rana Bahadur had no right to make any engagement on behalf of Nepal, they persuaded him to accept the presence in Katmandu of a British Resident. It is difficult to see how this extension of the European atmosphere in India could have been accepted by the Nepalese, unless Rana Bahadur's position in the country was, as a matter of fact, far stronger than the records of this period suggest. Naturally the appearance of a Resident provoked opposition from the Government, and Captain Knox, who had been appointed to this delicate post, returned after a fruitless eleven months of patient attendance upon the chaotic policy of the Darbar. Queen Tripura Sundari then took action. With the double purpose of separating her husband from the feminine temptations of Benares and of resuming her place as queen regnant in Nepal, she made an arrangement with Damodar Panre, and at his invitation set out again for her old home. A small force was sent to prevent her entrance into Nepal, but the sympathy of the troops was evidently with her, and on her arrival at Katmandu, the Prime Minister went to meet her and made obeisance. The common people expressed their delight at the dethronement of the slave regent, and yet another chapter in the history of the Valley opened. At this point the famous quarrel between the Panres and the Thapas came to a head.



RANA BAHADUR SAH, KING OF NEPAL

There had been rivalry between the two families for many generations, but Damodar Panre, though actually in power as Prime Minister at this
14 moment could do little against the astute and courageous handling of the

new situation by Bhim Sen Thapa. This man, who begins the series of distinguished statesmen to whom Nepal owes her present prosperity, had been the companion of Rana Bahadur in exile. He speedily assumed supreme authority, and his first action was to put to death Damodar Panre and his sons. But he did not deem this sacrifice was sufficient to clear the country of pretenders. Prithwi Pala, King of Palpa, and a distinguished Nepalese of undoubted Rajput descent, was invited to Katmandu under the pretext of a suggested marriage with the sister of Rana Bahadur. He was there murdered with all his staff, and an immediate expedition against his state resulted in the capture of Palpa by a force under the command of Amar Singh Thapa, father of the new Prime Minister. No opposition was offered, and by August 1804 the whole of Nepal fell under the rule of the Gurkha dynasty of Katmandu. Amar Singh even made an attempt to extend its marches still further westward, but came up against a force with which it was useless to contend. Ranjit Singh, the Lion of the Panjab, had thrown a strong force in the direction of Kashmir, and it was in the Kangra valley that the rivals met. Amar Singh had no choice but to retreat.



GIRVAN JUDHA VIKRAM SAH

Meanwhile Rana Bahadur, who had returned to Katmandu, continued his mad persecution of the Brahmans. Careless of the ill luck that traditionally attends the spoliator of church lands, he confiscated their property in Palpa. With some justification the Brahmans warned him that there was no poison like a Brahman's curse, for not only the man himself but the second and third generations also lay under its spell.

Life in Katmandu had now become unendurable, and at the instigation of the Brahmans, Sher Bahadur, the king's illegitimate brother, driven to desperation by an order which, he believed, menaced his own life, stabbed

Rana Bahadur in his own palace. The next moment he fell beneath the sword of Bala Narsingh, the father of the great Nepalese statesman, Jang Bahadur. Bhim Sen compelled the slave queen to perform *sati* on the funeral pyre of her husband, and Queen Tripura succeeded to the regency and maintained it for the next twenty-eight years.

But the cloud of a greater disturbance had already risen above the horizon of Nepal. The trouble with the Indian Government was due to a variety of causes. The East India Company was not at this time in a strong position in the north of India. There was no real peace in the north or west. The Peshwa sullenly bided his time, and the other Maratha chiefs allowed a continuous policy of revolt against British suzerainty to be spread throughout and from their own dominions. Scindia and Holkar were carrying on a systematic oppression of the weakened Rajput states, and in the Deccan the whole country was in a condition of disorder, complicated by the everlasting brigandage of the Pindari horsemen.

Nor was the position of affairs farther north much better. Ranjit Singh, too, was waiting for the hour to strike. Only the south and Bengal were really in a state of rest. The kingdom of Audh, for which, of course, the Company were in no way responsible, was indeed isolated by British territory, but it formed a centre for perpetual intrigue, and its influence in the policy which Nepal adopted at this period has never been sufficiently considered. The expansion of Nepal east and west did not immediately affect the Indian Government, but it became another matter when, encouraged by our preoccupation in other directions, the Gurkhas advanced south into the fertile Tarai, the lack of opposition encouraging them to a still further removing of their neighbours' landmarks.

This went on for seven years, and about two hundred villages had been quietly annexed by Bhim Sen, when a Commission was appointed to enquire into the matter. On this Commission was a Nepalese representative, but when a partial report was issued in favour of the British claims, the Nepalese Commissioner with his colleagues retired, and returned to Katmandu. Here they so reported things that the Nepalese Government took no steps in accordance with the interim finding of the Commission. Even then Bhim Sen did not grasp the situation. It is difficult to believe that a man of his shrewdness and capacity did not recognize the hopelessness of challenging the Company; he may have felt that, in the circumstances, no other course was open to him, but if so he carried his bravado with a high head to the end.

The Indian Government was at last aroused to the danger of allowing this steady penetration of the Gorakhpur district, and the news that in 1813 Nepal had sent for help to her suzerain, China, and was making military preparations on a large scale, was scarcely as convincing as the news that the chauvinism of the younger generation had been gravely

opposed by the very chief, Amar Singh Thapa, who had conquered for his countrymen Garhwal and Kumaon. He warned Bhim Sen, whom he charged with being at the head of this movement against the English; asserting that he had lived a soft life and knew nothing of the facts of war. But Bhim Sen won the day, the preparations for war went on, and reluctantly enough Lord Moira, the Governor-General, closed the discussion. He abruptly demanded the evacuation within twenty-five days by the Nepalese troops of the villages they had taken. The districts that had been occupied in the Gorakhpur Tarai were reoccupied by the English in April 1814. The Gurkhas made no attempt to resist them, and no doubt it was due to this apparent submission that the East India Company's forces were withdrawn during the rainy season, in which the Gorakhpur Tarai has a reputation for unhealthiness almost equal to that of the Nepalese Tarai, more to the east. Their places were taken by native police.

On 29th May and on other dates, the Nepalese troops raided the territory and put to death many of the police. A last chance of settlement was given to the Government of Nepal, but this the Gurkhas refused even to answer, and this ultimatum having failed, a state of war existed and a concentration of the Company's forces was ordered for 1st November 1814. By means which do not reflect credit upon the representative of the Indian Government in Lucknow, the King of Audh was induced to make an advance of no less than two crores of rupees, or about £2,000,000 sterling, partly to gain favour with the Indian Government and partly also to weaken the power of Nepal, which had not spared his territories any more than she had spared those of the Company.

In addition to the regular forces, a large number of buccaneering companies volunteered their services to the Indian Government, and were accepted. No doubt it was due to the presence of these undisciplined troops, effective as they were at times, that failure attended the first efforts of the British to make any headway against the gallant and well-trained mountaineers.[1]

An excellent description of this small war has been written by "Alkhanzir"—a name which conceals an Indian officer well qualified to write upon this particular period in the history of the Indian Army. He notes that that army found itself engaged for the first time in mountain warfare. But he frankly adds that the low level of efficiency to which the army of the period had been allowed to sink, and the characteristics of the commanders were equal factors in bringing about the disasters of the first

[1] It appears from the narrative of John Shipp that two deserters from the East India Company's forces, named Browne and Bell, had found refuge in Katmandu, and had at once been used by the Nepalese Darbar for the purpose of training their army. These two men were dismissed from the Nepal service, and apparently expelled from Nepal on the outbreak of war.

year. " With very few exceptions, age and inefficiency seem to have been the sole qualifications of our generals."

Lord Moira himself appears to have planned the campaign. Briefly stated, his strange strategy suggested the division of the forces under his control into four separate armies under the command from west to east of Major-Generals Ochterlony, Gillespie, Wood, and Marley respectively. Of these four divisions, at first only that under General Ochterlony was successful. Of the others the tale is dreary reading indeed. Generals broke down either in health or nerves; they were victims of every spy in the enemy's pay; again and again movements that should have been simultaneous were defeated by the defection of one or more of the combined forces. It was, of course, difficult to use scouts in the thick jungle of the Tarai, but again and again the Company's men found themselves confronting well-placed forts which they were totally unable to storm or even approach; marching and counter-marching characterized the manœuvres of the two eastern divisions.

That under General Gillespie suffered from no such want of vigour or decision. But he, too, found himself opposed by the fort of Kalanga near Dehra Dun. The defences were solid, and the place was defended by six hundred men. Gillespie determined to take Kalanga by assault, and arranged for a simultaneous attack by the four columns into which he divided his men. " But Gillespie was an impatient old gentleman. When morning dawned he ordered the signal to be fired much earlier than he had given the columns to expect, and three out of the four failed to hear it." The attempt of the fourth column failed with heavy loss. Seeing this, Gillespie sent up three companies of the 53rd and a dismounted squadron of his cavalry and, true to his reputation for gallantry, he led them forward in person. The 53rd, who were in a sullen mood, would not advance. It may have been that Gillespie had underrated the practical impossibility of scaling the high stone-built walls of Kalanga, but the fact remains that he went on with the dismounted squadron. He was killed within thirty yards of the fort gate.

Twenty officers and two hundred and fifty men were lost in this attempt, and the division retreated to Dehra Dun to await a battering train from Delhi, but its arrival did not turn the scales of war. It is true that Kalanga was deserted by the Nepalese after they had lost from shell fire five hundred and twenty of their men, but it is unquestionable that their gallant defence had a great effect in putting heart into the mountaineers.

Gillespie was succeeded by Major-General Martindell, who moved to the north-west where he prepared to attack Jaitak on the 27th of December. It is unnecessary to recall the details of this ill-conceived attack. To quote the words of " Alkhanzir ": " A book might be written on the mistakes of those twenty-four hours alone." The result of it was that Martindell

sent back word that he could not adopt further defensive measures until he had received reinforcements.[1]

But meanwhile Ochterlony was carrying on steadily and skilfully the work that had been entrusted to him on the west, although he probably had a harder task than any of his colleagues. He was operating on the left bank of the Sutlej, and he had against him by far the most capable soldier in Nepal—Amar Singh Thapa—with three thousand picked troops. Amar Singh knew military skill when he met it, and his despatches to the Nepalese Government began to suggest that he was unable to choose his own time or place for his actions.

At last, on the 15th of May, at Malaun, he made honourable terms with Ochterlony. But those terms, though they included the retirement of the Gurkha troops with the full honours of war, insisted also upon the evacuation by the Gurkhas of the whole of their territory from the Sutlej to the Kali river, a territory roughly corresponding to our present districts of Garhwal, Kumaon, and Simla.

The story of this first part of the Gurkha war may conclude with a reference to Gardner's irregular force, which had been sent forward by the Governor-General upon the news that Martindell was immobilized before Jaitak. Gardner stormed Almora on the 25th April 1815 and occupied Kumaon.[2]

But the Councillors of the Nepalese State had received from other quarters assurances of a general movement to fall upon the British intruders in India. Ranjit Singh was mobilizing his Sikhs; the lawlessness of the Marathas had increased, and the offer of Amir Khan to send Pathans to the assistance of the British was scarcely less than an insult.

This news encouraged the Nepalese to procrastinate and eventually to refuse to ratify Amar Singh's terms, which, after half a year's strenuous negotiation, had been made the basis of a definite treaty of peace in November 1815. The clause in the treaty which actually brought about the second act of this tragedy was the claim of the Government of India to the Tarai, in which many of the Nepalese bharadars had their jagirs. Lord Moira was determined to obtain this strip of land, and even offered to pay for it an annual subsidy of two or three lakhs of rupees.

At the end of January 1816 a second advance was made from Saran. The command was, of course, given to General Ochterlony. His general instructions were to advance upon Katmandu by the direct route which

[1] Lord Moira's explanation of the selection of General Martindell is remarkable. He says that it "was founded on the hope that the occurrences attending his command in Rewa in the year 1813 would have stimulated him to exert himself in regaining the ground he had lost in the public estimation on that occasion, and, more than all, the difficulty of finding any other unemployed officer of rank sufficient to exercise so large a command."

[2] In 1814 the Gurkhas sent their wounded into English camp hospitals.

had proved too much for Marley in the previous campaign. He marched directly upon his objective, and came in contact with the enemy at the Churia ghat which had been stockaded and well garrisoned by the Gurkhas.



BHAIRAB-NATH TEMPLE, KIRTIPUR

Ochterlony's force consisted of about 13,000 regular troops and a large body of irregulars numbering perhaps 4,000 men. The General was in no mood to waste life by a frontal attack, and after a careful reconnaissance of the neighbouring country, he found a goat track a little to the west of the Churia pass road. Up this he pushed a detachment of light infantry,

and the Gurkhas, finding themselves outflanked, abandoned the Churia ghat and retreated to Sisagarhi, leaving the fortress of Makwanpur as the only serious military obstacle left in Ochterlony's road to Katmandu.

Here the General received reinforcements under Colonel Nicol, while an outlying post at Hariharpur was taken by Colonel Kelly. The Gurkhas made a gallant but hopeless resistance, and the loss of an outpost covering the entrance to Makwanpur decided the Nepalese to come to terms. Just as in 1792 the Government of Nepal made terms with the Chinese within a stage or two of the Valley, so on 28th February 1816 they were again prepared to ratify the treaty of the previous year rather than allow the entrance of English troops into the Valley. The ratified treaty, bearing the red seal of the Darbar, was brought to Ochterlony by the Nepalese Commissioner, and a peace was established on 4th March 1816 which has never been broken from that day to this.

But one clause in this treaty deserves more than a passing reference. By it the Nepal Government agreed to accept the presence in Katmandu of a British representative. This representative has a position which has been mistakenly compared to that of a Resident in one of our Native States in India. The functions of the office in Katmandu are entirely different from those of a Resident in India. In the latter place the Resident is ultimately responsible for representing to the Indian Government any condition of affairs within the State which, in his opinion, calls for the intervention of the Indian Government, and he is the instrument used by the Indian Government in the event of their deciding to take action.

In Nepal neither the Indian Government nor any other Government has any right of interference or intervention or even of offering advice. Nepal is an independent State, and the functions of the Envoy are simply those of a friendly observer whose duties are confined to reporting the chief events and tendencies in Nepal so far as they affect Indian interests, to acting as the official intermediary between the two Governments, and to supervising the issue of passports. From time to time he represents to Nepal any case of hardship about which a complaint has been made to him by an Indian subject, and on all ceremonial occasions he represents the King-Emperor in the capital.[1]

[1] It will be seen that the British representative combines the duties of a Consul and the position and functions of a Minister. The special circumstances, however, which cause the foreign relations of Nepal to be dealt with in Simla rather than in London, the facts that the Resident, or, as he is now called, the Envoy, is drawn from the Indian services, and that by special agreement he possesses an escort of Indian soldiers for the maintenance of his dignity, illustrate the particularly close connection that exists between India and Nepal.

The Envoy lives in beautifully wooded grounds, a mile or so to the north of Katmandu. Within this reserve is the Legation—a building totally unworthy of our representative,

Edward Gardner was sent as the first British representative, but four years later his successor, Brian Houghton Hodgson, was appointed as his assistant, and it is to Hodgson that the world owes its first real knowledge, not only of Nepal but of that strange religion which, under the name of Lamaic Buddhism, dominates a far wider sphere than Nepal or Tibet.

especially in view of the pitiful contrast it offers to the magnificent palaces of even the junior members of the governing family of Nepal—the lines of the Indian escort, the house occupied by the British surgeon, a post-office, and a small bungalow that is placed at the disposal of visiting officials and others. Originally it was regarded as the home of evil spirits, and was perhaps for that reason allotted to the unwelcome Resident in the early days of the nineteenth century; moreover, it had an ugly reputation for malaria. To-day it is the healthiest spot near Katmandu, and its gardens are as well tended as those of the Maharaja himself. Some of the most splendid trees of the Valley overshadow the home of the Envoy.

By the courtesy of the Nepal Government, the British representative has in addition a small bungalow at Kakani, on a saddle between the peaks hemming in the Valley to the north-west. This is an unpretentious little building, with one of the most magnificent views on earth. The whole range of the Central Himalayan system, from Mount Everest on the extreme east to Dhaulagiri on the west, is visible on a clear day, a white background for the wooded turmoil of valleys and hills that crowd down towards the valley of the Trisul Gandak at one's feet. At the extreme east of the Valley at Nagarkot also there is a building occasionally placed at the disposal of the Envoy by the courtesy of the Prime Minister. This is of a much more elaborate nature, but the nearness of Kakani is not the least of its charms.

CHAPTER V

BHIM SEN AND HODGSON

THE new king, the son of the Brahman bride, died in 1816 before he came of age, and Queen Tripura continued to act as regent on behalf of his son, Rajendra Vikram Sah.

During the whole of this time the real executive authority of Nepal was surrendered into the hands of Bhim Sen. For the greater part of thirty years he scarcely knew opposition; though there were moments when the old antagonism between the Thapas and the Panres threatened his office and even his life; and in the end it was a Panre who brought about his downfall. His was a life of contrasts, and no Greek tragedy has ever presented a more dramatic catastrophe than his fearful end. But during those three and thirty years Bhim Sen was Nepal, and Nepal was Bhim Sen. This is not the time to sum up his place among his two kinsmen, the other great rulers of Nepal, but it is right to say that it was upon the foundation that Bhim Sen laid that both Jang Bahadur and Chandra Sham Sher Jang built up the prosperity and sovereignty of Nepal. Sir William Hunter has summed up the problems with which he was confronted in a paragraph which I think it best to quote in its entirety.

"The secret of his long rule was that he thoroughly understood both the fears and the aspirations of the military tribes of Nepal. The fear of these brave mountaineers was the establishment of a British ascendancy; their aspiration was to extend their conquests at the expense of our Indian frontier. To the British he appeared to be a 'vigorous, ambitious, and unprincipled opponent.' To the Nepalese he seemed to be a stern master, whose yoke, though grievous to bear, was better than the evils which it averted. Bhim Sen was the first Nepalese statesman who grasped the meaning of the system of Protectorates which Lord Wellesley had carried out in India. He saw one Native State after another come within the net of British subsidiary alliances, and his policy was steadily directed to save Nepal from a similar fate. He also perceived that the Gurkha race, having conquered Nepal and the hill valleys eastwards and westwards at the foot of the great Himalayan wall on the north, had no further outlet for its warlike energy except southwards on the Indian plains. How to meet these two conditions, to stealthily encroach upon British territory and yet to prevent British reprisals which might bring Nepal under the British

ascendancy, were the almost irreconcilable tasks which Bhim Sen set before him."

At first Bhim Sen failed to understand that the East India Company of the nineteenth century was a very different antagonist from that which had intervened, somewhat timidly and ineffectually, during the previous



GENERAL BHIM SEN THAPA [1]

thirty or forty years. He looked upon the Company as his foe rather than his friend. He was determined to see how far he could remove his neighbour's landmarks to the south without encountering serious opposition.

[1] The approximation to a British general's uniform can be traced in this portrait. It will also be noticed that Bhim Sen, like Ivan the Terrible of Russia, has given himself the Order of the Garter.

One by one the little villages of the Tarai were swallowed up by the quiet but persistent advance of the Nepalese, and we have seen the results of his policy.

The defeat of Nepal in the war of 1814-1816 left Bhim Sen in no small difficulty. The Chinese domination still weighed over the country. The extensions east, west, and south into Sikkim, Garhwal, and the Indian Tarai had been lost, but apparently the only result for Nepal of this war was the loss of the friendship of the English. On the other hand, Lord Hastings was involved in other directions, and he astutely realized that if treated with leniency, Nepal might become not merely a friendly state, but even a buffer between the arrogance of China and the as yet unsettled state of India. It may be believed that he was not unwilling to find a golden bridge by which these military mountaineers might with dignity retreat from the invasion of the plains to a position which gave them not only independence but the tacit co-operation of the Indian Government.

Bhim Sen rose to the occasion. With an ingenuity which was probably regarded by himself as a mere temporary expedient, but which, in fact, has coloured all the ensuing relations between India and Nepal, he pleaded the infancy of the Maharaja. This really irrelevant appeal *ad misericordiam* softened the ready heart of Lord Hastings to the extent of a retrocession to Nepal of that part of the Tarai which lies between the River Gandak on the east and on the west the Bahrni tributary, which falls into the Burhi Rapti near that town. This cession was nominally in exchange for the extinction of an annual subsidy of 200,000 rupees (£20,000). Bhim Sen was of a canny nature. The annual revenue of that part of the Tarai which was then given back to Nepal was estimated, eighteen years later, at 991,000 rupees.

The British, however, had no cause to regret an action which, as a matter of fact, was due rather to ignorance than generosity. The late campaign had taught the two opponents to respect each other. The confidential report of General Ochterlony to the Governor-General contained a frank admission that the Indian soldiers of the East India Company would never be able to hold their own against the Nepalese in their mountain fastnesses.[1] Pleasanter relations were thus established, and those relations have continued unbroken to this day. But Bhim Sen took some time to learn a lesson of confidence in the British. The delimitation of the frontier remained a matter for occasional but acute trouble between the authorities on either side of the unsettled line. The heavy demands made upon the military strength of the Company by the Maratha War assisted Bhim Sen in the policy of pin-pricks which he now adopted. As British Resident in Katmandu Gardner came in for more than his share of the trouble. He was

[1] "The Company's sepoys could not be brought to match the Gurkhas."—*Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson*, by Sir William Hunter, p. 108.

boycotted with a completeness that made the acquisition of any information an extremely difficult matter. He was obliged to sit still while some of the regulations of the treaty were openly disregarded, and—a much more important matter—while the military preparations of Bhim Sen were yearly threatening the prospects of a British success should another Nepalese campaign be found inevitable.

Bhim Sen shortly found that money for the development of Nepal was necessary. He made an appeal to the Brahmans, but with little effect. In an unwise moment he took this matter into his own hands and, like Rana Bahadur, compelled the restoration to the State of the endowments which the Brahmans had enjoyed. He lived to regret it in the end. Tripura Sundari died, and thereafter there was nothing to hold Bhim Sen in check except the ill-concealed hostility of the Panre section and the smouldering hatred of the Brahmans. The chance that the first wife of the King, Rajendra Vikram, belonged to the Panre section, while the second ranged herself under the standard of the Thapas, did not make for peace within the palace. One of Brian Hodgson's earliest notes as British Resident in Nepal—a position to which he was appointed in 1833[1]—is to the effect that Bhim Sen's power had undergone a serious check.

[1] Some time ago my attention was arrested by the remark of Mr. Cecil Bendall who, writing in 1886, while Hodgson was still alive, referred to him as "the greatest, and least thanked, of all our English Residents." It is difficult to dispute either adjective. Hodgson was indeed more than the greatest of English Residents. He was the founder of all our real knowledge of Buddhism. He was the only man whose infinite variety of scholarship and interest could, unaided, have written the true history of Nepal. There was, however, hardly a weapon in Fate's quiver that was not directed against this man. His health was such that his selection for a post at Katmandu was dictated chiefly by the simple fact that to appoint him to any office in the plains was a sentence of death. The querulous ingratitude of Lord Ellenborough has passed into a proverb; and the steady refusal of the Indian Government to show any sign whatever of their recognition of the devoted service and outstanding talents of Hodgson, was thrown into relief by the full measure of recognition and admiration which was shown to him by students and savants, not merely in England, but throughout the civilized world.

His early years may be passed over briefly. In Kumaon he began his hill training under the best master that he could have had, George William Traill, Commissioner of the district. He was afterwards sent to Nepal as assistant to Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. Edward Gardner. But it was not by any means a post that suggested to any of his colleagues or to himself the magnificent work that he was afterwards to do in Nepal. In 1822 Hodgson was appointed deputy secretary in the Persian Department in Calcutta. This post opened for him as brilliant a prospect as any that a young civilian could hope for, and with alacrity he abandoned the semi-imprisonment of the Residency grounds in Katmandu for new and responsible work—work for which his fluency in the Persian language, as well as his native talent, fitted him well.

But this ambition was denied him. In 1823 he found that his old lung trouble returned with increased gravity and, as Sir William Hunter puts it, the old alternative was once more forced upon him, an appointment in the hills or a grave in the plains. But his position in Nepal had been filled up, and for a short time he was obliged to take

When it came, the fall of the great Minister was theatrical and rapid. In 1833 the Maharaja, who had now come of age, insisted on asserting his authority. Bhim Sen seems to have been unsympathetic, and at once the elder of the two queens joined with the Brahmans in a sudden and violent denunciation of the Prime Minister. But so far, though willing to wound, the Maharaja was still afraid to strike. At the annual Paijni[1] ceremony of this year, when each public office was automatically vacated and its previous occupants needed reconfirmation by the Maharaja if he was to continue in power, Rajendra Vikram took the unexpected step of failing to reappoint the Prime Minister. It is true that a few days later the Maharaja found himself compelled to recall Bhim Sen, but the fact that Rajendra had successfully asserted his authority against the hitherto omnipotent Minister showed that Bhim Sen's days were numbered. But it was not only in this rebellion against the tutelage of the sage and experienced Prime Minister that the Maharaja betrayed his intention of conducting the policy of his country.

At the close of the same year Brian Hodgson reported that a secret understanding had been made between Ranjit Singh and the Maharaja of Nepal. The rumour that Russia was contemplating an invasion of India induced Rajendra Vikram to send a messenger to Teheran: and another season of aggression along the Indian frontiers was a third proof of the anti-English prejudices of the new regime in Nepal. But Rajendra was no Ranjit Singh. As Hodgson remarked, " the barometer of Nepalese hostility against us rises or falls with each rumour of our being in trouble with other States."

Such vindictiveness could perhaps be safely ignored by the East India Company. But it was another matter in Katmandu. Bhim Sen realized that, if he were not to be overwhelmed by the new power, he would have to pull every string that his long foresight had enabled him to control. He made an appeal to the militarism of Nepal, and at first met with considerable success. The Thapas were in possession of every provincial command throughout the country—with one exception. Militarism presupposes that the state suffering from this disease is perpetually on uneasy terms with its neighbours, and Nepal was no exception. Difficulties also arose from the different point of view which India and Nepal assumed in

up the postmastership at Katmandu. In 1825 the Assistant-Residentship was again vacant, and Hodgson was at once reappointed to it. He knew that for the future his life and work would be restricted to Nepal. In 1829 Gardner somewhat unexpectedly retired and Hodgson became Acting Resident till 1831; but it was not until 1833, after the retirement of T. H. Maddock, that Hodgson was definitely appointed to the post of Resident. He accepted the post with the greater satisfaction because, both in Calcutta and in London, the higher officials of the East India Company had by this time come to recognize the unusual capacity, industry, and judgment of young Hodgson.

[1] This is frequently pronounced " Panjni."

the matter of judicial procedure. Later in this chapter a short reference will be made to the persistence in Nepal of many of the conceptions of justice and its vindication which pervaded mediaeval India. They represented a Hindu attitude towards human relations, and it was therefore difficult for the British and the Nepalese to come to any settlement of arguments based upon different premises.

Bhim Sen, however, had begun to realize that he could not any longer afford to ignore the overtures of the British Resident. He accepted Hodgson's proposal for a commercial treaty between India and Nepal. It was not agreed to by the Indian Government at that moment, but its



THE BHIMSENTHAN, KATMANDU

suggestion formed a new bond between the Prime Minister and the Resident. The chilly relations between the two seem for the moment to have been somewhat thawed.

Meanwhile Bhim Sen's hereditary enemies were leaving no stone unturned to effect his downfall. They had much to revenge. They had bided their time until the friction between the Maharaja and their enemy had become acute. Then they felt themselves strong enough to range their forces on the same side as that of the Brahmans and the elder queen. To add to their confidence came the news of a foolish and ungrateful action on the part of Ranbir Singh, Bhim Sen's younger brother. Against the Prime Minister's express wish the latter intrigued for the position of Commander-in-Chief, and, succeeding in his purpose, he went on to propose

to the already swollen-headed Maharaja the dismissal of his elder brother and the appointment of himself as Prime Minister.

The lists were thus set, when into the arena rode a new and important competitor for power. Mathabar Singh, the nephew of both combatants, arrived to throw his strength loyally on the side of Bhim Sen. It was no mean assistance for his uncle, as he enjoyed a popularity in the army which the King dared not challenge. The Panres therefore adopted another policy. They made a sudden claim for the full restoration of their family honours and estates. Hodgson remarks: "This sudden revival of claims nearly extinct for thirty-one years, and after so complete an extirpation as the Kala Panres had undergone, through means of the very man now paramount in the State, stirs all with astonishment."

We have seen that a temporary improvement had taken place in the relations between the Prime Minister and the British Resident. It was even suggested that Mathabar Singh should make a journey to England. This scheme, though inaugurated with great pomp in November 1835, came to nothing when it was explained to the Nepalese Government that Mathabar Singh could visit England only in a private capacity, and that he would be given no opportunity of settling or even discussing anything directly with William IV. In 1836 Hodgson was also able to arrange for a more or less satisfactory scheme of mutual extradition between India and Nepal. The proposed Treaty of Commerce, however, which was put forward at the same time, came to nothing, as Nepal still demanded a preferential tariff in her own favour.

The unceasing intrigues of the Panres now found yet another opening for the exhibition of their hostility. Mathabar Singh was publicly charged by them with having lived with his late brother's widow. The offence was one that in a lower grade of life might have passed without any but the lightest criticism. In the adjoining country of Tibet the matrimonial eccentricity known as polyandry is the rule of the country, and among the Buddhist section of the Nepalese people the custom by which a woman married not only her husband but all her husband's brothers, was well known and accepted. Kirkpatrick, who knew the country in 1793, probably refers to this custom when he says that "the Newar women may, in fact, have as many husbands as they choose." It was perhaps felt that the accusation against Mathabar Singh was based upon mere prejudice, and it was abandoned, but the accuser was not punished, and Bhim Sen's supporters were made to realize, by the fact that it had ever been brought, that their leader's authority was on the wane. The next year, 1837, witnessed his downfall.

The quinquennial embassies which Nepal had agreed to send to Peking were the immediate cause of the trouble. Bhim Sen had always been able to secure for himself the control of this important deputation. The King,

BAGH DARBAR AT KATMANDU
(Residence of General Bhim Sen Thapa)

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discontented as he was, dared not go so far as to appoint a member of the Panre faction as the head of this mission, but it was given, not to a partisan of Bhim Sen but to one of the Chautarias. The Brahman faction then made their attack, and Raghunath Pandit managed to obtain the position of Chief Justice. Hodgson, writing in June of this year, made a prophecy that was destined to be almost literally fulfilled. Mathabar Singh had just been dismissed from his position as head of the Government in Gorkha, and had been replaced by a son of Damodar Panre. While Hodgson was writing his report to the Governor-General, in which this prophecy is to be found, Ran Jang Panre was restored in lands, goods, and titles by the Maharaja. Startling as this action must have been, the sudden death on 24th July 1837 of the youngest son of the first queen precipitated a disaster. The Panres spread broadcast the rumour that Bhim Sen had really attempted to poison the Queen. Panic reigned in Katmandu. Ran Jang Panre persuaded the Maharaja to strike while the iron was hot. Bhim Sen was degraded, put in irons and imprisoned, and was shortly afterwards joined by Mathabar Singh. Ran Jang seized the reins of government, and the doctor who had attended the dead child was tortured till he bore witness against Bhim Sen. This was all that Ran Jang wanted. The wretched doctor was then either crucified or his tortures were continued until he succumbed. The other physicians in attendance were treated scarcely better, but not one of them was induced to corroborate the evidence of their unhappy colleague. Four years later the Panres confessed that the whole charge was an invention, brought with the sole purpose of bringing Bhim Sen's power to an end.

In the tangled condition of Nepalese political parties it was of course impossible to go as far as this without meeting with instant opposition. If this were possible against Bhim Sen, what security had anyone? The Chautarias made use of their personal connection with the Maharaja to enter a strong protest. Ran Jang was dismissed, and Raghunath Pandit, the Brahman candidate, became a stop-gap Prime Minister. Bhim Sen and Mathabar Singh were released, and they received from the army a welcome that was as remarkable as it is almost inconceivable in view of the events of the next two years. It is true that Ran Jang was solaced for his loss of the premiership by his appointment as Commander-in-Chief, and he at once set himself to counteract the affection which the army had so manifestly displayed for the leaders of the Thapa faction.

Bhim Sen retired into private life, but could not escape the popularity which he had earned as much by his recent misfortune as by his long services. Ran Jang became nervous and asked that he might retire to Benares and take up a religious life. But, probably in response to the protests of the senior queen, the King refused permission. Mathabar Singh took advantage of the reaction to make his way across the frontier to Lahore, where he

was welcomed by Ranjit Singh. Prime Minister after Prime Minister strutted his appointed month or so upon this unreal stage, until at the beginning of the year 1839 Ran Jang again assumed command of the anti-Thapa forces.

This time Ran Jang was determined to make no mistake about Bhim Sen. His first action was to resurrect the old charge of poisoning which had been in abeyance for the previous two years. This action deceived no one, and almost without the pretence of trial, the old servant of Nepal was thrown into prison, and there treated with a brutality which is almost beyond the power of words to describe. Ran Jang dared not have recourse to actual assassination, but he gave the strictest orders that Bhim Sen was to be treated with a carefully calculated savagery which would in no long time drive him to suicide. Sunk in an underground cell, less a prison than a ditch of filth, cut off from the light of day and almost starved, Bhim Sen still held his own against fate, until the terrible news was told him that his wife had been compelled by Ran Jang to walk the streets of Katmandu in full daylight entirely naked. It is not certain whether this brutality was actually carried out: it is, however, certain that Bhim Sen was informed that it had been. The old man then gave up the struggle, and taking the kukhri, which his ingenious tormentors had always permitted him to retain, he struck himself a blow in the throat which nine days later put an end to as tragic a life as even the history of Asia can provide. " His corpse was refused funeral rites but dismembered and exposed about the city, after which the mangled remains were thrown away on the river-side, where none but the dog and vulture dared further heed them."

" Thus has perished," wrote Hodgson to the Governor-General on 30th July, the day after Bhim Sen's death, " the great and able statesman, who for more than thirty years had ruled this kingdom with more than regal sway; just two years after his sudden fall from power in 1837—prior to which event the uniform success of nearly all his measures had been no less remarkable than the energy and sagacity which so much promoted that success. He was, indeed, a man born to exercise dominion over his fellows, alike by the means of command and of persuasion. Nor am I aware of any native statesman of recent times, except Ranjit Singh, who is, all things considered, worthy to be compared with the late General Bhim Sen of Nepal."

Before the corpse of his victim was cold, the Maharaja realized the mad folly of Ran Jang's action. He hurried to the Residency and endeavoured to offer an excuse for the horror that had been committed. Hodgson listened in silence, and then coldly declined either to accept these excuses or to express any opinion whatever upon what the Government of Nepal had seen fit to do.

Ran Jang and the Queen were not content with this savage revenge. In an edict, which, in view of the subsequent history of Nepal, deserves to be remembered, they confiscated the landed property of Bhim Sen's family, and they annulled all grants of land made by him or Queen Tripura for the last thirty-five years. But their most remarkable achievement was a proclamation, issued on the day after the semi-imbecile Maharaja had visited the Residency, which declared the whole clan of Thapa excluded from public office or State employment for seven generations. Three years later the Thapas were recalled to power, and descendants of that family have from that day to this enjoyed an exclusive and even autocratic authority in the State.

But if Hodgson declined to express his opinion of the behaviour of Ran Jang and the Queen, the Governor-General, Lord Auckland, had no such reticence. "The Governor-General views with feelings of extreme disgust and abhorrence," wrote his secretary to Hodgson, "the measures of indignity, insult, and cruelty which the Government of Nepal has adopted towards the late and able minister of that State." Armed with this communication, which in some measure resembled a papal threat of interdict, Hodgson was able to win away the weak-witted Maharaja from the military party headed by Ran Jang, in spite of the vigorous efforts of the latter. Ran Jang caused a military census of Nepal to be taken, which gave the ludicrous number of four hundred thousand men as fitted to take the field: he started a foundry where weapons of varying degrees of efficiency were cast, and he ordered the preparation of nearly a million pounds of gunpowder: and on the top of it all he spread widecast Brahman prophecies of the impending fall of the British authority in India. Hodgson ignored the war party and all its works, and concentrated himself upon a new *modus vivendi* between India and Nepal, the gist of which was the regulation of all customs duties, judicial procedure, and the prevention of intrigues with disaffected Indian states.

But Hodgson was unable to interfere in palace intrigues. The senior Queen and Ran Jang, realizing the importance of ridding themselves of the influence of the junior Queen, made an attempt to bring about her disgrace and even death. In 1840 things came to another crisis. The senior Queen committed the folly of attempting to get Hodgson dismissed by endeavouring to entangle him in a court scandal, of a kind that, though of grave importance to the superstitious in Nepal, could only arouse a smile in an English reader. Hodgson's prudence saved the situation, and this tempestuous woman then adopted another and more popular method of discrediting the English. A few armed Gurkhas had raided British India and held Ramnagar for ransom. They then demanded the submission of ninety-one villages on British territory, announcing that these lands had been annexed *proprio motu* by the Government of Nepal. "In fact,"

writes Lieutenant Nicholetts, the Assistant Resident, "a large tract of country, eight or nine miles broad by twenty or twenty-five in length, had been entirely cut off from the British dominions."

Hodgson at once demanded withdrawal, full compensation, and a formal apology to the Governor-General. The Queen and Ran Jang still needed time in which to complete their preparations. They therefore delayed an answer to the remonstrances of the Resident, and arranged for a general outbreak of the Nepalese troops in Katmandu on 21st June 1840. A grand parade of six thousand men had been arranged, and the announcement was to be made to them that, under orders from the Indian Government, their pay was to be reduced. In order to lend colour to this preposterous statement Hodgson had been detained at night at the palace, and this carefully arranged mutiny was actually begun. A large body of soldiers marched upon the Residency, but, once there, Hodgson's personal popularity caused them to halt. They decided that they could only massacre the British representative and his staff if they had an order under the red seal (Lal-mohar) of the King himself, and returned to the palace to obtain it. The Queen, anxious to be well away from the disorder she had created, had that morning left the capital. In her absence it was easier for Hodgson to deal with this half-tragic, half-theatrical plot. The Nepal Government was officially informed by his head clerk that messages had already been sent by the Resident to the Indian Government informing it of this treacherous scheme.

Throughout this hazardous time Hodgson's diplomacy never failed. Had he been drawn by the Queen into the quarrel which she had planned, his life and those of his companions would have been taken in the royal palace on the previous night. On the next morning his quiet courage again saved the lives of all within the Residency walls. Down in the city there was grave trouble. The palace of the Prime Minister and those of five other members of the ministry were sacked, and the soldiers demanded that the Maharaja himself should take up their cause. On the 22nd the Maharaja was compelled to meet his troops, and on the following day he seems to have somewhat eased the situation by an assurance that in reducing the pay of his troops his sole intention was to accumulate sufficient money to justify an invasion of India. The appeal was instantly successful —in fact, too successful.[1] The Gurkhas clamoured to be led against the

[1] The representatives of the soldiers harangued the Maharaja on parade. "It is true that the English Government is great; but do the wild dogs of Nepal care how large the herd is that they attack? They are sure to get their bellies filled. You want no money for making war; for the war shall support itself. We will plunder Lucknow and Patna. But first we must get rid of the Resident, who sees and forestalls all. We must be able, unseen, to watch the moment of attack. It will soon come; it *is* come. Give the word and we will destroy the Resident. We shall soon make the Ganges your boundary. If the English, as they say, are your friends, and want peace, why do they keep possession

British—a demand with which the senior Queen and Ran Jang might perhaps have temporized. But old friendship was forgotten and, with one of those *volte-face* with which the reader is probably becoming familiar, the army demanded that Hodgson and his staff should at once be put to death.

The situation somewhat resembled that which prevailed during the Boxer troubles in Peking in 1900. The Queen, no unworthy forerunner of the famous Dowager Empress, had organized the rising. Like Tz'u Hsi, she directed it against the foreign intruders into the country. The hope of both women had been that these aliens would be annihilated before any direct responsibility could be attached to themselves. This hope proved ill-founded, and when the Queen of Nepal in 1840—like the Dowager Empress in 1900—was called upon to give official sanction to the massacre, her resolution was sicklied o'er by the pale cast of thought. The plot had failed. Hodgson's *munshi* made his way to the palace " and acquainted the Darbar that the pretence of mutiny to cover violence was transparent, that intelligence to that effect had been transmitted to the Governor-General by two different channels, and that the messengers had already got clear off towards the plains. The effect of this double move by the soldiers and by the Resident was to put a quiet extinguisher on a ruse of the Darbar which might easily have resulted in a scene of bloodshed, *furens quid femina possit* being an old truth."

Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, at last realized that action had to be taken. The Ramnagar territory was still occupied by the Gurkhas. An official ultimatum from Calcutta was forwarded through Hodgson to the Nepal Government. The intruders were then withdrawn by the Queen, and for the next three months a series of internal dissensions within the ministry co-operated with Hodgson's efforts from outside to get rid of the men who had been responsible for the recent crisis. It will be seen that his conception of his position was radically different from that of his successors, but he had the direct instructions of the Governor-General and could not deviate from them.

He was successful. On 1st November Ran Jang was dismissed, and in his place another Chautaria was set up as a puppet premier. The Brahmans sided with the new Cabinet, and the senior Queen had for the moment to content herself with nursing schemes for future vengeance. In January 1841 the Maharaja drew up for presentation to Hodgson a list of the new ministers who, he assured the Resident, had been given strict orders to do all that was possible to renew the friendship between India and Nepal. This action was received with enthusiasm by the Chautarias, the Brahmans, and the landowners. But the bitter hostility with which the Queen received

of half your dominions? Let them restore Kumaon and Sikkim. These are yours: demand them back. If they refuse, drive out the Resident, and let us have war."

the information may be imagined. She adopted the usual device of an unsuccessful member of the royal family of Nepal. She set off on the well-trodden track to Benares. The Maharaja immediately followed, intending either to bring her back or to join her in her retreat in the holy city. Lord Auckland, with some wit, made the lack of a passport into India the reason why Hodgson must persuade the Maharaja and his consort to abandon the scheme. This had the desired effect, and the Queen went back. So fickle were the affections of the good people of Katmandu that her return was hailed with ecstasy by the common people, and a violent attack was made against the ministry of Chautarias and Brahmans. Elated by her unexpected popularity, the Queen now determined to compel the abdication of her husband, and as regent to retain all power in her own hands until her son should come of age. In a moment the pleasanter atmosphere that Hodgson had just succeeded in creating gave place to one of bitter and open hostility. Hodgson dealt with the position simply and prudently. The crisis passed, and a mild form of resentment and unrest gave place to the active troubles of the summer. The pendulum once again swung over towards the British, and once again the failure of her schemes induced the Queen to abandon Katmandu for the holy shades of Benares. Once again the comedy of pursuit and return would no doubt have been enacted, but, perhaps for the good of all concerned, the unhappy woman went down with a severe attack of *aw'al*, and on 6th October 1841 she died in the Tarai.

Thus was removed the gravest—almost the last—danger to peace between Nepal and her great southern neighbour. It had been an escape, the narrowness of which has never been entirely realized. There can be no doubt that the senior Queen was continually in touch, not only with the disaffected elements in India, such as Gwalior, Baroda, Jodhpur, Jaipur, and Dhulip Singh—who had just succeeded the " Lion of the Panjab "—but with Afghanistan also, and the disaster of January 1842, when Dr. Brydon, the one survivor of eight thousand troops from India, made his solitary way into Jalalabad, would almost certainly have provoked in her passionate and ill-balanced mind a determination once more to try conclusions with the noted East India Company. But the death of the Queen brought about a general reaction from her hostile policy, and the Maharaja instantly offered the services of the Nepalese forces for use by the Company either in Burma or Afghanistan as the Governor-General might think fit. Lord Auckland did not accept this offer, but in a letter dated 22nd January 1842 reference is made to a friendly co-operation between the two countries. This has not only been of the greatest benefit to both, but more than any other factor has contributed to the genuine affection which now binds together our soldiers and the sturdy, unfailing Gurkhas on many fronts of peace and war. In this letter Lord Auckland uses these phrases: " Under these circumstances I should have no immediate means of availing myself

of the services of the Gurkha army. But I duly appreciate their value as brave and well-disciplined soldiers, and if any future occasion should arise when they might co-operate with the British forces it would afford me the greatest satisfaction to see the Gurkha and the British soldier marching side by side as friends and allies to the attack of a common enemy."

Hodgson had never been blind to the fighting capacity of the Gurkha troops. The original suggestion for their use in the Indian Army is to be credited to General Ochterlony, who had had good reason to realize their military efficiency in 1814. On his advice the Governor-General enlisted four Gurkha regiments from the Nepalese troops that were then disbanded.



NEPALESE SOLDIERS, 1813-1837

But they seem to have been reckoned of no great account, and in 1825 Sir Edward Paget, the Commander-in-Chief in India, suggested that they should be kept up to strength by direct recruitment in Nepal. Mr. Gardner was then Resident, and was of the opinion that it would be better to come to an arrangement with the Nepalese Government for the service of a portion of their organized troops as mercenaries. He believed " that even on entering our service, the Gurkhas would not separate themselves entirely from their native country, as they could not remove their families from Nepal," and he opined that, however faithfully they might conduct themselves on general occasions, in the event of any future rupture between India and Nepal, they possessed that feeling of patriotism which would induce the greater part of them to adhere decidedly to their natural

allegiance.[1] But Mr. Gardner's proposal, though it met with the approval of Bhim Sen, was rejected by the Government of India, which was traditionally opposed to the inclusion of mercenaries in its army.

Hodgson viewed the matter from another point of view, and he was supported by Sir H. Maddock. In 1832 Hodgson sums up the advantages of enlisting Gurkhas in the Indian Army as regular soldiers. "These Highland soldiers, who despatch their meal in half an hour, and satisfy the ceremonial law by merely washing their hands and face and taking off their turbans before cooking, laugh at the pharisaical rigour of our sepoys, who must bathe from head to foot and make puja ere they begin to dress their dinner; must eat nearly naked in the coldest weather, and cannot be in marching trim again in less than three hours—the best part of the day. In war, the former carry several days' provisions on their backs; the latter would deem such an act intolerably degrading. The former see in foreign service nothing but the prospect of gain and glory; the latter can discover in it nothing but pollution and peril from unclean men, and terrible wizards and goblins and evil spirits.



SOLDIER, 1830-1859

"In masses, the former have that indomitable confidence, each in all, which grows out of national integrity and success; the latter can have no idea of this sentiment, which, however, maintains the union and resolution of multitudes in peril better than all other human bonds whatever.

"I calculate that there are at this time in Nepal no less than 30,000 Dhakeriahs, or soldiers off the roll by rotation, belonging to the Khas, Muggurs, and Gurung tribes. I am not sure that there exists any insuperable obstacle to our obtaining, in one form or other, the services of a large body of these men; and such are their energy of character, love of enterprise, and freedom from the shackles of caste, that I am well assured their services, if obtained, would soon come to be most highly prized. In my humble opinion they are by far the best soldiers in India, and if they are made participators of our renown in arms, I conceive that their gallant spirit and unadulterated military habits
17 might be relied on for fidelity; and that our good and regular pay, and

[1] *Principal Transactions*, para. 64.

noble pension establishment, would serve to counterpoise the influence of nationality."

But Hodgson's suggestion was prompted also by a wish to deal in a practical manner with the danger of the ever-growing militarism of Nepal. He foresaw this difficulty as one of the most serious threats to the peace and order of Nepal and of the frontier. He failed in this effort to draw off into the Indian Army a large proportion of men who had been trained to no other service but that of arms, and thenceforward turned his attention to the development of the trade of Nepal. His views are summed up in two despatches, dated respectively 8th March 1830 and 1st December 1831. He laid stress upon the neglect by Indian merchants of the main routes through Nepal. He gave lists of incredible length and detail dealing with the imports, exports, and transports that might be expected, and even summed up the number of merchants residing in the Valley with an estimate of the command of capital possessed by each one. As Sir William Hunter says, Hodgson's main aim "was to convert Nepal from an interposing obstacle into a common mart where the merchants from Hindostan might interchange their commodities with the traders from Inner Asia." In doing so, Hodgson points out the importance to British trade of the fair way that would be thus secured.

He had the satisfaction of seeing this last proposal taken at once into serious consideration both in Katmandu and Calcutta. The benefit to both Nepal and India of these friendlier relations cannot be better shown than by a comparison of the 3,000,000 rupees worth of Nepalese imports and exports in 1830 with the 60,000,000 rupees of 1923.

The indefatigable industry of Hodgson did not stop here. He sent in to the Government of India in two documents, still preserved in Calcutta, a full and reasoned account of the judicial customs of Nepal. For an obvious reason his narrative possesses an interest that can be found nowhere else. In India the Moslem wiped out the last methods of Hindu legislation and government. In his later years Jang Bahadur began the radical reform of the judicial system of Nepal, and his work has been carried almost to completion by the present Prime Minister. Mr. Hodgson's questionnaire was presented to the recognized legal authorities of Nepal at a time when no reforming influence had changed the essentially and almost prehistorically Hindu nature of the law. Certain traditions apart, it is a remarkable testimony to the shrewd wisdom of early Hindu legislation. It comprised almost every aspect of the judicial system of the country. And it is to them, almost more than to any other source, that we turn instinctively for an understanding of the earlier practices and customs in India itself.[1]

[1] The two papers were published in 1880 under the title of *Some Account of the Systems of Law and Police as recognised in the State of Nepal.* They will be found in vol. ii of Hodgson's *Miscellaneous Essays.*

It is impossible to quote at any length this long and learned dissertation, but the paragraphs dealing with the ordeal by water are even now of no small interest. The ordeal is called *nyaya*, and the form of it is as follows. " The names of the respective parties are inscribed on two pieces of paper, which are rolled up into balls, and then have *puja* offered to them. From each party a fine or fee of one rupee is taken: the balls are then affixed to staffs of reed, and two annas more are taken from each party. The reeds are then entrusted to two of the havildars of the Court to take to the Queen's Tank (the Rani Pokhri, immediately north of the Great Maidan), and with the havildars, an examining officer of the Court, a Brahman and the parties proceed thither, as also two men of the Chamakhalak (or leather worker) caste. On arriving at the Tank, the examining officer again exhorts the parties to avoid the ordeal by adopting some other mode of settling the business, the merits of which are only known to themselves." If they continue to insist on the ordeal, the two havildars enter the water about knee deep, one to the east and the other to the west, and set up the two reeds in the Tank. After an invocation to Varuna, the Brahman in charge gives the *tilak* or circular red spot on the foreheads of the two Chamakhalaks, saying: " Let the champion of truth win and let the false one's champion lose." The Chamakhalaks then separate, one going towards each reed, and enter the deeper water of the pool. A signal is given and both the men immerse themselves in the water at the same instant. Whichever of them first rises from the water, the reed nearest to him is instantly destroyed, together with the paper attached to it. The other reed is carried back to the Court, where the ball of paper is opened and the name of the victor read. Several public and private taxes are then paid, and the Court registers the decision.

It will be noticed that this form of ordeal is in its way an advance upon those practised in Europe in the Middle Ages. No question of the physical superiority of either claimant can influence the decision. The names are written secretly on the papers, and neither of the two Chamakhalaks has any idea of the litigant for whom he is attempting to secure a watery triumph. It is therefore a pure gamble, dependent neither upon skill, nor strength, nor endurance, and though it has since been abandoned, the obvious even chances thus offered of a rightful verdict appeal perhaps more to those accustomed to Oriental justice than to ourselves.

Besides the military and commercial schemes, Hodgson was at last partially successful in obtaining a definite delimitation of the frontiers of Nepal. In one or two places, those to the north still leave something to be desired, though the territory concerned is not of much importance, but the other sides of this mountainous rectangle are now definitely laid down. A good deal of trouble had been caused by the fact that, after our successful war of 1816, the western part of the Nepalese Tarai had been ceded to the King of Audh. For fourteen years the uncertainty of the actual frontier

had given rise to perpetual trouble, but in 1830 Bhim Sen consented to a definite delimitation by an impartial British officer in the presence of delegates from both Audh and Nepal. The eastern Tarai also had been somewhat complicated by our partial restoration of the territory to Nepal. But Hodgson was enabled to secure Bhim Sen's consent to an agreement in 1833.

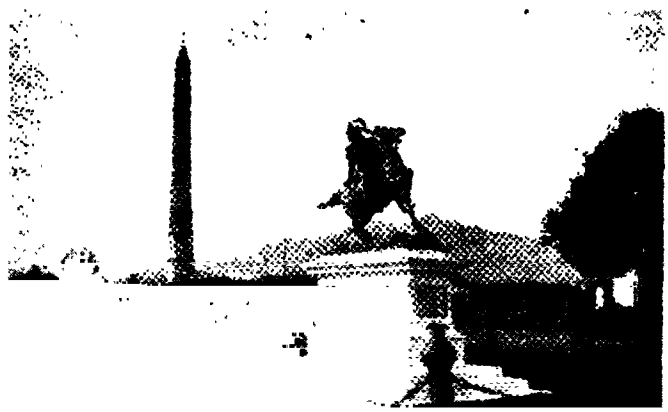
Yet, in spite of the yeoman service that he was rendering to the Indian Government, Hodgson was the victim at this time of an intense depression. In a despatch to the Governor-General he acknowledges that he is bound to Nepal by choice and necessity, " by my feeble health and my peculiar pursuits, and having neither a wish nor a hope beyond what I possess." But he tells the Political Secretary, in terms which admit of no mistake, that the British Residency in Nepal was a mere farce. The Prime Minister lost no opportunity of offering petty affronts to a new Resident, and indeed to all connected with the Residency. Apart from this unworthy action, which casts more discredit upon Bhim Sen than anyone else, the Prime Minister, it is interesting to note, used to the full the tradition of a Chinese vassalage whenever Hodgson put forward a suggestion which the former wished to evade. We shall find later instances of this double game. It was a game that was played with equal dexterity in Peking, where the inability of Nepal to act counter to the wishes of India was not infrequently turned to diplomatic advantage. Hodgson, however, did not acquiesce in the gradual elimination of direct intercourse between the Residency and the Palace. He was convinced that the constant difficulties raised by the Prime Minister whenever the Resident sought an occasion to interview the King were symptoms of a perpetual wish to estrange Calcutta and Katmandu, and the forerunners of grave trouble for Nepal.

That evil days were coming was very evident, and Hodgson sent down to India a lucid and significant account of the final absorption of power by the Prime Minister of Nepal to the exclusion of the King. " The Raja is hemmed into his palace, beyond which he cannot stir unaccompanied by the Minister, and then only to the extent of a short ride or drive. Even within the walls of his palace the Minister and his brother both reside, the latter in the especial capacity of ' dry nurse ' to His Highness.

" Last year the Raja desired to make an excursion into the lower hills to shoot. He was prevented by all sorts of idle tales and obstructions. This year he proposed visiting his palace at Nayakot, the winter residence of his fathers: again he was prevented as before. Of power he has not a particle, nor seems to wish it. Of patronage he has not a fraction; and is naturally galled at this, as well as at being sentinelled all round by Bhim Sen's creatures, even within his own abode, and at being debarred from almost all liberty of locomotion, and of intercourse with the sirdars and gentry of the country."

Hodgson goes on to point out that the Rani was by no means willing to put up with this royal servitude and, irritated by her husband's slowness, " has, it is said, avowed to his friends her resolution, should he not soon be moved to assert either his personal or political liberty, to claim the rule of the kingdom in his name as the mother of two male children." We have already seen the success which attended the Rani's schemes for the overthrow of Bhim Sen's authority which culminated in the tragic death of the former autocrat of Nepal.

It was not long before the pendulum oscillated once again. Friction soon broke out between the late Queen's eldest son, who had been wholly



THE DHARARA, OR BHIM SEN, TOWER, KATMANDU

With statue of Jang Bahadur in foreground

under the influence of the Panres, and the junior Queen who, having succeeded to the position of chief wife, lost no time in attempting to secure the succession for her own son. She pleaded that the existing heir apparent was mentally unfit. The charge might have been brought with more reason against his father. Some idle rumour appeared in an Anglo-Indian newspaper that the senior Queen had been poisoned. The Maharaja at once went to the British Lines and demanded from the Resident the surrender of the author of this slander. " Tell the Governor-General," he shouted, " that he must and shall give him up. I will have him and flay him alive, and rub him with salt and lemon till he dies. Further, tell the Governor-General that if this infamous calumniator is not delivered up, there shall be war between us." Realizing the folly of his father's attitude, the heir

apparent then intervened. He spared neither insults nor blows, and at last induced the Maharaja to make an apology to Hodgson. The picture is one that throws rather a lurid light upon the condition of domestic and political life that prevailed inside the palace of Katmandu. In April the Maharaja once more lost his head, but this time his son, again with abuse and again with blows, attempted to counsel Rajendra to carry out his purpose of violating the extra-territoriality of the Residency in order to arrest a Nepalese refugee. By this time the nobility of Nepal were as gravely perturbed by these royal eccentricities as was Hodgson himself. There can be no doubt that in all these excesses the latter was able to count in some measure upon the constant, if rather timid, support of the Nepalese aristocracy. It is not without interest to notice that, in order to smooth down the quarrel to which I have just referred, the Brahman Raghunath himself stood sponsor for the safe conduct of the man whom the Maharaja was endeavouring to wrest from British protection. Hodgson had deserved well of both countries. He had used a steadiness, a patience, and a diplomacy which, it is possible, might not have been forthcoming from any other servant of the Indian Government. On no less than four occasions he had averted the danger of war. He had used his personal influence with the semi-insane Maharaja so to conduct the policy of his country that the grave scandals of his administration did not bring about trouble with India. His despatches did not tell the whole story of his service. We have to read from the semi-official or private records of others the full tale of his achievement.

Unfortunately at this moment the Earl of Ellenborough was sent out as Governor-General in the place of Lord Auckland. The ignorance of this new Governor-General was only exceeded by his personal vanity.[1] So delicate a situation as that in Nepal was wholly beyond his comprehension. But Hodgson was as strong as the Governor-General was weak, and the Resident in Nepal declined to throw away the good results of the policy which Lord Ellenborough's predecessors had adopted towards that country. Naturally enough Hodgson received the private support of the more experienced members of the Indian Government. But the powers of the Governor-General in 1842 were even more autocratic than they are at this day, and in a fit of childish irritation Lord Ellenborough dismissed Hodgson on 21st June of that year. The weakness of the man passes belief. Scarcely a fortnight later the Governor-General was writing a friendly private letter to the man whom he had thus publicly insulted, practically apologizing for having to remove him while a change of policy was carried out. Twenty

[1] In 1843 Macaulay, speaking of Lord Ellenborough and the people of India, made the famous remark: "We have sometimes sent them Governors whom they loved, and sometimes Governors whom they feared, but they never before had a Governor at whom they laughed."

days later this vacillating official wrote again to say that he thought that after all Hodgson had better stay as Resident. It only needs to be added



MATHABAR SINGH

that Lord Ellenborough, whatever his unwisdom in other things, was cautious enough never to place on the files of the Indian Government his

despatch of 21st June recalling Hodgson from his work. It was not perhaps unreasonable that the Governor-General should advise an abandonment of the large part which the Resident had lately been playing in Nepalese politics. As a newcomer, he could not know that the assumption of this responsibility was the only means that Hodgson possessed of maintaining peace between Nepal and India at a time when the crushing disaster of Afghanistan had made it impossible for India to deal adequately with a northern trouble also. But the Governor-General made it clear that his actual intention was a wish to reverse and throw contempt upon a policy which was connected with the name of his predecessor.

Hodgson accepted his new instructions and carried them out to the best of his ability, but he could not so easily put an end to the habitual confidence which nearly all parties in Katmandu had come to repose in him. The chief faction that had always been frankly opposed to the Resident was, of course, that of the heir apparent, and, as Sir William Hunter remarks, the withdrawal of British opposition encouraged him to launch out again on his career of atrocities with a free hand. The King recognized the indignity of his own position. He was unable to prevent or even to criticize his subjects when, towards the end of the year 1842, they practically rose in revolt against the excesses of the Court. "The people complained that they could not obey two Masters, adducing numerous instances in which the Maharaja had allowed them to be punished by his son for obedience to his own commands, whilst for all the murders, maimings, beatings, and insults perpetrated by the heir apparent the Maharaja had evaded authorizing prevention or making atonement in a single instance." In this confusion the lady who was now the senior Queen and had always been a strong supporter of the Thapa faction, executed a *coup d'état*. She suddenly installed Mathabar Singh, nephew of Bhim Sen, as Prime Minister.

Mathabar took some time to make up his mind to abandon his not uncomfortable residence in Simla and the allowance which the Indian Government made him. The Queen determined to put an end to his hesitation by the assassination of the Panre leaders who had been the cause of his uncle's degradation and death.[1] But, once in power, the Queen found that Mathabar was no more willing than the late Coalition Government to set aside the rights of the heir apparent in favour of her own child. The year 1844 passed amid scenes of quarrel and intrigue that were none the less bitter for the absence of Brian Hodgson from the Residency. He had resigned in the previous year, and the removal of this sage counsellor was no doubt one of the causes which brought about the sanguinary changes

[1] It is to be noted that when Mathabar Singh put the Panre clan to death, they brought with them their own kukhries to the place of execution in order that death might not be prolonged.

in the government of Nepal that I shall have to record. For the last time the royal family of Nepal were playing the leading part in the administration of the country. Their tenure of authority ended in yet another repetition of the scenes of blood that have so frequently darkened the chronicles of the mountain kingdom.

Despairing of obtaining the support of Mathabar Singh, the Queen determined to get rid of him. A certain Gagan Singh, who was her lover, suggested that she should tell the King that Mathabar was on the point of compelling him to abdicate in favour of Prince Surendra, and should hint that this was only a temporary move to be succeeded by the supersession of the royal family by Mathabar himself.

The King was glad enough to hear that Mathabar could be removed, and he failed to see that the latter's absence would only transfer all power into the hands of the Queen and Gagan Singh. With Rajendra's consent arrangements were therefore made for the murder of Mathabar. Jang Bahadur was chosen as the instrument. At a personal interview the necessity was explained to him, and Jang received orders in so many words to carry out the murder of his uncle. To make the best of Jang Bahadur's subsequent action, it is necessary to remember a conversation that is said to have taken place not long before between Mathabar and his nephew, in which the Prime Minister strongly asserted the duty that lay upon all Nepalese subjects to obey the commands of the sovereign.[1] But a more compelling reason for obedience was that Jang Bahadur saw at once that either his own life or Mathabar's was doomed; and, moreover, that, even should he sacrifice his own by refusing the commission, Mathabar had in any case not many days to live. He therefore decided to carry out the assassination at once.

On the 17th May 1845 Mathabar was sent for to the palace. The King himself put a loaded rifle in Jang Bahadur's hand, and hid him behind a screen. Mathabar seems to have had some presentiment of trouble, but proceeded to the Queen's apartment. Jang Bahadur—by his own confession—killed him on the threshold.[2] The body was then thrown out of a window, and as a belated act of grace, was thence taken to Pashpati.

When the assassination could no longer be kept secret, it was allowed to be believed that, as the final Court of Justice in Nepal, the King himself had with his own hands executed Mathabar. The expression of Henry Lawrence—" Poor as is my opinion of Jang's moral character, I do believe

[1] This conversation seems to be an invention, somewhat clumsily concocted afterwards, to justify Jang Bahadur. One version says that Mathabar even went as far as to say that if he received orders to do so, Jang should not hesitate to kill the Prime Minister! In 1847, however, the King after deposition wrote to the Governor-General: "I sent for Jang Bahadur and ordered him to kill Mathabar Singh, threatening him with death if he refused to obey."

[2] Chap. vi, p. 116.

him guiltless of this murder"—only shows how difficult it is for men of high personal rectitude to believe in the criminality of those with whom they are brought into frequent and, on the whole, friendly contact.

A curious point is that Jang—who never showed more presence of mind than he did at this moment—at once commissioned his brothers, Rana Udip Singh and Bam Bahadur, to escort the dead man's son to the farthest village in the Valley on the road to India. The interesting point of this incident is that it marks the moment at which Jang Bahadur threw all convention to the winds and embarked, perhaps of necessity, upon the career than which no other was now possible to him—and was possible only because of his iron will and relentless ambition.



CHAPTER VI

JANG BAHADUR

"Jang Bahadur is not the man to let anybody get to windward of him very easily."—CAPT. FRANCIS EGERTON, R.N. *Journal of a Winter's Tour of India*, 1852.

FROM his lonely Residency Hodgson now looked down upon a plain seething with discord and intrigue. It may be useful to sum up this complicated situation by a reference to the able dissection of the position by Sir William Hunter. He points out that at this time there were seven different parties, all struggling for power, few or none of which remained in alliance with any other party for more than a few weeks, and none of which would be debarred by any moral sense from securing its ends.

First in point of honour if not of power was the King. He was bitterly conscious of the undignified and impotent position in which he was placed. Ranbir Singh had stirred in him the ambition of becoming the actual ruler of his country, and after his fall he identified himself with the Panre family. Such was his political short-sightedness that his only reason for doing so was the knowledge that they were opposed to the Thapa family which, represented by Bhim Sen, had been for so long in power. He can hardly be said to count, except as a ghostly War Lord whose influence over his troops was never actually put to the test, and as a religious personality whom the religious elements in Nepal consistently ignored.

Secondly, the senior Maharani had come for a time to the front, and had wholeheartedly supported the cause of the Panres. She had been influential enough to bring about the downfall of Bhim Sen, but there her influence ceased. After displays of ungovernable temper, she shook the dust of the Valley off her feet, two years after Bhim Sen's death, and, as has been said, fell a victim to the *awal* of the Tarai.

Thirdly, there was the junior Maharani, who espoused the cause of the Thapas. Probably more because she hated the senior Maharani than from any other reason, she conducted a struggle against the Panres which was of no small importance. For six years after the humiliation and death of Bhim Sen in 1839, she was a prominent figure on the Nepalese stage. She had courage as well as ambition. But in 1846 Jang Bahadur and the King exiled her to India.

Fourthly were the royal collaterals called the Chautarias, who had vaguely defined rights due to their cousinship with the King. During Bhim Sen's supremacy they had been disregarded as having no weight in public affairs; but, as has been said, after his death they put forward one or two inadequate leaders who, as Prime Ministers, never enjoyed either dignity or authority. They were practically exterminated in the massacre of the Kot in 1846.

It is here convenient to consider in the fifth place the always powerful faction of the Brahmans. Secure in their religious supremacy, they exercised a nominal authority and could be allowed by the two chief factions of the State to hold the reins of power from time to time—or to seem to do so—while the real battle was being fought out by men of action. Their head was Raghunath Pandit. He was typical of his caste. He accepted the office of Prime Minister on two occasions, but rapidly realized that the dangers of the post were far more serious than its dignities or emoluments. He was supported by no one, and always took the first opportunity to resign. His chief preoccupation during his term of office was the safety of his own person, and it was not of such men as he that a Governor of Nepal could be made during these terrible times.

Sixthly and seventhly were the great rival families. The Thapas had been guided by Bhim Sen. His disloyal brother, Ranbir, became a fakir, and from that moment disappeared from the scene.

Last of these factions was the clan of the Panres, who had suffered heavily at the hands of Bhim Sen in 1805. The leading members were executed, a large number of others were exiled, and the universal confiscation of the estates of the Panres completed for a time the extinction of their influence. But, as we have seen, Ran Jang, the son of the Panre Prime Minister who had been put to death by Bhim Sen, had a long and unforgiving memory. The senior Maharani encouraged his ambitions, and it was due to the machinations of these two that Bhim Sen was degraded in 1837 and compelled to commit suicide in 1839. But the achievement of his revenge was but Dead Sea fruit to Ran Jang. He was able to exert no real authority after the downfall of his enemy, and in 1843, when at the place of execution, was only saved from death by a contemptuous pardon as a man whose influence it was not worth while to end.

The chaos that had reigned during these thirteen years baffles description. Each party in turn clutched at power, and endeavoured to secure itself by the massacre of its rivals; each party in turn suffered within a few months the fate which it had meted out to its enemies. Only the sanctity of the Brahman party preserved its members from a similar fate.

But all the while, watching with infinite care from a place of temporary safety, there was a young man, Mathabar Singh's nephew, who, conscious both of his own capacity and strength of purpose, was biding his time for

an entrance upon the blood-darkened sand of the arena. With clear and determined eyes he watched from India the ebb and flow of fortune in Katmandu, though he may not then have realized the overwhelming part that he was to play in the settlement and security of Nepal. His name was Jang Bahadur, and during his early life his escapes—and indeed escapades—had been too widely known to suggest to the Nepalese that in him would be found the saviour of his country. But the sane and observing



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eye of Sir Henry Lawrence, then Resident in Katmandu, had already marked him down as a man of exceptional intelligence, and from him at least the life of brilliant vagabondage which Jang Bahadur had hitherto led had not obscured the capacity and the dominating personality of the man. Lawrence knew well enough that on the stage of Nepal it is character alone which controls the human drama.

Of the ancestry of this man it is only necessary to note that he was the second son of Bala Narsingh, the son of Ranjit Kunwar. At the age of

twenty-two Bala Narsingh avenged the death of the King of Nepal by killing Sher Bahadur, the latter's step-brother and assassin. For this he received high honours, and the position of Kazi was made hereditary in what has since become the prime ministerial family. By his first wife he had only one son, Baktbir Kunwar. By his second wife, who was the daughter of Nain Singh, brother of Bhim Sen Thapa, he had seven sons and two daughters. Jang Bahadur was born on 18th June 1817, and although his parents had intended that he should be called Birner Singh, he was given the name of Jang Bahadur at the request of his uncle, Mathabar Singh.

Before dealing with the public life and work of one of the most interesting Asiatic leaders that history has known, it may be well to note some of the personal characteristics of the man. To the end of his life he remained a difficult man for even his nearest relations to approach. No doubt he felt—and rightly felt—that the manner in which he had climbed to power was one that some of his relations would never either forgive or forget. His personality secured him from open attack, but he took no risks. His bodyguard was always either with him or within instant call. In the Valley he never moved without a strong escort, and even in the hunting expeditions of which he was so fond, he was almost as carefully guarded as when he cantered across the Tundi Khel. His early years had done little to increase his confidence in man, and however disinclined we may be to condone the method by which he won his autocratic position, he would be a shallow observer who did not recognize in this terrible and lonely autocrat a figure that Aeschylus would have immortalized with something akin to reverence. For if ever the finger of Fate was made manifest in a nation's history, it was in the advancement to permanent power of Jang Bahadur. But it was at the cost of blood, of the surrender of nearly all human affections, of eternal suspicion, that the ascent was made, and—as we should not forget—there can have been no hope in the mind of this magnificent tyrant that any one of his family would have the ability to maintain and to carry out to the full the ambitions which had inspired him from his youth. He could not have foreseen that the present Prime Minister, Chandra Sham Sher, in many ways a greater man, could carry on the work that he himself had inherited from Bhim Sen. This indeed he had enlarged and transformed into a consistent and brilliant policy; but in Chandra's hands it received a greatness of interpretation which it was beyond the capacity of Jang Bahadur to accomplish.

Jang Bahadur had but one great interest outside his political life. He was a mighty hunter before the Lord. He was a first-class shot, and those who were present in Nepal at the time of the great shoot in 1876 in honour of King Edward VII, then Prince of Wales, will remember the way in which, after a fusillade from the royal party had vainly attempted to

stop a flying boar, Jang Bahadur, who had waited till the others had finished, brought it down clean at two hundred yards. At archery and horsemanship he was equally good. He was a fine wrestler, and delighted in fights between animals.[1]

There was living in Katmandu an old man of eighty-six who for a long time was Jang Bahadur's personal guard. Probably better than any of the great Prime Minister's own family, does Major Khadga Singh Gurung remember the curious personality of his master. He had no fixed times for anything. He would rise at any time between five in the morning and ten o'clock. He was a quick-tempered man, and for the last year or two before his death, he became irritable and was provoked to anger by the slightest opposition. At the same time it is curious to note that he was always ready to listen to the other side of a question which was put before him by his own servants, and he was ready to admit it when they had right on their side. He was illiterate, but at more than one period of his life made attempts to master the English language. He liked to have the newspapers of India and England—there are no newspapers in Nepal—read and explained to him. He was economical in his management of his own household, and never cared to give away in charity more than thirty rupees at any one time. He had an inveterate liking for medicinal treatment. The medicines he used were Nepalese, not European, but he occasionally called in the professional services of Dr. Wright. Of his ready wit a certain number of illustrations have been handed down, of which the best known is his remark to Queen Victoria in London during a gala performance at the Opera. A distinguished prima donna had just given an exhibition of her powers; and Jang Bahadur applauded. The Queen, turning to him, said: "But you have not understood what she was singing." Jang Bahadur at once replied: "No, Madam, nor do I understand what the nightingales are saying." This made a good story, and it illustrates, not merely the quickness of Jang Bahadur, but his ability as a courtier; for he did not conceal the fact from his intimates that he considered the Opera a foolish and silly exhibition, not to be compared with that of an ordinary military brass band!

For the reasons that have been given, it is difficult to obtain any clear notion of Jang Bahadur's private life. He seems to have taken no one into his confidence, and it is therefore hard to reconcile the two sides that are constantly to be noted in his character. No one but a man of the firmest and most constant courage could have maintained himself against the persistent intrigues that he had to fight at home. No one but a man of foresight, broad judgment, and willingness to take responsibilities from which every other man of his day and his country would have flinched, could

[1] On one occasion during a duel between elephants, the mahout was thrown off. Without hesitation Jang Bahadur took his place.

have achieved his success in foreign policy. Yet at the same time there is equally conspicuous a childish petulance and an ever-present suspicion even of those who were most loyal to his interest. Moreover, the complete autocracy which Jang Bahadur exercised had its inevitable result. His horizon contracted.

One incident may be quoted to illustrate this weakness in a great man's character. In 1858 he sent, or rather caused to be sent by the King, two or three ill-conceived letters complaining of the discourtesy shown to him and to the Nepalese Government by Lieutenant-Colonel Ramsay, who was then Resident in Nepal. It will be remembered that the position of the British Resident in Katmandu had always been one of extreme delicacy. In 1816 General Ochterlony had, at the direction of the Honourable East India Company, and in pursuance of the policy they had adopted in 1792 and 1802, made the acceptance of a Resident one of the terms of peace with Nepal. In insisting upon this condition he had merely carried out his orders, and could not listen to the protests of the Nepalese. But it was unfortunate that, during the brief discussion, Ochterlony used a phrase which has always been resented by Nepal: "You must take either a Resident or war." The result was that a conventional observation of the exact terms of the protocol and often little more has marked the relations between the Residency and the Nepalese Government. This rarely affected the personal relations that existed between the Prime Minister and the British representative, which have often been of the most cordial nature. But where, as in the case of Colonel Ramsay, what might be almost called a personal dislike prevailed for a time between the two, it is clear that no necessity for official intercommunication was likely to bridge the gulf.

The grounds of complaint against Ramsay were chiefly of a trifling nature, and concerned incidents of mere routine. But the intolerant nature of Jang Bahadur prevented his seeing matters in their due proportion. It is deplorable that this quarrel should have taken place immediately after the months during which Jang Bahadur had rendered such yeoman service to the British cause in the Indian Mutiny. But it cannot be denied that it was probably as a result of the British Government's full recognition of those services that Jang Bahadur ever dared to make so astonishing a threat as that the King and the Government of Nepal would leave the Valley and take up their residence in some unapproachable part of Western Nepal unless the Resident were recalled. To this Lord Canning replied in two clearly written despatches, which left Jang Bahadur in no doubt whatever as to the small effect that he had produced in Calcutta. Colonel Ramsay was of course confirmed in his position, and indeed remained at Katmandu for several years. He was shortly afterwards commissioned to confer upon Jang Bahadur the dignity and insignia of a Grand Commander

of the Bath, and it seems that the old antagonism between the two men soon died out.

But Jang Bahadur was a man who made few friends, even among his own relations. He took a delight in sowing causes of quarrel and dissension among them, and his irritability is almost proverbial to this day. In the following account of his life, the foregoing sketch of his personality may usefully be borne in mind, and if it does not make much clearer the soul of that strong, unscrupulous, lonely, and petulant man, it may perhaps explain why, throughout his life, his relations with all with whom he came in contact were attended by a certain amount of difficulty.

Jang Bahadur appears with suddenness upon the scene of Nepalese drama. His father commanded the north-western district, and he was thus removed from the capital during his youth. Rumours of him as an independent and even undisciplined young ensign reached Katmandu from time to time. He was continually in trouble for escapades which, although never in themselves serious, were naturally regarded as subversive of discipline in the case of the son of the Kazi and Commanding General. His father found it quite impossible to control him, and all the evidence we have of this period of Jang Bahadur's life exhibits him as a young man capable at any moment of abandoning his military duties, as an expert gambler, and as a man who, impatient of the authority of those above him, had thrown in his lot with, and had in return secured the devoted affection of, the rank and file of the Nepalese army. He was a master in all forms of sport,[1] and soon found that the slender chances of the younger son of a younger son of a family by no means established in favour at the capital, were quite insufficient for his ambitions. His nature drove him on to a wider stage, and one day he committed the unpardonable offence of deserting his military duties and flying across the frontier into the territory of Ranjit Singh.

We have no record of the manner in which he occupied his time in India, but it does not seem that he received either attention or sympathy from the old Sikh king. Here, as in Nepal, he lived by his wits, but it is probable that in Lahore he found himself opposed by brains of a more subtle and experienced type, and it soon became obvious that the stock of money that he took away with him was insufficient for his needs. With an insouciance which was characteristic of the man, he shrugged his shoulders and returned to Nepal. Somewhat to his surprise perhaps, he found that his offence was not only readily pardoned, but that seemingly as a consequence of it, he received immediate promotion. This return to local military

[1] Jang Bahadur, after he with his father had been dismissed from office at the fall of Bhim Sen Thapa in 1837, conceived the idea of catching elephants single-handed in the Tarai, and thereby clearing off his debts. Though he afterwards performed, single-handed, far more unlikely feats, he was not successful on this occasion.

routine was the result only of financial stringency. But by one of those accidents which seem to mark the lives of men destined for great place, Mathabar Singh was at that moment raised to the position of Prime Minister in Katmandu. Jang Bahadur had not a moment's hesitation. He at once deserted for the second time, and made his way to the capital. His uncle seems to have had a shrewd idea of the mettle of this young man, and it has been noted that Sir Henry Lawrence, English Resident in Katmandu about this time, remarked upon the capacity and initiative of Jang Bahadur. At the same time he makes the curious note that, in spite of his obvious capacity, Jang Bahadur was spending most of his time in designing new uniforms and new buttons. We have not to look far down the list of the greatest military leaders that the world has known without finding a curious parallel to this foible. Mathabar Singh seems to have watched his nephew wallowing in the swamp of intrigue through which Nepal seemed inevitably to flounder, and no doubt he soon realized, not only the defects but the capacity of this wayward but commanding character.



KING RAJENDRA

Mathabar seems wholly to have misunderstood the relations of Nepal with the Honourable East India Company, and lent a ready ear to the suggestions that continually reached him from India, demanding that he should take part with the still existing independent kingdoms of India against the encroachments of the English. He chose Jang Bahadur to accompany a mission to Benares, where an emissary from Lahore was to discuss the situation with a view to joint hostile action. Like most of these mixed conspiracies, the matter was bungled from the start, and the British authorities contented themselves with sending back the members of the two delegations to their homes.

Jang Bahadur found himself at a loose end in Katmandu. He was now sufficiently well known to make his co-operation in Nepalese intrigue a matter of greater difficulty, an impediment which his near relationship to the Prime Minister increased. But the times were then suited for such men as he. The Government of Nepal, such as it was, was rent in pieces. The King himself was scarcely in a mental condition to understand the situation. The Rani had for the time being sided with Mathabar Singh,

and the three together exercised a general control over the policy of the State. But, as has been said, there was on the other hand the vigorous antagonism of the heir to the throne, Surendra Vikram. This young man seems to have combined in himself nearly all the most detestable qualities of an Oriental prince. It is not surprising that he concentrated his hatred against the nephew of the Prime Minister. The stories that are told, and which are no doubt true, of the means that the young prince adopted to kill Jang Bahadur form a series of legends that are still familiar to every man in the streets or fields of Nepal.

It is worth while perhaps to record one or two of these proofs of Surendra's blind and almost maniacal animosity. On one occasion Jang Bahadur and the prince approached a mountain torrent in spate, which, as is common in the case of the less important roads of Nepal, was crossed by a wooden bridge of two timbers' thickness. The prince ordered Jang, who was on horseback, to cross over to the other side, a dangerous task in itself. When he was in the middle of the bridge, the prince suddenly shouted to him an order to return. Inconceivable though it may seem, Jang, who had no doubt trained his horse better than any other man in Nepal, at once swung round upon his narrow foothold, and by little short of a miracle was able to return in safety to the prince. The intention of the prince was thenceforward so obvious that he scarcely troubled to conceal his wish to rid himself of Jang Bahadur.

An order once came to throw him down a well—a common though unhygienic method of disposing of an enemy. Jang had apparently anticipated something of the sort, and accepted the sentence without hesitation. He asked that he might be allowed to throw himself down, a request which was idly granted by the prince who, with a large retinue, came to see the end of this hated and mistrusted young hero. Jang leapt down and, after a heavy splash had assured the waiting crowd of his descent, the morning's recreation was over, and the assembly dispersed. But Jang had realized in the course of his studies that a man in full vigour, supported not only by the water but by the crannies and clefts in the circle of the well itself, might hold on in safety for several hours. Twelve or fifteen hours later his boon companions, who had been instructed in the part they were to play, came with a rope and drew him up. Prudence as well as exhaustion dictated his retreat to a place of concealment until the matter had blown over and an ebb in the authority of the prince enabled Jang to reappear in public.

A third story that is told about him is as extraordinary as the others. A male elephant in the neighbourhood of Katmandu went "must." On these occasions, of which a skilled mahout has full warning, the elephant is doubly shackled and left tied up until the fever is past. But on this occasion the elephant killed his mahout, broke loose, and became the terror of the neighbourhood. No one dared to undertake his capture, but his

depredations became so serious that Jang Bahadur determined to see what he could do to abate the nuisance. On the outskirts of Katmandu was a village lying among fields of maize, through which the half lunatic brute was in the habit of passing every evening. Jang Bahadur lay in wait for him, either on the projecting roof of a house or on the overhanging branch of a tree, and one evening as the elephant came underneath, he leapt or dropped upon his neck. A desperate struggle ensued, but Jang Bahadur managed to blind the eyes of the beast with a pagri, and at last wearied him out sufficiently to enable the mahout of the Court to shackle his feet and secure him again.

Meanwhile Jang Bahadur's uncle, the Prime Minister, was continually engaged in a never-ending intrigue. At last the Maharani turned against him, and on his refusal to murder—it would have been nothing less—some of her personal enemies, she determined to get rid of him also. The story of the crime has already been told. Attempts have been made to explain away this murder. This book has no intention of criticizing the action of those who have employed methods for their own advancement which find no tolerance in modern Europe. There can, however, be no doubt whatever of the fact, and as little of Jang Bahadur's callousness in looking back upon his deed. Laurence Oliphant[1] tells a curious story. In going round the palace of Thapathali, escorted by Jang Bahadur, Oliphant records that his host called his attention to one of the pictures hanging there. " It was a portrait of a strikingly handsome man whose keen eye and lofty brow seemed almost to entitle him to the position he held between the Duke of Wellington and the Queen. ' See,' said Jang enthusiastically, ' here is the Queen of England, and she has not got a more loyal subject[2] than I am.' Then, turning to the picture of the man with the keen eyes and high forehead, he remarked, ' That is my poor uncle, Mathabar Singh, whom I shot; it is very like him.' " There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of this story. It is not necessary here to go into the excuses that have been made for Jang Bahadur in this matter. The best that can be said on his behalf is that he was acting under the direct orders of the King and Queen, and that, had he hesitated to carry them out, he would have lost his own life without prolonging that of his uncle. The matter should be viewed in the light of Jang Bahadur's subsequent behaviour. He immediately assumed the position of Prime Minister, which he was destined to occupy for thirty-two years.

His handling of Nepalese affairs during that period will be considered elsewhere, but before turning to it, it may be interesting to draw a sketch of the habits and manner of life that characterized Katmandu in the middle

[1] *Journey to Katmandu*, Appleton and Co. New York, 1852, p. 166.

[2] This is obviously a mistake. Neither then nor at any later time has any Nepalese asserted his English nationality.

of the nineteenth century. The Nepalese had as yet scarcely come into contact with Western civilization. Jang Bahadur and one or two others may have been guests of some of the lesser officials of the Honourable East India Company during their visits to India. But on all occasions they were really sheltered by Orientals, and Oliphant's description of the life in the palace at this period is not without interest. In the royal palace of Katmandu there is still to be seen the old Darbar room, about eighty feet long and thirty feet wide, decorated by thirty coarsely drawn and crudely coloured panels between the corbels which uphold the roof. One of them, for a reason which I did not discover, had been totally defaced.[1] Fifteen of these panels depict historical personalities; eleven are mere modern French trivialities. Over the entrance is a more recent portrait of Prithwi Narayan with Girvan Judha Vikram on his left.

It was in this room that the two kings—for, although in 1850 the father had technically abdicated, he still continually interfered in the administration of the kingdom, and insisted upon the almost equal recognition of his place and dignity with that of his son—held their darbars. On these occasions Jang Bahadur himself wore the simple sable robes of a first-class Chinese official. Oliphant's description of the scene is worth quoting in full. "There was to be a review of the troops after the darbar, and, as nearly all the nobility of Nepal held rank in the army, the whole assemblage was in uniform, certainly one of the most dazzling that I ever saw collected together. Each man had twice as many feathers as he was entitled to wear, and, while their cocked hats were always completely hid, the bodies of the more diminutive officers almost shared the same fate. The English dragoon and the French hussar might here recognize portions of their uniform, adorned with gold and silver lace to an extent which field-marshals alone have, with us, the right to indulge in, and often mixed up with some Oriental finery—a pair of glittering slippers that consorted but ill with the tightly strapped down, gold-laced trowsers, or a handsome shawl that clumsily supported a bejewelled sabre."

Oliphant makes a note upon the subsequent parade which is now of little interest, so greatly has the efficiency and equipment of the Gurkhas improved since that date. He notes, however, that "the riflemen wore pea-green suits which hung about them loosely, while the regiments of the line wore red coats, with trowsers ample enough to please a Turk.... There was no cavalry, the country not being adapted to that arm of the service, but the artillery seemed very fairly handled; there was an immense deal of firing, both of small arms and great guns, which I believe was very good." The review ended with a touch of burlesque. "Suddenly the music changed; the bandsmen struck up a lively polka,

[1] No doubt the reason was not entirely different from that which blotted out the picture of Marino Faliero in the sequence of the Doges of Venice in the Ducal Palace.

and a number of little boys, in a sort of pen-wiper costume, clasping one another like civilized ladies and gentlemen, began to caper about, after which they went through various antics that surpassed even the wildest notions of our highly civilized community: all this while the troops were manœuvring as vehemently as ever, and the boys were dancing as fantastically; and the whole thing was so eminently ridiculous and looked upon very like a farce, that it was difficult to maintain that dignified and steady appearance which was expected from the spectators of a scene so imposing."

This hastily compiled record of Laurence Oliphant's visit to Nepal in 1850 cannot help bearing the traces of a facile and even literary pen. In all his life Laurence Oliphant never descended to mere chapter-making. But this small compilation goes perilously near to it. It has evidently been written with a speed which prevented the author from making himself intimately acquainted with the history and the racial peculiarities of the Nepalese. His estimates of the officials whom he met are shrewd, but he seems to have had no conception of the part that Nepal was fitting herself to play on the great Asiatic chessboard. He found a subject for laughter rather than interest in the first and necessarily misguided attempts of the Nepalese Court to adjust itself to the manners of Europe. It was natural that the external ceremonies and ornaments of life in England should have been copied in the Valley. What Oliphant wholly failed to understand was that a process of a much slower order, that of assimilating the organization, drill, manufactures, mechanical development, and, above all, the higher standards of justice and humanity which prevailed in Europe, was even then taking root in this strange soil. It was easy to laugh at a general officer who wore diamond slippers beneath strapped trousers. It required a man of longer vision than Laurence Oliphant to realize that what the strapped trousers stood for was in the long run going to turn this Himalayan State into a sovereign kingdom—a kingdom from which England, in the day of her greatest trial, was going to receive the unhesitating gift of 200,000 well-armed, well-drilled, and entirely loyal soldiers.

We turn now to the story of Nepal after the murder of Mathabar Singh.

CHAPTER VII

THE KOT MASSACRE

"These things take time. They are not to be done in a day, or in a gust of passion with a kitchen poker, after the coarse fashion of the west . . . in short they were crimes *sui generis*, and can only be done artistically in Asia. And in Asia they seem best done in Nepal."

THE Queen's thirst for blood was by no means satisfied by the removal of her opponent. The next year, 1846, saw a new reign of terror. She raged like a maniac against high and low, and the Maharaja, whose stunted brain could still recognize the monstrous character of a policy which he had no moral courage to oppose, sent for Fateh Jang. This movement was promptly vetoed by the Maharani. It seems that Jang Bahadur also may have had the powers of an acting Prime Minister. This is Dr. Oldfield's statement, but it is probable that Jang Bahadur was merely employed as an *ad interim* and seemingly pliable dictator until the Queen could secure the appointment of the bitterly hated Gagan Singh. The position in Katmandu was now one of hopeless confusion. Gagan Singh was the last person whom the jealous King wished to appoint as Prime Minister. Fateh Jang, his own choice, could, he thought, be induced to find means of destroying Gagan. An extraordinary compromise was then reached. The four candidates, Gagan Singh, Fateh Jang, Jang Bahadur, and Abhiman Singh were all made generals. The last three each commanded three regiments. Gagan Singh commanded seven. Fateh Jang, with limited powers, was appointed Prime Minister. After him, in the scale of precedence, were Gagan Singh, Abhiman, and Jang Bahadur. Padma Jang notes that of these four Gagan Singh, of course, sided with the Queen, Jang Bahadur with the Prince, and the remaining two with the King.

In the distribution of duties which soon followed, it is curious that Jang Bahadur's rivals did not see the danger of allotting to him the most important duty of all, that of improving the discipline of the army. The others were given civil or military responsibility of considerable distinction, but in the case of two of them their field of operations was remote from the capital and did not directly enhance their power in the State. In December 1845 the Panjab invaded India and the first Sikh war broke out. Lahore appealed for help to Katmandu. At the discussion in the palace which

followed, it is curious that Fateh Jang, Abhiman, and a minor member of the Council, Dalbhanjan, were in favour of helping the Sikhs. Gagan Singh and Jang Bahadur were strongly opposed to any action which would involve the hostility of the friendly British power in India. The King and Queen took the middle course of informing Lahore that assistance could only be sent after the Sikhs had been able to capture Delhi.



KANCHHA MAHARANI LAKSHMI DEVI

Youngest Queen of Rajendra Vikram Sah
and the author of the Kot Massacre

There never was a time when Jang Bahadur's tact was more needed. He saw the wisdom of identifying himself with the Queen and Gagan Singh, and was accepted by them as their loyal supporter. The only check upon their complete confidence was the fact that Jang Bahadur was still faithful to the cause of the rightful heir apparent. For cynical bloodshed the story of the following months in Nepal is probably unsurpassed in the chronicles of any similar period in any country. The nearest ties of blood,

gratitude, and common service were lightly broken, and murder, instead of being the expedient of a great emergency, became a normal and often the only possible reprieve from death.

Four months later, on 12th September 1846, the King sent for Surendra, the heir apparent, and his younger brother Upendra, and bluntly told them that he required them to avenge the family honour by putting to death Gagan Singh, the lover of the Queen. The younger prince went across to the house of Fateh Jang, who considered the matter for some time, and discussed it with Abhiman Singh and Dalbhanjan. But the position was complicated by the fact that Upendra was a mere boy, and that the heir apparent had shown himself to be of doubtful sanity. They therefore decided that a hired assassin should be employed. Gagan was accordingly murdered two days later—murdered in cold blood while he wa at his prayers. A more picturesque but untrustworthy story—which owes its origin to Abhiman Singh—has it that it was Jang Bahadur himself who, taking aim from the roof of his house, put an end to his unfortunate colleague.

The ungovernable fury of the Queen can be imagined. She visited the house of her dead lover—where, it is interesting to note, she forbade Gagan's three widows to perform *sati*—and then assembled all the chief civil and military officers of the State.

Jang Bahadur, hearing what had happened, thought it wise to attend the rendezvous—which was the Kot or Royal Court of Assembly—accompanied by his three regiments. With him went all his brothers and relatives fully armed. His position in Katmandu gave him the primary advantage of being the first to reach the Kot, and he at once surrounded it with his troops. The Queen seemed at first a little uncertain as to the meaning of this large escort, but Jang managed not only to allay her suspicions but to obtain orders from her forbidding any other general to approach the place at the head of his troops.

The other notabilities of the kingdom obeyed the summons in large and increasing numbers. Even so, all might have gone well had it not been for the insensate vindictiveness of the Queen. Smarting from her loss, she turned the Assembly less into a Parliament than into a court of criminal inquiry. For some reason she regarded Birkishore, the Panre member of the Council, as chiefly responsible for the murder of Gagan Singh. She ordered Abhiman, his fellow conspirator, to arrest him. This was done, and then the Queen, in her anger overriding all forms of justice, attacked him openly and shouted to him to confess his guilt. Birkishore, of course, denied all knowledge of the affair. More infuriated still by this denial, the Queen ordered Abhiman to strike off his head. The difficulty of the position thus created may be imagined. Abhiman, before complying with
20 the Queen's order, naturally looked to the King, also a fellow conspirator,

for confirmation. Rajendra declined to sanction the punishment without trial. While Abhiman was representing the King's attitude to the Queen, the King, with characteristic caution, left the Darbar on the excuse that he wished to discuss the matter with Fateh Jang, the Prime Minister, who was not present. After meeting Fateh Jang, whom he at once sent off to the Kot, the King ran away to the British Residency. The Resident, with extreme prudence, refused him an interview on the ground that Europeans did not receive visitors at so late an hour! The King therefore returned to the Kot, but the streams of blood flowing into the gutters from under the gates persuaded him to take refuge in Fateh Jang's house.

What had happened was this. The Prime Minister had meanwhile arrived at the Kot to find Jang Bahadur in complete charge. There was a momentary discussion between the two. Jang Bahadur said that of two ways one must be chosen. Either the Queen must be immediately placed under arrest, or she must be obeyed and Birkishore put to death. Fateh Jang favoured the former suggestion, but demurred to its being carried out at the moment. By this time the Queen seems to have retired from the meeting, and was watching from a window the surging excitement of the well-filled courtyard, where the discussions—such as they were—were being conducted. From her window she cried out: "Tell me the name of the murderer." Fateh Jang answered that there was some difficulty in dealing with the case and that the investigation would take some time. The Queen then seems to have lost all control of herself. She then and there took a public oath that she would not permit anyone to leave the place till the guilty man had been discovered. This did not help matters: nothing of course was done. A few moments later she descended again into the courtyard, and, now completely beside herself, tried to make her way through the crowd towards Birkishore, determined, if no one else would do it, to cut his head off herself. Fateh Jang and Jang Bahadur then intervened, and the baffled Queen returned to the upper storey window.

Soon after this Jang Bahadur was informed that Fateh Jang and Abhiman Singh had arrived at a policy of action without consulting himself, and the news that about three hundred soldiers under Abhiman were advancing towards the Kot decided him to make full use of his existing opportunity. He at once visited the Queen and persuaded her that her party was about to be overpowered. She ordered the instant arrest of Abhiman, who was leaving the Kot to meet his troops. He was stopped at the door by the sentinel, who gave as his justification that the Queen Regent had ordered no one to pass the gates: and he added that Jang Bahadur had been the channel through which the order had reached him. Abhiman tried to push his way through, but the officer of the guard interfered in support of the sentry. The general then seems to have lost his temper to an extent only equalled by the Queen, who could no longer

control herself on hearing of this refusal of Abhiman to obey her commands. Then the massacre began.

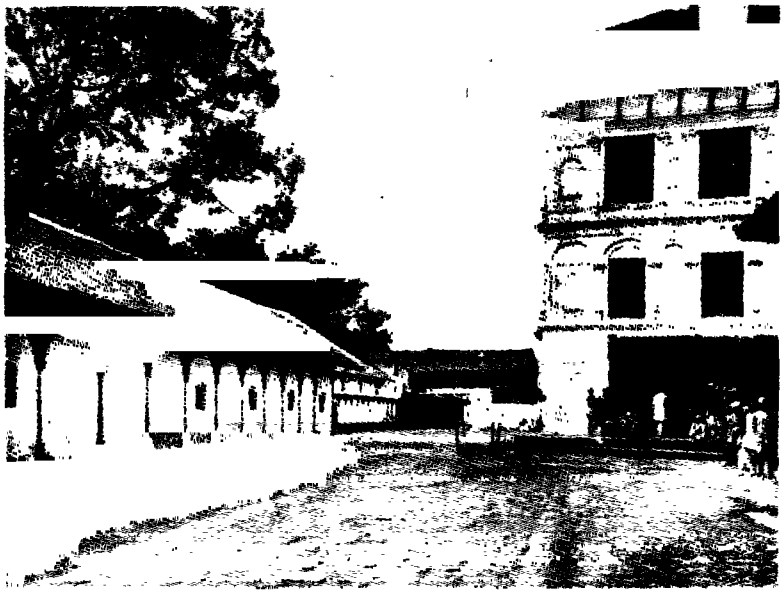
An order was given to the soldier on the gate, who took a musket from his neighbour and bayoneted Abhiman in the breast. He fell, mortally wounded, and in the agony of death cried aloud that the real murderer of Gagan Singh was Jang Bahadur. After this there was no end but one. The eldest son of Fateh Jang, Kharag Vikram, cried out to his kinsmen: "Let us sell our lives as dearly as possible. General Abhiman's last words are quite true. This is all Jang Bahadur's treachery." Krishna Bahadur, a younger brother of Jang, told him to hold his tongue. Kharag immediately attacked Krishna, who had not drawn his sword, and in parrying the blow lost the thumb of his right hand. Bam Bahadur, another brother, at once came to Krishna's rescue, but could not get his sword unsheathed in time, and received an inconsiderable wound on the head. Kharag Vikram was preparing for another and probably final blow when a third brother, Dhir Sham Sher, a famous swordsman, practically cut him in two with one stroke.

For the moment there was an awful silence. Fateh Jang, who was informed of the tragedy by Jang Bahadur, refused to pour oil on the troubled waters by admitting that the original fault had been Kharag's. Instead he, Dalbhanjan, and another minister ran up a staircase leading to the Queen's upper apartments. Jang Bahadur attempted to stop him, asserting his innocence of Gagan's murder. But Fateh Jang continued his flight up the steps, and all three were then shot dead by a soldier on the order of one of Jang Bahadur's staff.

Blood was now flowing at the other end of the long quadrangle. There Rana Udip Singh—who ultimately succeeded Jang Bahadur as Prime Minister—was quarrelling with one of the Chautarias. It is remarkable, and it is worth mentioning in order to show that Jang Bahadur's brothers were entirely taken by surprise in this crisis, that Rana Udip also found great difficulty in drawing his sword, which was, as usual on merely ceremonial occasions, hampered by an embroidered gold scarf. But Bam Bahadur and Krishna Bahadur came to his rescue, and cut down his opponent. By this time there was pandemonium within the whitened walls of the Kot. A rush was made against Jang Bahadur himself, and a stirring of the old Kshatriya blood in the leading Nepalese families turned the disaster into a massacre. Fateh Jang's brother cried out that as Rajputs no surrender was possible. The fight became a *mêlée*, and every man used whatever weapons he had or could wrest from his neighbour. Suddenly, apparently without orders, a company of Jang Bahadur's followers outside the Kot forced their way into the quadrangle. The Chautarias then gave up all hope of victory and took to flight, some back into the house, some by scaling the walls of the Kot. The slaughter in the courtyard of the Kot thereupon

became general, and the blood, which had so alarmed the King, began to run out under the gates into the gutters of the public street.

Of the details of this butchery and of the exact loss of life no full record exists. Of the highest officials and notables of Nepal the names of fifty-five have been recorded as killed. But no pretence is made that this number represents even a tenth of the actual losses. Many times as many of lesser note were killed during this indiscriminate and brutal massacre. Three things are worth recording. The first is that Jang Bahadur saved the life of one of the younger brothers of Fateh Jang, and smuggled him



KOT QUADRANGLE, KATMANDU

The Scene of the Massacre

out from the scene of death through a postern door. The second is that, while the slaughter was still going on, the Queen Regent conferred upon Jang Bahadur the office of Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief. The third is that, when the bloodshed was over, the Maharani commanded Jang to bring Surenda Vikram, the heir apparent, into the courtyard in order that he might be terrified and take the first chance of escape to his father, of whose intended flight to Benares the Queen had already had information. But Jang Bahadur, with an instinct which was perhaps his dominating quality, saw the danger of allowing the Queen to have a free hand at this crisis, and when Surenda arrived, Jang merely said that the

heir apparent had been sent for that he might see with his own eyes that his enemies were dead, and that there was now no further danger for himself. So ended the famous slaughter of the Kot.

So far as the responsibility for this massacre is concerned, it is as well to record Jang Bahadur's own statement to the Resident, given two days later. It was to the effect that, on the Council being assembled to investigate into the death of Gagan Singh, the Queen publicly accused all the Ministers by name as accomplices in the murder, and she called out to Gagan Singh's regiment to seize them, and she would have put them all to death *en masse*. Great confusion followed; the Ministers mutually recriminated each other, swords were drawn, and the first blood was shed by Fateh Jang's son, who attacked and wounded Bam Bahadur. Jang Bahadur added that Fateh Jang himself and the other Ministers were killed, not at the outbreak, but during the progress of the slaughter. He declared that, had he not restrained the Queen, she would have put the heir apparent and his brother to death on the spot, and would have imprisoned the Raja. He always maintained that the massacre originated entirely in the violent and outrageous conduct of the Queen who, holding supreme power at the time, ought to be held responsible for it.[1]

Jang Bahadur's first action was to place in safety the two princes, Surendra, for whom he had immediate use, and his brother Upendra. Knowing the Queen's intentions toward them, two companies of soldiers were told off to protect their apartments. This was no unwise precaution, as the Queen, in the course of a quarrel with the unhappy King, threatened that, if he refused to place her son Ranendra on the throne, the massacre of the Kot would be as nothing to the widespread slaughter that would then become inevitable.

As soon as it was daylight the Queen was conducted by Jang Bahadur to the Hanuman-Dhoka palace, where he presented himself as Prime Minister to the King—who had naturally abandoned Fateh Jang's roof as soon as he found that his intended host was among those who had been slaughtered. Rajendra at once demanded by whose orders this wholesale massacre had taken place. Jang Bahadur replied: "Everything has been done by the orders of the Queen, to whom Your Majesty yourself made over the sovereign power."

This was no place for a weak man, so Rajendra, after a stormy interview with the Queen, left Katmandu and began his preparations in Patan for the usual "pilgrimage" to Benares. Jang Bahadur acted with strength and speed. He had himself proclaimed Prime Minister and Commander-in-

[1] Oldfield, vol. i, p. 363. Upon reflection Jang Bahadur seems to have recalled in better sequence the incidents of this massacre, and I am inclined to think that the temperately written account given by his son, Padma Jang, represents more accurately the course of events.

Chief at a general parade of all the troops quartered in the Nepal Valley. He confiscated the property of all the chiefs and officers who had been killed or had fled. He expelled their families from the country and declared that their return, or any attempt to oppose these decrees would, after a certain date, be regarded as a capital offence. At the Paijni he swept out of office every man of whose loyalty he was not confident. He rewarded all those who had helped to make the massacre a success; and, not without reason, he included his own brothers among those thus favoured. Order reigned in Katmandu.

So far the Queen remained nominally Regent. She took advantage of her power to murder in cold blood a faithful servant, Bhowani Singh, who was actually seated on an elephant beside the retreating King. This incident, perhaps, persuaded Rajendra to return at night from Patan to Katmandu. Public feeling, naturally enough, was excited and terrified, and the army of the Valley was mobilized in Katmandu for eight days. There could not be any doubt as to the imminent struggle between the Queen and Jang Bahadur: there was as little uncertainty as to its result.

Day after day the Regent demanded the death of the two princes and the enthronement of her son. Day after day Jang Bahadur kept up an attitude of courteous sympathy, but always had ready reasons of State for a delay. He needed time more than anything. His plans were maturing, and at last he threw down the gauntlet. The Queen, in the Hanuman-Dhoka Palace, received one morning the following letter:

"I have received Your Majesty's letter enjoining upon me the duty of perpetrating what I consider to be a horrible crime. I feel obliged to protest humbly that such an act would be (1) exceedingly unjust, inasmuch as the setting up of a younger son in supersession of the eldest is in contravention of all practice, and is directly in opposition to all laws, human and divine; and (2) it [the murder of the Princes] would be the commission of a most heinous crime in defiance of conscience and religion; and on these grounds I regret I am unable to obey you. Over and above my duty to you as Regent, I owe another duty to the State which, in case of conflict, must override any personal considerations.

"My duty to the State bids me to submit that, should Your Majesty ever again repeat this order, you shall be prosecuted for attempt at murder by the law of the land."

One can imagine the state of mind of the Queen on receipt of this epistle, and it must be held to be some excuse for her anger that Jang Bahadur had risen to power through his apparent acquiescence in Her Majesty's intrigues. At the same time her opponent was not the man he had been ten days before. No one could have seen the Jang Bahadur of the Kot at close range, as had the Queen, without a twinge of sheer terror at the idea of encountering his enmity. The Maharani changed her policy.

She made no further ado about the matter of Ranendra, and at once set to work to provide for the assassination of Jang Bahadur. By the most binding oaths known to the Hindu religion, one Bir Dhuj Bashniat swore to be the Queen's man in this matter. In return the Regent promised to make him hereditary Premier, with the curious privilege to be enjoyed by himself and his descendants that they should be exempt from all punishment, even if they committed murder, provided the number of murders did not exceed seven, and did not extend to any member of the royal family.

The Queen Regent seems to have read the play of *Macbeth*, for her first suggestion was that Jang and his brothers should be induced to sleep in the apartments of the two princes. The conspirators were to break in and murder the latter—and, if present, their father also—and then were to accuse Jang and his brothers of the crime. But this scheme was abandoned, and another arrangement made, by which Jang Bahadur was to be decoyed into the Bandar Khel Palace, in another part of the Hanuman-Dhoka compound whither the Queen had retired. Here chosen assassins were to be ready to despatch him.

But Jang Bahadur had not played this game so long without being a match for a blood-besotted woman. His spies were everywhere, and he received full and timely warning of this attempt upon his life. He allowed the plot to ripen until the conspirators, who belonged to the clan of Bashniats, were irrevocably committed, and then put the whole of them to death. The thing happened in this wise. Unfortunately for the Bashniats, a singularly inept messenger was chosen for the purpose of leading Jang Bahadur into the trap. A private tutor in the palace, Bijai Raj, was offered the post of Raj Guru, or High Priest, if he could succeed in bringing Jang Bahadur into the palace. Bijai Raj went to the Lagantol, which was the residence of Jang Bahadur before he built his palace at Thapathali. He was at once admitted, and Jang Bahadur asked him coldly what his motive was. "What news is it that you bring from the Court?" Bijai Raj, for some reason, jumped to the conclusion that the whole plot had been betrayed, and at once took refuge in a confession. Jang Bahadur acted with characteristic rapidity. He summoned six companies from his trusted regiments, and within twenty minutes the whole force was moving with the utmost haste upon Bandar Khel.

Now Bir Dhuj was beginning to get nervous at the delay. He expected his intended victim to appear at once in person, and as no Jang arrived, he committed the inconceivable folly of riding out towards Lagantol to precipitate matters. Half-way across he ran straight into Jang Bahadur's party, and realized at once that his scheme had been betrayed. As a forlorn hope he rode straight to the central group, and said that he wished to speak to the Prime Minister. Krishna Bahadur, carefully depriving him of his

weapons, brought him to Jang, to whom he could think of nothing better to say than, "The Queen wishes His Excellency to meet her in the Kot directly." But Jang had listened carefully to the story told by Bijai Raj, and in reply came the merciless answer: "How can that be? She has appointed you as Prime Minister. What has she more to do with me?" He gave a sign, and the wretched Bir Dhuj was cut to pieces on the spot. The detachment moved on at once to the palace, where all those who surrendered their arms were put in chains, and those who resisted—to the number of twenty-three—were killed.

It must have been with mixed feelings that the Queen, too sure of herself



HANUMAN-DHOKA, KATMANDU

and of her domination over her husband and the country, watched Jang Bahadur, whom she believed as good as dead, ride up to the royal palace and demand an immediate audience of the King. It was a tense moment. Jang Bahadur would speak with neither small nor great, but only with the King of Nepal. The Queen's messengers were turned aside, and the King himself practically forced to meet this cold-eyed and unscrupulous young conqueror face to face. But the spirit of the Queen was unbroken. She would not allow the King to meet Jang Bahadur alone. Whatever her feelings—and by this time the news of the death of all her conspirators must have reached her—the indomitable woman still faced the terrible interview.

But Jang Bahadur uttered no word to her. She must have felt, as he spoke to the King and his eldest son, that her authority was at an end for ever. He coldly demanded her immediate exile, and after having imprisoned the Queen in her own apartments, Jang called together the State Council. Sentence was passed upon the Queen with the assent of both the King and the heir apparent. The Regency was formally taken from her, and a recital of her crimes followed. " You have caused the death of hundreds and brought ruin and misery upon your subjects, whose misfortunes would not end as long as you remain in the country. . . . For the offences aforesaid you are commanded to quit the country and make immediate preparations for your removal to Benares."

But, defeated as she was, the Queen was determined not to go alone. She insisted on taking with her her two sons, Ranendra and Birendra, in spite of Jang Bahadur's misgivings. Nor was she satisfied thus. She demanded also that the King himself should accompany her to Benares. The domestic arguments that she used to him are not recorded but may be imagined. The obedient Rajendra suddenly issued a proclamation asserting that he was weighed down by the load of past sins which sat heavy on his weary shoulders, and that he too purposed to make a pilgrimage to Benares where, by bathing in the Ganges and by performing other penances, he hoped to expiate his offences. We shall see how he kept his resolution. On the 23rd November 1846 the Queen and her family departed for Benares, escorted to the frontier by six regiments. Surendra was appointed Regent during the absence of his father.

At once Jang Bahadur assumed the full administration of Nepal. Surendra, who, we remember, had taken a fiendish delight in other days in compassing the death or mutilation of Jang Bahadur, was now compelled to act merely as his servant.[1] The Rana family filled all the more important offices of State, including the four main military commands.

It was not, of course, to be supposed that, once secure from the vengeance of Jang, the Queen would abandon the consistent policy which had directed her actions for so many years. The ex-royal Court at Benares became a hot-bed of intrigue and conspiracy. To the constant assurances of popular support and invitations to return that reached the royal couple from Nepal, the Maharani turned a somewhat doubting ear. She had reason to believe that much that was told her of the latent opposition to Jang Bahadur was

[1] In July 1851 Jang Bahadur, who was then firmly in the saddle, delivered a curious lecture to the man who in earlier days had taken advantage of his princely position to behave with such brutality towards him. He contrasted his own conduct as Prime Minister with that of his uncle, Mathabar Singh. The latter, he said, had permitted Surendra, then heir apparent, to indulge in such barbarities as the mutilation of innocent persons, and the throwing of live slave girls down wells. At this moment there must have been a thrill, for none of the Prime Minister's audience can, of course, have forgotten the story of Jang Bahadur's own escape from the same fate.

true enough, but she had also come to realize the strength and determination of the young master of Nepal. For it was nothing less than mastery. From this moment may be dated the establishment of the practically complete autocracy of the Prime Ministers of Nepal.

Rajendra also had better reason to know Jang Bahadur's character than those who urged him to return. For three months he hesitated. His adherents in Benares had, of course, drawn heavily upon his not inconsiderable coffers for their own advantage, and it is doubtful whether he could have secured as mercenaries any force that would not have been



SUNDARICHOK DHARA, HANUMAN-DHOKA

blown away like chaff before the first onslaught of Jang's regiments. But the new Prime Minister, who had been kept carefully informed of every movement in Benares, now saw the advantage of regaining possession of the person of the King. He therefore sent a letter, inviting him to return. Rajendra answered that he would do so if the Queen were allowed to return with him. This Jang Bahadur refused, but he replied that he would give permission for the Queen's two sons to come back with the King. He ended his letter with a plain threat: "If you fail to return within a reasonable time, the Prince Regent, Surendra Vikram, will be set upon the throne in your place."

In reply the Queen—for it was she, of course, who was at the head of all the plottings in Benares—hired a couple of assassins. But these rascals

were foolishly employed also on business for which they were less qualified than that of cutting throats. They were told to feel their way and discover the trend of popular feeling in Katmandu, and to sow the seed of rebellion there before committing the crime. As a crowning act of folly, they were provided with a royal order from King Rajendra stating that the bearers had been expressly commanded to kill Jang Bahadur, and that anybody who obstructed them would be flayed alive. Of course the inevitable happened. The two ruffians were arrested with the loaded pistols and the King's written order upon them. Equally, of course, after their capture they made a clean breast of the whole affair.

With a sense of the dramatic which never failed him, Jang Bahadur summoned all the troops of Katmandu to the parade ground. There he formed them in a hollow square round the tree [1] which has frequently served at military crises, and spoke in his usual direct manner. He held out the order that had been discovered on the cut-throats, and told the troops that they were commanded directly by the King to kill Jang Bahadur, and that to meet that sentence Jang Bahadur stood before them. A scene of the wildest enthusiasm and loyalty to Jang followed; the troops demanded the deposition of the King; and then and there the Prime Minister promulgated the dismissal of Rajendra from the throne and the succession of Surendra, the heir apparent. Salutes were fired, and all other ceremonies performed, such as were customary at the accession of a new sovereign. On the next day a letter was sent to the wretched King at Benares announcing his deposition for crimes, the list of which, it is curious to note, is headed by the charge of having "caused the death of the able Minister, Bhim Sen Thapa." It is remarkable that even this amazingly frank document ends with yet another invitation to the ex-King to return to Nepal. Jang Bahadur felt, and felt with reason, that the absence of the King in Benares would make for continual intrigue, which would not be so likely to flourish if the ex-royal family were divided and the Queen compelled to act without the authority and without the treasure chest of her imbecile husband.

At this point the Maharani adopted a characteristic policy, and soon an idiotic attempt to invade the country on the part of the ex-King was reported to Jang Bahadur. The latter, who had been unable to persuade Rajendra to return to Nepal as a guest, determined that come back he should—and if not as a guest, then as a prisoner. The disorganized force of the King was still delayed in the Tarai at Alau. Sanak Singh, with four regiments, immediately attacked the place, and the King himself was captured while preparing to fly on an elephant. Rajendra was put in a closed palanquin and conducted as a prisoner over the Sisagarhi and Chandragiri passes to Thankot, the first village in the Valley of Katmandu.

[1] It is a conspicuous object on the plain, and is surrounded by a double circle of whitened brick.

Here his position was changed to that of a guest of high honour. He received a salute of guns, and after being treated with every consideration in Katmandu itself, was sent on to Bhatgaon where he was interned in the old palace. Once again the foolish man began his fatuous intrigues. He was therefore brought back into the palace in Katmandu, where he was night and day attended by officers whom Jang Bahadur could trust. Within the narrow limits of the palace he was treated in a way that befitted his royal birth.

Jang Bahadur adopted the subtle policy of keeping Rajendra in a kind of nominal internment but allowing him at the same time to appear in public with a state scarcely less than that of the actual King, his son. The result of this may easily be imagined Continual jealousies and bickerings broke up the last hope that the royalists may have entertained, and Jang Bahadur found it easier to manage the troubled State when there was neither unity at home nor a martyr at Benares for the Maharani to work with.

During the next two years Jang Bahadur, now at last free from outside aggression from Benares and, with one or two exceptions,[1] undistracted by the need of dealing with malice domestic, consolidated his position to the total exclusion of any other authority in Nepal. The following description by Dr. Wright sums up in a few words the extent of his autocracy. "From this time Jang Bahadur has been the undisputed ruler of the country. The old King is a prisoner in the palace. The present King is kept under the strictest surveillance and not allowed to exercise any power whatever. The heir apparent is also kept in a state of obscurity, being never permitted to take a part in any public business, or even to appear at the Darbars, to which the British Resident is invited. In fact, one may live for years in Nepal without either seeing or hearing of the King." [2]

In May 1848 Jang Bahadur, still convinced of the wisdom of friendship with the Indian Government, offered six regiments of Nepalese troops under his own personal command should a renewal of the war between the English and the Sikhs break out. The Indian Government declined the

[1] I have not thought it worth while to give a detailed account of certain attempts against the life of Jang Bahadur that took place at this time. They were attributed, probably with truth, to a man named the Guru Prasad. It is not without interest to note that after 1849 the Guru begged not only for pardon but for an annuity. Jang Bahadur not only pardoned him, but made him a colonel in the army and restored to him his confiscated property.

[2] In Tibet and Bhutan, and in China also, it has been the King's Marshal, not the King himself, who has been responsible for the administration of the land. The King—as Napoleon used to urge—has been placed on a pinnacle of such excessive honour that he resembles rather a deity than a man, and, possibly for the reason that Chandra Sham Sher gave me, the isolation of the King himself is as pronounced and effective as the isolation of the country over which he reigns.

offer but said that, should need arise in the future, they would then gladly accept it. A good deal of unnecessary controversy has arisen about this proposal and its unqualified refusal. Jang Bahadur had already shown his good sense in espousing the cause of Britain during the first Sikh war, nor does it seem in any way unlike him that he should again have made this suggestion—especially in view of the visit to England which he was then contemplating.

Jang Bahadur seemed little inclined to take Calcutta's refusal lying down. Accompanied by the King, he started from Katmandu on 22nd December 1848 for a shooting expedition in the Tarai. It is one of the most incomprehensible of Jang's actions that, on this occasion, he was accompanied by 32,000 soldiers, 52 guns, 300 cavalry, 250 horse artillery, 2,000 camp followers, and 700 ration officers. This movement on his part was unwise. It immediately gave rise to the suspicion that by making such a display of force on the frontier of India he intended to compel the Indian Government to detach from their Panjab Expeditionary Force a considerable number of troops to watch their northern border. Jang Bahadur's son, General Padma—who, of course, could only speak of these matters from the knowledge of others [1]—maintains that, apart from a wish to add to the splendour of the progress, Jang Bahadur was afraid to leave any large force behind in Katmandu. He also states that he had papers in his possession showing that Jang Bahadur intended to carry out manœuvres in the Tarai during the only time of the year when it was possible to do so. It was perhaps an unfortunate inspiration, and was looked at somewhat askance by the Indian Government. If there was one matter upon which the Prime Minister had received the fullest assurance, it was the loyalty of the great majority of the army, and thirteen months later he showed that he had no such suspicions as were then attributed to him, by leaving the country and making an extended journey to England.

In the spring of 1849 the Maharani, Chanda Kunwar, the wife of Ranjit Singh, who had been interned since the end of the second Sikh war in the fort of Chunar, made her escape in disguise to Nepal. Her arrival in April caused some embarrassment, but Jang Bahadur accorded to her the political asylum she demanded. He took care, however, that her residence, which remains to this day close to the house subsequently given to Nana Sahib's wife or widow, was not made the centre of political intrigue. This house, which is now allowed to fall into decay, was, after her death, used for administrative purposes.

In 1850 the British Government consented to this visit to England by Jang Bahadur. He appeared in Europe nominally as the ambassador of his own prisoner, Surendra Vikram. Of course the Indian Government was perfectly well aware of the conditions that prevailed in Katmandu.

[1] He was not born till December 1857.

They knew that they were dealing not with an ambassador but with a despot, and they may have wondered at the motive which induced Jang Bahadur not merely to create a new political precedent, but also to set at defiance the religious scruples and the religious authorities of his own country, by making a journey across the Black Water. Such an enterprise must inevitably have been followed—as it was—by stern charges of having lost caste. India must have been surprised also at the willingness of Jang Bahadur so soon to leave the troubled country which he had even yet scarcely reduced to submission. But, with a foresight that is not given to all Governments of India, the Governor-General in Council recommended that he should be allowed to make this pilgrimage. And we shall perhaps never know how much the British Empire owes to a decision that must have trembled long in the balance of the Council in Calcutta.

CHAPTER VIII

JANG BAHADUR'S VISIT TO ENGLAND

"Who could have supposed it possible to combine a court delighting in blood and revolution, with a people dwelling in peace and happiness."—SIR HENRY LAWRENCE.

JANG BAHADUR had now made his position in Nepal secure enough to allow him to make the great journey of his life, a journey which he had from his youth looked forward to as the best possible means of raising his own country in the scale of civilized States. He wished to see England with his own eyes. He wanted to know wherein the supremacy of the English lay. So far as he had met them in India, they scarcely perhaps seemed to justify the enormous power they held, not only in Asia but throughout the world. He remembered his great-uncle Bhim Sen's dictum: "The English are a race that crushes thrones like potsherds." He wanted to see more of Great Britain than his purely official relations with Englishmen in India permitted him to do. More than that, he was anxious to get some first-hand knowledge of the manufacturing power and engineering resources of this island in the North Sea about which so many strange tales had come to his ears. No doubt he also had in his mind the intention of watching closely the administration of justice, the land tenures, and the general social and economic standards there. As we shall see, it was perhaps the fact that he encountered these products of a thousand-year-long Western civilization that produced at his hands the most immediate results for Nepal.

In the autumn of 1849 the Nepal Government had approached the Governor-General of India on the matter, and received not only his full assent but the promise that all necessary arrangements should be made to enable Jang Bahadur, as Ambassador of Nepal, and his party to reach London in safety.

General Bam Bahadur was appointed to act as Prime Minister during the absence of his brother; and of Jang's other brothers, Badri Narsingh was to act as Commander-in-Chief, Krishna Bahadur to hold charge of the Civil Department, and Rana Udip Singh to take up the government of the Western and Eastern provinces. On the 15th January 1850 the Prime Minister left Katmandu for Europe. He took with him Colonel Jagat Sham Sher Rana and Colonel Dhir Sham Sher Rana, his brothers, and

twelve other members of his staff. Four cooks and twenty-two domestic servants made up his suite.

It is impossible to record in as much detail as could be wished the full story of this journey to England. Fifty-five years later the journey was repeated by the present Prime Minister, and as in many cases the routine of ceremony, the visits, the parades, the salutes, the addresses, the formal receptions, and the other necessary incidents of such an official visit were the same in the one case as the other, and may be more interestingly described in connection with Chandra Sham Sher, I shall confine myself for the most part to those incidents which were peculiar to Jang Bahadur's visit.

At once the most marked characteristic of Jang Bahadur's expedition leaps to the eye. This was actually the first occasion on which any chief of Indian blood had dared the letter of the old law and crossed the " Black Water " to see foreign countries. His example has been followed so frequently by Indian princes in general that it is difficult perhaps to realize the interest which the presence of this Oriental potentate, whose life had already been marked by adventures and hairbreadth escapes such as had been the lot of no one since the Thousand and One Nights, created in England; and his magnificence of robe and jewel more than fulfilled the wildest hopes of the half-mesmerized Englishmen who stood open-mouthed to gaze upon his splendours whenever and wherever he might appear.

During the journey through India an incident perhaps worth noting is not the least of the many extraordinary feats of courage and horsemanship that stand to Jang Bahadur's credit. At Bankipur there is a famous building called the Gola, which was erected as a gigantic granary in 1786. It is about ninety feet high, and the walls are twelve feet in thickness, out of which there is a spiral path two feet six inches wide which ascends to the top of the granary. To the amazement of his escort—which now included several British officers—Jang Bahadur and his brother Dhir rode up to the top of this scanty and crumbling foothold.

After a brilliant reception at Calcutta the Ambassador and Dhir spent their time in examining with care the foundries and arsenals of the capital. Captain Orfeur Cavanagh was appointed to his staff, and found that scarcely any new discovery of a scientific or practical nature was too small to engage His Excellency's close attention. As some delay in providing the steamer still continued, Jang Bahadur took the opportunity of making a pilgrimage to the temple of Jagannath at Puri. On the 7th April he and his suite left India in the P. and O. steamer " Haddington."

He is described in a London newspaper by their Calcutta correspondent as being " thirty-two years of age; rather slight in figure but neatly formed; firm and agile, forming a strong contrast with his two stout or rather fat brothers who accompany him. His features are of the Tartar cast. He



MAHARAJA JANG BAHADUR.

appears to have great physical courage." He seems to have caused some panic to his British staff by a habit of jumping overboard into the waters of the Sandarbands regardless of alligators in the river and tigers ashore, whenever his interest was excited by the game of these flooded lowlands.

A week was spent in Madras. After a brief stay at Galle, in Ceylon, the " Haddington " reached Aden in eight days, and proceeded up the Red Sea to Suez. Here Jang Bahadur made the overland journey to Cairo in as much comfort as was possible. He then reached Alexandria by water, and on the following day sailed on the P. and O. steamer " Ripon."

On the 25th May the Nepalese Ambassador arrived at Southampton, where a characteristic act of stupidity on the part of the Customs officials caused a momentary trouble. This having been put right, after a short delay the party were housed in No. 1 Richmond Terrace, London, and the real business and interest of the expedition began.

The first few days in the capital were given up to sight-seeing, but the invincible curiosity of London soon began to show itself. On the 29th he went down to Epsom to attend the races—which probably pleased him more than anything else he saw in England—and on the following day he was received at the East India House. Jang Bahadur left early and attended the Opera later on. On the 1st June he was introduced in the evening by Lady Palmerston to the Duke of Wellington. This was perhaps the meeting which more deeply interested Jang Bahadur than any other during his stay in England. Repeatedly in after life he would urge as a reason for the fullest recognition of his position the fact that he had been received by the great Duke of Wellington as an equal.

Next day Lord Gough visited the Ambassador, and it is worth mentioning perhaps that a pleasant little exchange of courtesies took place. Lord Gough asked what the meaning of the name Jang Bahadur was, and on being told that it meant " hero in war," naturally remarked that the name suited its owner well. The Ambassador at once said that the name he bore signified warlike qualities by a mere trick of language, but that the name of Lord Gough was associated with nothing less than the conquest of the Panjab. Many of these happy retorts have been recorded of Jang Bahadur, and mention has already been made of several. But it is not necessary to labour the fact that the Prime Minister of Nepal had more than an ordinary share of that grace of expression which counts so much in human relations.

The stay in London of the Ambassador was strangely diversified. The truth probably is that the British authorities, totally ignorant of the desires and tastes of an Oriental prince and sorely anxious not to transgress the unknown rules of caste, were only too glad to let His Excellency spend his time in his own way. Consequently we have wrestling matches—in which Dhir Sham Sher seems to have won a remarkable victory over an English champion—reviews, Highland dinners, hospitals, dairy farms, the Zoological

Gardens, London Bridge, the Bank of England, and casual social entertainments, which were perhaps regarded by Jang Bahadur in a somewhat different light from that in which they were viewed by the distinguished ladies whose receptions he attended.

On the 15th June he was present at a banquet given by the Directors of the Honourable East India Company.

Queen Victoria, who had been unable to receive the Ambassador at an earlier date, arranged for his reception on the 19th of the month. The interview was cordial, and the compliments that were suitable on such an occasion were exchanged. Jang Bahadur afterwards presented the gifts that he had brought from his country.[1] On the following day the Queen held a Drawing-Room, and in the course of a conversation between Her Majesty and the Ambassador, she invited him to be present at a christening of the young prince, who still is, in 1928, one of the warmest friends and admirers of the present Prime Minister of Nepal—the Duke of Connaught. On the 22nd the christening ceremony took place, and the Queen seems to have taken a most genuine delight in her Oriental visitor. She made him sit by her side among her children. She talked to him about the climate and scenery of his country, and then said that her children were lost in admiration of his robes and jewels.

His two brothers attended a debate in the House of Commons on the following day, and were struck with the quietness with which political opposition was conducted in this country. Next morning Jang Bahadur had an interview with the Prince Consort. It is a pity that no verbatim report exists of this meeting, for the Ambassador seems to have given his host a full picture of the complications of public life in Nepal and the continual dangers which attended any man in office. It is remarkable that he should have been in London when Queen Victoria was assaulted by a lunatic. There can hardly have been an intention of killing the Queen, as only a walking-stick was used by Pate. But Jang Bahadur, of course, as soon as he heard of this incident, immediately repaired to the palace to demand that the offender should be hanged at once.

Of the remainder of Jang Bahadur's stay in England it may be said that he continued his diligent inspection of all military processes and arsenals. He bought pedigree sheep and cattle, and agricultural engines, and visited such ordinary London sights as St. Paul's Cathedral and the Tower. Unceasing entertainments were offered him, but the real interest of his visit was clearly his inspection of all military and naval concerns and every process of industry. He even went down a mine in order to satisfy himself as to the manner in which coal was hewn. He visited Birmingham and Edinburgh.

On the 21st August he bade farewell to England, and stayed for a short

[1] The Queen received him at St. James's Palace.

while in Paris. Here he was received by Prince Louis Napoleon, President of the Republic, afterwards Napoleon III. Social entertainment was difficult in the off season, much probably to Jang Bahadur's relief. In answer to the President's offer to provide any ceremony that might be to the liking of Jang Bahadur, the latter at once demanded a review of 100,000 troops. This was rather a difficult request to fulfil, as no such body of troops had been mustered in France for some years. However, a great parade was arranged for the 24th September.

Meanwhile the Prime Minister paid visits of ceremony to the tomb of Napoleon the Great, and to the other best known sights of Paris and the surrounding country, including Compiègne, Fontainebleau, Versailles, and Saint Cloud. After the great review of the 24th at Sartary, and a final visit of farewell that accompanied it, Jang Bahadur returned to Paris. Here he amused himself by the Harun-er-Rashid expeditions to which he was so addicted in his own capital. On one occasion, while he was practising with a pistol at a shooting gallery—and probably surprising the Parisian attendants—a French girl with a laugh said she could shoot just as well. Jang Bahadur at once handed her his pistol and, probably rather overcome by this immediate acceptance of her challenge, the girl let it off by accident as soon as she had received it. Unfortunately she hit Dhir Sham Sher. It was not a serious wound, and it was one which Jang Bahadur himself was able to deal with. He extracted the bullet, and Dhir Sham Sher was not long laid up by the misadventure.

Jang Bahadur then left for Marseilles, which he reached on the 4th October, where H.M.S. "Growler" was waiting for his party. They arrived at Alexandria on the 15th, and three days later Abbas Pasha placed a palace at their disposal in Cairo. The overland journey was once more undertaken, and a ship received them at Suez. Bombay was reached on the 6th November, where Jang Bahadur was received with full ceremony. He made a visit to the shrines at Dwarka, resumed his sea voyage, and arrived at Colombo on the 29th. After a pleasant stay of four days, Jang Bahadur embarked for Rameshwaram, the third holiest site in all India. This is built upon an island between India and Ceylon, and offers perhaps a more interesting spectacle than that of any other of the great Southern temples. But although he had thus technically reached India, the land journey was too long and difficult for him to attempt, and he returned to Colombo and re-embarked for Calcutta. The long voyage was ended on the 19th December, and on Christmas Day, after the exchange of civilities with the Governor-General, Jang Bahadur left for home.

On the 4th January he reached Benares, where there was, of course, an interview of more than usual interest between himself and the Nepalese royalties. Prince Ranendra and his brother, the sons of the ex-Queen, called on His Excellency and complained that they were not receiving the

share of the money which King Rajendra, on his arrival at Benares in 1846, had deposited with the British authorities. Jang Bahadur then suggested to the Queen and the princes that the money should be divided into three equal parts, and this arrangement was accepted.

Even before he reached his own country Jang Bahadur was informed that his old enemy, the Guru Prasad, whom he had pardoned, to whom he had restored his estates, and on whom he had conferred an honourable rank in the army, was again attempting his assassination. Due precautions were taken, and on the 29th January 1851 Jang Bahadur re-entered Nepalese territory. Two regiments under General Krishna there joined



THAPATHALI, KATMANDU

him. After a few days of sport the Prime Minister returned to his new palace at Thapathali on the 6th February. having been away from his kingdom for a little over a year.

The following description of his return may be quoted from his son's *Life*. " Jang Bahadur was received with great outbursts of public joy. The route taken by him was lined with troops on both sides; the principal civil and military officers of the kingdom went out to meet him on the banks of the Bagmati river; immense crowds thronged the streets and collected on every possible standing ground, as if the whole country had come out to welcome him; people from the remotest provinces had gathered to see him as though he were the inhabitant of another planet. All the towns and cities were astir to accord him a hearty welcome and fought with one

another as to which should do the greatest honour to him and to itself. The road from the Kalimati bridge to the palace was decorated with flags and bunting, and adorned at intervals with wreaths of triumph emblazoned with suitable mottoes of welcome. A gorgeous State pavilion stood ready to receive him at the nearer entrance of the bridge, and on his stepping inside, the artillery fired a salute. On each side stood, rank behind rank, the grandees of the realm, among whom the Minister's brothers and cousins held conspicuous places. Dressed in a magnificent robe of white silk, which set off his slim figure to great advantage, and bowing as he approached the pavilion, he looked truly the hero who had braved perils both on land and water, to visit one of the greatest countries of the earth. Decked with a coronet of the brightest silver, studded with a galaxy of pearls, diamonds, and emeralds, and with the sword presented by Napoleon III hanging at his side, he drew all eyes upon him as he advanced to the seat of honour in the middle of the pavilion. . . . On taking his seat, he received an address of welcome from the vast group, to whom he spoke in a few, well-chosen words of acknowledgment. As he drove to the palace, the populace in the streets showered flowers and vermilion upon him, while the regiments posted along the route presented arms as he passed by."

But there was another side to all this display of welcome, and Jang Bahadur knew it. I have omitted from the foregoing description one short sentence, which states how his bodyguard, the only soldiers in the hall, stood close behind him, armed with double-barrelled rifles. It is perhaps the most significant factor in this great scene. Ten days later, with the full assent and co-operation of large numbers of those who had thus received the Prime Minister, a conspiracy for his assassination was detected, which had not only been under long and careful consideration and prepared with the utmost foresight and care, but had been from first to last conceived and organized by Jang Bahadur's own brother, Badri Narsingh. On the 16th February General Bam Bahadur, who had been left in charge during Jang Bahadur's absence, went to Thapathali. He did not at once disclose the purpose of his visit; but a flood of tears soon told Jang Bahadur that his brother had something of deep import to reveal. Bit by bit it all came out. There is hardly a more dramatic picture in recent Nepalese psychology than that of this midnight scene. For Bam Bahadur, still in tears over the fire, revealed a plot against Jang Bahadur's life which had been supported by the royal family, and had been organized by Jang Bahadur's own brother. It was intended to shoot him the next day on his way to Basantpur. Badri Narsingh had arranged for his brother's murder by a hired assassin. The King Surendra was at the same time to be murdered by his younger brother, Upendra. Once Upendra had seated himself upon the throne he would reorganize the Government by appointing Bam Bahadur as Prime Minister, Badri Narsingh as Commander-in-Chief, and Jai Bahadur and

Kazi Karbar Kahattri to the offices of Commanding-General next in succession.

The question of the guilt of Bam Bahadur himself cannot be settled quite as easily as Jang Bahadur's son and biographer assumes. This raises the general question of Jang Bahadur's seemingly miraculous escapes from a continual danger of assassination. Europeans are not perhaps as apt as Orientals to believe in a kind of prevailing, divinely-sent luck or fate, which of course cannot by any means be altered or averted, whatever the efforts of, in this case, his enemies. This belief in a personal " star " was firmly held by Napoleon, and no small part of his continual successes up to 1812 was due, not only to his own confidence in that luck, but to his power of mesmerizing those who surrounded him.

At the last moment Bam Bahadur's courage failed him. He made a clean breast of all the details of the conspiracy. That Jang Bahadur was not entirely unsuspicious of Bam Bahadur may be gleaned from the fact that he warned him of the consequences that would ensue were the information false. By this time we have begun to know the man, and we can believe that he wasted no time with his brother. He armed the Thapathali guard at once, and with them crossed the maidan immediately to the Kot. Here also he armed the garrison, and before any warning to the conspirators could be given, he sent a company of a hundred men to the house of each of them. Jang knew his friends in his own household. Colonel Jagat Sham Sher was sent to arrest Jai Bahadur; Jang's oldest friend, Captain Ran Mehar Adhikari, commanded the company that was to secure Badri Narsingh himself; Rana Udip Singh went to the palace for Prince Upendra. Colonel Dhir Sham Sher was made responsible for the mobilization of the guards and of Jang's own regiment should any trouble arise. Everything succeeded as by clockwork. Within two hours from the blurted-out confession of Bam Bahadur all four conspirators were brought in chains to the Kot. There they found a Council presided over by the King, his father the ex-King—Jang Bahadur's dexterity was never more subtly shown than by this touch—and a number of chiefs. At the trial the prisoners denied all knowledge of the conspiracy. Their houses were instantly searched, and a paper was found bringing home to each of the offenders his complicity in this plot. Next day the trial was resumed, and Badri Narsingh called aloud to heaven to witness his innocence. He invoked the wrath of God on this foul fratricidal plot, but was cut short by the orders of Jang Bahadur, who exhibited the document that had been found, and ordered Captain Sataram to strike Badri Narsingh over the mouth with his shoe. Badri Narsingh's courage broke under this insult, and he confessed his guilt It was a difficult matter to award a fitting punishment. Jang Bahadur at once rejected the first decision of the court, which was that of death, and the second, which was that of blinding them with hot irons.

The course of events had so firmly established Jang Bahadur's predominance that the anger of the army against the conspirators had also to be reckoned with. In this predicament Jang Bahadur took a step which was perhaps of more importance than it seemed. He wrote to the Indian Government and asked them to take charge of the prisoners. The Indian Government, with its long patience and sympathy, consented to receive them and to confine them at Allahabad. And on the 24th June 1851 the disgraced quartette left Katmandu for their exile in India.

But even so, Jang Bahadur's life was not free from anxiety. Two or three weeks later the King announced his intention of abdicating. Into the silent tangles of palace intrigue it is impossible to go. It is clear that the King could have no sympathy with his would-be murderers, but it may have been an inducement to him to escape by abdication a renewal of the plot. Moreover, it is not impossible that the practical omnipotence of Jang Bahadur at this moment had left him in a position scarcely different from that of a prisoner. No one knew better than Jang the workings of this unhappy and deranged brain, and it can be imagined that, when the two men met to discuss the King's intention, there was only one possible issue. Jang Bahadur's own son, indeed, admits that direct threats were used to compel the King to abandon his intention. In November 1852 Jang Bahadur was compelled to face another plot, which was confessed to him in circumstances similar to those by which he was forewarned of Badri Narsingh's treachery.

From this time onward there was comparative peace, and the Prime Minister was able to achieve his ambition of making a short tour in India. It is worth recording, as proof of Jang Bahadur's health and hardness, that he left Aliganj on the frontier, eighteen miles on the other side of Sagauli, at midnight on the 26th May 1853. He reached Sagauli at 2 a.m. on the 27th and actually arrived at his own house in Katmandu (Thapathali) between 3 and 4 p.m. That is, Jang Bahadur rode on horseback in the very hottest period of the Indian year, 103 miles in between 15½ and 16 hours, the ride involving the climb and descent of two of the worst passes in Asia.

In September of that year the Indian Government informed the Prime Minister of the death of Jai Bahadur. With that curious tendency to mercy which marked him on almost every occasion since the great massacre which placed him in power, Jang Bahadur then gave permission for the return of his brother, Badri Narsingh, and of Prince Upendra. They were still treated as State prisoners, and Badri Narsingh was secured from further ill-doing by being sent to Palpa. His own son, Kedar Narsingh, a boy of fourteen, was appointed Governor of the place, and was made responsible for his father's actions. Shortly afterwards Badri Narsingh was completely pardoned.

In 1854 the long feud between the Prime Minister and the Guru Prasad was ended by the recall of the latter and Jang Bahadur's marriage with his sister It was, of course, a stroke of policy. No love was manifested on either side, but the presence of Fateh Jang's daughter in Thapathali was a safer guarantee of the Guru's abstention from further crime than his internment at Bettia. At the same time Jang secured the silence, if not the goodwill, of the royal family by marrying his eldest son, Jagat Jang, to the eldest daughter of the King. The bridegroom on this occasion was eight years old, and the bride six.

The persistent ill-will and suspicion between Tibet and Nepal had once more blazed up in the month of May 1854. The occasion, if not the cause, was the abominable treatment of the five-yearly Nepalese mission to Peking during its passage through Tibet. But this was only a last straw. Apart from the tradition of friction along the Nepal-Tibet frontier, which is not extinguished to this day, the real causes of Jang Bahadur's Tibetan operations were the perpetual ill-treatment and injustice shown to Nepalese residents in Lhasa, combined with the steady refusal of the Tibetan authorities to offer the slightest compensation or to take any steps to prevent the repetition of the wrong-doing. No doubt also Jang Bahadur's intention was to seize the districts lying to the south of the towns of Kirong and Kuti. Oldfield asserts that in 1792 the Chinese had annexed to Tibet the mountain regions of Nepal from the Himalayan range to the hills immediately to the north of the Valley of Nepal. This seems an over-statement. No reference to it is to be found in the record below the Potala; indeed, it seems directly contradicted by the clause beginning: "Even if all those territories," etc., vol. ii, p. 273. The moment was favourable for action, as the Chinese troops had been recalled home to overcome the famous Taiping rebellion under Hung Siu-tsuan, which raged in the eastern provinces of China and threatened the capital itself.

Jang Bahadur declared war upon Tibet. He created a new army corps of 14,000 foot and 1,200 horse, together with some light mounted guns, in addition to the standing army.[1] These preparations did not prevent the Prime Minister's attention to internal affairs. On 24th February 1855 the second daughter of the King was married to Jang Bahadur's second son, Jit Jang Bahadur [2]

[1] The Nepalese expeditionary force against Tibet in 1854 is said to have amounted to 27,000 men with 29,000 partially armed coolies and camp followers. Only about 7,000 fighting men were left in Nepal. This effort exhausted Nepal and did not result in the re-acquisition of the debated ground along the northern frontier. Nepal only gained the promise of the Tibetans to pay an annual tribute of 10,000 rupees. During the Tibetan expedition of 1854-56 the scarcity of food on the frontier induced Jang Bahadur to have the yaks officially declared by the Raj Guru not oxen but deer, in order that they might be used as food by orthodox Hindus.

[2] A curious ceremony in connection with this marriage was a review of 28,000 Nepalese

Ten days later the Nepalese army marched against Tibet. The two passes of Kuti and Kirong were the first objectives of the Nepalese force. Jang Bahadur apparently intended to send a third force through Sikkim—probably by the Jelep la and the Chumbi Valley—but Lhasa issued imperative orders to the King of Sikkim that all passes leading between Sikkim and Nepal should be closed. This was accordingly done. The first expeditionary force started for Kuti under General Dhir Sham Sher, and after a fight near the village of Chusan near Khassa, the fortress which dominated the pass was captured. Bam Bahadur commanded the second expeditionary force, and occupied Kirong without encountering opposition. It is not necessary to give the details of this struggle. Large reinforcements soon arrived from Katmandu, and Jagat Sham Sher was shortly able to report the capture of Jhanga after a sanguinary fight of nine days. On hearing of this notable success Jang Bahadur left Katmandu to take command at the front.

After securing the position thus gained, the Prime Minister and his two chief lieutenants returned to Katmandu for the autumn. Some time was wasted in attempts at negotiation. In November bad news arrived from both Kuti and Jhanga. The enemy had carried the former place by storm with heavy loss to the Gurkhas; and the second, though it still maintained a successful defence, had suffered severe casualities. Kuti was eventually recaptured by reinforcements under Dhir Sham Sher, who advanced ten miles farther into Tibet and captured Suna-Gompa.

It was found impossible to effect a junction between the Nepalese forces at Jhanga and Suna-Gompa, and operations were suspended while further overtures of peace from the Tibetans were received. It was realized that the Nepalese, though well able to defend their own borders, were not likely to put a stranglehold upon Tibet as they had sixty-four years before. Negotiations were then carried through, and a treaty was made at Thapathali on the 24th of March 1856. This document pledged the two governments to the following terms.[1] Both were to continue to regard the Emperor of China with respect as heretofore. The Tibet Government undertook to pay ten thousand rupees annually to the Nepal Government. The Nepalese undertook to assist Tibet so far as they were able in defending herself against any invading foreign power—a clause which may have been merely conventional but which, in the circumstances, seems to point to the Tibetan fear of the intrusion of India. It has been said that in return the Tibetans undertook to supply porters and carriers in the event of Nepal

troops upon the Tundi Khel. All of them were dressed in Tibetan costume, in order to impress an envoy from Lhasa who had come down to negotiate peace. The Tibetans repeated this device in 1904. See vol. ii, p. 112.

[1] For a detailed account of the discrepancies between the several translations of this Treaty see Appendix XXII, vol. ii.

being invaded; but there is no mention of this obligation in the Treaty. The third clause requires a little attention, as it is the subject of some discussion at this moment. "Tibet shall not levy any taxes (on routes), duties (on merchandise), and rates (of any other kind) leviable by Tibet on the merchants and subjects of the country of Gorkha."[1] There were the usual terms as to restoration of prisoners, etc. A "bharadar" or envoy, not a Naikya or Newar, was to be in permanent residence to protect Nepalese interests in Lhasa. Complete freedom of trade was granted to Nepalese subjects in Tibet. Ex-territoriality was conceded to the Nepalese residing in Lhasa, so far as any dispute arising between them is affected. High officials were to be appointed by the respective Governments to decide quarrels between the two races. The shrewd addition was made that all fines should go to the Government of the man who was fined. Men charged with homicide were to be extradited,[2] should the offender have subsequently fled across the border. The other articles are not of great importance.

The evacuation of the Nepalese forces was begun on the 1st of April 1856.

Unexpected in action, whether in peace or war, Jang Bahadur four months later resigned the office of Prime Minister on the grounds of ill-health. No one has quite understood his motive in taking this step. But it soon became clear that, while resigning the office, Jang Bahadur did not intend to relax his grasp on the reins of government. And though his brother, Bam Bahadur, acted as Prime Minister until his death—which occurred shortly after—the advice of Jang Bahadur was invariably asked and was carried out on every occasion. It is possible that Jang Bahadur intended to remind the Nepalese of his indispensability. Certainly within a short time he had the satisfaction of being offered the crown itself by a deputation of the most prominent men in the country, headed by Raj Guru Bijai Raj. The answer of Jang Bahadur was characteristic. "Since you say that your proposal to bestow the crown on me will be conducive to the good of my country, it will receive my best consideration. But as I can supervise the work of government without the gaudy encumbrance of a crown, I am not at all disposed to fill the place of one whom I have myself set upon the throne. If my country really needs my humble services so much, I shall not hesitate to return to duty with the first feeling of returning health." It would be difficult to condense into so few words a warning to

[1] The gradual transference of all porterage from the Nepal passes to the Sikkim-Chumbi route has apparently raised the question whether this exemption from duties is applicable when goods are imported into Tibet through a third country. Lhasa has recently attempted to enforce its customs duties against such goods, and the Nepalese have stoutly opposed the claim. It will be seen by this clause that the test to be applied is whether the goods belong to the Nepalese merchants, etc., not whether they are imported over Nepalese passes. Nepal is clearly in the right.

[2] The text is obscure here. The Nepalese version declares that only murderers of men of their own race shall be extradited. See Appendix XXII, vol. ii.

his brother that nothing was to be done without his approval, an insult to the King whose abdication he claimed the right to demand at any moment, and an intimation to all officials that they might be called to account by him without notice of any kind.

The deputation then proposed to confer upon Jang Bahadur the principalities of Kaski and Lamjang, giving him and his successors the title of Maharaja. This honour he accepted—with remainder to each member of his family in turn who became Prime Minister of Nepal. But—and this casts another light upon his resignation—he was also given astonishing powers which he could exercise, not only within his new principalities, but over the country from the Maha Kali on the west to the Mechi on the east—



THE OLD RESIDENCE OF THE RAJAS OF LAMJANG

that is to say, over the entire extent of Nepal. He was thereby given the powers of life and death and punishment: of appointing and dismissing all Government servants: of declaring war, concluding peace, and signing treaties with all foreign Powers including the British, the Tibetans, and the Chinese: and finally he was given the authority to make new laws and repeal any old ones, whether civil, criminal, or military.

But this was not all. The charter which granted these powers confirmed the Prime Ministership in Jang Bahadur's family on the principle, well known in Mohammedan countries, of devolution to the eldest agnate. This principle is in force to-day. It means that, after the brothers and cousins of one generation have in their turn enjoyed the Prime Ministership —according to the date of their birth, be it noted, not according to the seniority of their fathers—the office then descends to the eldest born of the next generation, which then enjoys in turn the Prime Ministership in the

same fashion, and afterwards hands it down to the third, fourth, and all succeeding generations in the same way. A more important matter still was that Jang Bahadur was given the right to coerce the King in any manner he pleased, should His Majesty mismanage the affairs of State. It must be confessed that it is difficult to imagine any way in which His Majesty could, in the circumstances, so offend.

But all this, flattering and effective as it was, was marred by the steady refusal of the Indian Government to deal with any but the official Prime Minister. Calcutta refused to meddle with the internal privileges and arrangements of Nepal. They would deal with the Prime Minister, and with him alone. If Jang Bahadur chose to resign his office to his brother, India would deal with that brother without asking any questions. But Jang Bahadur, dictator of Nepal, was a person of whom they had no official knowledge. This attitude on the part of the Governor-General was intensely resented by Jang Bahadur. He could not, however, prevail upon the Resident to recognize in him any but a distinguished Nepalese chief. Business he would not discuss. Probably to the relief of all concerned, Bam Bahadur died on 25th May 1857.[1] At once Jang Bahadur reassumed the office of Prime Minister. But he did not take up this burden without having to deal once more with a plot against his life.

Immediately afterwards the Mutiny broke out. It is possible that Jang Bahadur had informally discussed the Indian situation with the Resident before his brother's death, as only seven days later he made an offer to send six thousand Gurkhas to the assistance of the Indian Government. In too confident anticipation of the Governor-General's consent, Colonel Ramsay accepted the offer, and about two regiments were at once ordered to proceed to India. But the answer of Lord Canning threw cold water on the scheme. He explained in the kindliest and most grateful terms that the presence of Nepalese troops might have anything but a desirable effect, for it might either indicate the inability of the English to control the situation, or set on foot rumours that Nepal itself was on the side of the rebels. It may be imagined with what contempt Jang Bahadur heard these excuses.

But Lord Canning rapidly altered his mind. On the 26th of June a second despatch from the Governor-General expressed his gratitude for the kindly offer of Nepal, and invited the Maharaja to send his first contingent immediately to the aid of Lucknow. Three thousand troops were at once despatched. It is significant and only right to record that on this occasion Jang Bahadur acted entirely on his own initiative. The great

[1] Emphasis is laid by Jang Bahadur's son and biographer on the apparent fact that he was the first Prime Minister of Nepal to die a natural death. He died fifteen days after the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny at Meerut.

Council of the State was, as a matter of fact, by no means agreed as to the wisdom of this intervention.

The Nepalese troops moved down the valley of the Trisul Ganga and occupied two towns which had been used as head-quarters by the rebels. One detachment marched forty miles in one day, were moved off again at one o'clock on the following morning, and though tired out with a continuous march of about sixty miles, carried the enemy's position at the first rush. The Nepalese then swept down through Audh, through Azamgarh and Jaunpur to Chanda and Sohanpur.

This rapid and resolute action on the part of the Nepalese was of the utmost service to the British troops. It enabled them to continue their operations towards Lucknow without fear of a flank attack. In July Jang Bahadur offered the services of another Gurkha force to be commanded by himself in person. Crude as ever, Lord Canning took four months to send an acceptance of this great loyalty. Then Jang Bahadur smote at once with his accustomed rapidity and force. His capture of Gorakhpur in January 1858 effectively broke both the military strength and the prestige of the rebels throughout the north of the kingdom of Audh. Success after success followed the movements of the Nepalese columns. On the 10th of March Jang Bahadur arrived at the British Commander-in-Chief's (Sir Colin Campbell's) camp outside Lucknow. After cordial salutations had been exchanged, the Maharaja at once settled down to the work in hand. The Nepalese were thrown into the battle line at the Begam's Kothi, and two days later, by methods of storm tactics that the now weary and ill-conditioned mutineers were quite unable to withstand, Jang Bahadur cleared the rebel position in front of the Alam Bagh. In all the successful operations of the next few days the Nepalese had a distinguished share. One by one the capture of Chattar Munzil, the Moti Mahal, and at last of the Kaisar Bagh—where, it seems, the Himalayan highlanders were by no means behindhand in the work of plunder—rendered the position of the rebels desperate. A certain amount of street fighting remained to be done which was much to the taste of the Gurkha allies. They played a great part in the annihilation of the enemy's last stand at the Musa Bagh, and the relief of Lucknow was complete.

Thus, within a hundred days of his departure from Katmandu, Jang Bahadur had done yeoman service in the British cause, and it is interesting to note that his son places it upon record that, in the Maharaja's own view, his days of service during the Mutiny were the most important of his life. At no other time, he said, had his personal exertions been more strenuous or his individual responsibility more heavy. On the 23rd of March 1858 he left Lucknow and was received cordially by the Governor-General at Allahabad. It was at this meeting that Lord Canning first intimated that the British Government intended to restore to Nepal a large part of the

former Gurkha possessions in the Tarai which the Nepalese had ceded to the British in 1815.[1]

The Maharaja arrived at Thapathali on the 4th of May. His first action was to snuff out the last hopes that the wretched royal family of Audh was entertaining of Nepalese assistance. His next duty was to present to the King a letter from Lord Canning thanking him most cordially for the great services rendered to the English by the Nepalese contingent. It is scarcely necessary to add more testimonies to the brilliant work of the Gurkhas during the all-important period of the Mutiny when they came in to the help of the troops of the British Government. The story of their loyal assistance is only eclipsed by the record of the even greater aid which Nepal gave during the Great War—and indeed for some time after it.

We now have to take up the story of the refugee rebels from India who were swarming across the frontier in increasing numbers. These men came into Nepal, not only fully armed but for the most part retaining the discipline and distribution of their original cadres. As the Katmandu Arsenal is able to prove, they even displayed the colours that had been given them by the Queen, and in at least one case by the Indian prince whose service they had left to join the rebellion. They also had—though the matter is involved in obscurity—a few guns. There was some delay in dealing with the refugee problem owing to the death of Jang Bahadur's mother on the 8th of August; but at the end of October Jang Bahadur, gravely concerned at this new and unexpected situation, took the field himself with eleven regiments of infantry and a regiment of artillery.

He reached Palpa on the 11th of November and reviewed the Tansing brigade commanded by his brother, Badri Narsingh. It must have been with mixed feelings that the latter received from Jang Bahadur a present of ten thousand rupees and a pair of rich shawls. Jang here received the son of the King of Audh, with his mother the Begam Hazrat Mahal. He assured them of his protection, and gave them a residence near Thapathali. When he arrived at the rendezvous of the rebels he found that their numbers had swollen to 23,000, of whom 11,000 were under arms. These were, of course, at once surrendered. The case of Nana Sahib, his brother Bala Rao, and Azimullah Khan will be discussed later. It is noteworthy that no less than eighteen English men and women, all of them non-combatants, had been brought by the rebels across the frontier into Nepalese territory—no doubt with the intention of holding them as hostages. These were at once released, and provision was made for their return to India.

[1] This territory extends from the river Gogra on the west to the district of Gorakhpur on the east, and is bounded on the south by Khyragarh and the district of Bahraich. It is a narrow strip of land about 200 miles in length. The date of the treaty by which Jang Bahadur obtained the recession of the Audh Tarai was 1st November 1860.

With this ended the stormy and eventful period of Jang Bahadur's career. Honours and honour still awaited him, but the drastic years of his life were over. Securely and certainly established upon his throne—none the less real because it was vicarious—Jang Bahadur watched and warded his mountain State with a vigilance that was all the more wary because it was unopposed, and the more relentless because he trusted none—not even the nearest of his kin.

About a year later the Maharaja was nominated by Queen Victoria a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath, and Colonel Ramsay presented the jewels of the Order to the Maharaja at a specially convened Darbar. This high distinction was accompanied by a letter from the Prince Consort, Grand Master of the Order of the Bath. In reply, Jang Bahadur expressed his sense of the honour conferred upon him, and added a promise that he would have been glad to know was nobly fulfilled by his successor, Chandra. " I beg that Your Royal Highness will be pleased to convey to Her Majesty my sincere acknowledgments for this very high mark of favour and of honour, and that you will also express the gratification I feel at the high consideration with which Her Majesty regards my humble services, which will again be freely placed at the Viceroy's disposal should occasion ever arise upon which they may be useful."

The remainder of the life of Jang Bahadur, if more charged with duties, was less full of excitement than his early years. Peace reigned in Nepal, and beyond the regular routine of an office through which a vast proportion of the details of government passed, he seems to have lived quietly, amusing himself by big game shooting, and by constant attention to the well-being of his elephants. This hobby had always been of particular interest to Jang Bahadur throughout his life, and towards its close was a constant obsession. He took great interest in natural history of all kinds, and the present Prime Minister possesses enormous albums, some of them nearly six feet in length, in which with meticulous care the Maharaja's artists had drawn for him representations of nearly all the larger game of Nepal, together with hundreds of illustrations of smaller beasts, birds, and even butterflies.

Month after month and year after year now passed without political disturbance. Jang Bahadur attached much importance to the improvement of communications, amongst which he included the newly established post office. Although he had now reached an age which in Oriental eyes seems to justify a less exacting regime of duty, Jang Bahadur still took the same pleasure in personally superintending any special work that had to be done. Whether it were a matter of adjusting some question with India; or releasing a terrified village from the menace of a couple of man-eating tigers; or dealing with some miscarriage of justice in a remote province; or the putting out of a fire in Katmandu or Patan; or consulting the

comfort of his elephants by digging an enormous swimming bath in the bed of the Bagmati; or seeing to the daily life of his people by wanderings in mufti through the streets of his capitals;—there was nothing in Nepal that was not coloured by the keen-eyed personality of, and the relentless exaction of all official duty by, the Maharaja.

His chief helpers were, of course, his brothers. The death of Krishna promoted Rana Udip Singh to the place of Commander-in-Chief; and Dhir Sham Sher, father of the present Maharaja, then automatically became



JANG BAHADUR'S TEMPLE OF KALAMOCHAN

Senior Commanding General. Jang Bahadur made periodical visits over the greater part of Nepal, and the official who was found to be either dishonest or slack had reason to regret the inspection. But there is no great interest either in recalling these details of administration, or the fierce spells of wild game hunting in which perhaps the great Maharaja found the only real happiness of his later life.

The fact remains that long after he had apparently doubled Cape Security, and could expect loyalty from all quarters as a matter not merely of prudence but of appreciation and respect, his intense reserve and his impregnable seclusion were maintained until the day of his death. After

the death of General Krishna he scarcely saw those who in a measure could claim intimacy with him—not even the members of his own family. The present Maharaja has told me that, although he was thirteen years old at the death of his uncle, he had hardly been in his presence more than three or four times. The iron of those early days of family strife and constant danger had entered too deeply into the soul of Jang Bahadur for him to make friendships even where the tie of blood was strongest. He had no solace in any form of literary distraction. He did, indeed learn to write after a fashion, but—as King Henry VIII of England long before admitted, " wryttinge is alwaies somethinge paynefulle unto mee,"—it was an irksome business for Jang Bahadur, and reading gave him hardly any greater pleasure. His irritability, to which reference has already been made, increased with years.

In 1872, on the 19th of April, he received from the Emperor of China the highest honour that His Celestial Majesty could give—the insignia of T'ung ling ping ma kuo kan wang, which were accompanied by the Double-Eyed Peacock Feather and the Sable Coat.[1]

In September 1874 Jang Bahadur went to Calcutta in order finally to settle certain boundary disputes which had existed for some time. Two months later he was seized with a sudden wish to pay a second visit to Europe. Everything was made ready, and all preparations for his absence from Nepal were completed. The party that was to accompany the Maharaja consisted of the Commander-in-Chief, Generals Jagat Jang, Jit Jang, Babar Jang, Ranbir Jang, Bir Sham Sher, and many others, including his son and biographer, Padma Jang. The journey through India was conducted in great state, and at Benares he did not fail to pay a visit to the ex-Queen of Nepal and her two sons. A slight misunderstanding prevented him from carrying out his purpose of bathing at Allahabad at the sacred confluence of the Ganges and Jumna. It appears that he had unwittingly offended against a strict rule that at the melas—whereat as many as a million or a million and a half of devotees are sometimes collected —the bearing of arms is strictly prohibited. Sir John Strachey reminded the Maharaja of this rule, but his courteous protest was taken amiss by Jang, and even when special permission was telegraphed from Calcutta, the latter said that he would prefer to postpone the ceremony till he returned. On the 21st of January 1875 he reached Bombay, inspected the steamer that had been engaged, and ordered his vast piles of luggage to be taken on board. But the journey was never made.

On the 3rd of February the Maharaja rode out in the evening through the streets, and his horse, taking sudden fright, bolted, throwing him on to the stone pavement. His chest was severely hurt, and the European
24 doctor who was at once called in said that although there was no danger,

[1] See Appendix II.

the Maharaja would require special treatment for about a month. Jang Bahadur did not at once abandon his intention of revisiting Europe, but the time-honoured jealousy that has always existed between the European and the Indian methods of healing was too strong for him. Nepalese physicians, aided by the entreaties of the Maharanis—who had come down from Nepal on hearing of the accident—over-persuaded the Maharaja, and he announced his intention of postponing the voyage till the next year. He returned by the same road, and carried out his purpose of bathing at Allahabad. He arrived back in his own house on the 20th of April.

In the following year the Prince of Wales—afterwards the King-Emperor Edward VII—visited India, and made no concealment of his pleasure when he received an invitation from Jang Bahadur to attend one of the famous big game shoots in the Tarai. A camp was arranged at Jamoa on the Nepalese bank of the Surda, and the most cordial greetings were exchanged between the Maharaja and the Prince.[1] The proceedings followed the usual course of a Nepalese big game shoot. The Prince of Wales watched a procession of eight hundred elephants crossing the river Surda, and that evening was told that a herd of wild elephants had been discovered. Jang Bahadur invited His Royal Highness to watch a " kheddah," or the ringing in and capture of these wild brutes. The days passed quickly, and good sport was always shown. A large number of tigers, leopards. deer, and boars were bagged, and a second " kheddah" afforded the Prince of Wales an even better opportunity of seeing the skill and strength of the trained elephants.

On the 6th of March the Prince returned to India, and the Maharaja went back to Thapathali. His suspicion that all was not well with him had been confirmed by the opinion of Surgeon-General Fayrer, who was in attendance on the Prince of Wales. This famous physician had gravely warned the Maharaja that a fatty growth was increasing about his heart, and that if it continued, death would be inevitable. Thereupon Jang Bahadur made provision for his end. He distributed his lands and money among his sons and the Maharanis.[2] The news of the death of two sons, Nar Jang and Babar Jang, increased his depression, which was not relieved by the further news of the death of his favourite fighting elephant. In his trouble he had recourse to his usual distraction. He went out big game shooting.

But after a short expedition he fell ill on the 25th of February 1877,

[1] Accompanying the Prince of Wales were Lord Suffield, Lord Alfred Paget, Prince Louis of Battenberg, the Earl of Aylesford, Lieutenant Lord Charles Beresford, R.N., Lord Carrington, General Sir Dighton Probyn, V.C., Sir S. Brown, Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Ellis, and several others.

[2] This is an indication that, in his own case also, he wished to discourage the practice of *sati*.

and—a rare thing indeed with Jang Bahadur—the day's march was counter-ordered. The cause of his trouble has never been exactly known. He suffered intensely from fever and alternate spells of heat and cold. Soon afterwards he failed to recognize even his own relations. Perhaps this fact is to be explained by his rapidly failing eyesight. Nepalese medicines and stimulants were given, but it was soon clear that all hope must be abandoned. Nothing could be done for the dying Master of Nepal. There was just time to carry him to the banks of the Bagmati at Patharghatta. He was placed on the bank of the river, where he lay for long silent, in a comatose condition. Towards midnight he passed away peacefully, and his body was burned with full ceremony. The three senior Maharanis insisted on committing *sati* in order to accompany their husband on his unknown journey. There could be no better conclusion to this sudden end of a great life than the dignified words of the senior Maharani:

" Gentlemen, you all know the love the Maharaja had for you, and the zeal with which he devoted his life to the welfare of your country.

" If in the discharge of his duty he has ever by word, look, or deed wronged any one of you, I, on his behalf, ask you to forgive him, and to join me in praying for the everlasting peace of his soul."

CHAPTER IX

NANA SAHIB

ONE of the unsolved mysteries of Asiatic history will always be the exact date of the death of Nana Sahib and the manner of his ending. In these days a younger generation has grown up to whom the name of Nana Sahib means little—or at least much less than to their fathers and grandfathers. Yet beyond all rivalry or comparison for the last half of the nineteenth century Nana Sahib was held by the civilized world to be almost the devil incarnate. It is not necessary to go into the details of his leadership of the great Mutiny, but it will be remembered that it was this man who, after promising a safe conduct to the European defenders of General Marshall's entrenchments at Cawnpore, not only shot down in cold blood the unarmed garrison as they left the Massacre Ghat but carried back the women and children to the House of the Women and there had the larger number slaughtered in cold blood and all of them, living or dead, thrown down into the well which remains the place of pilgrimage of every English visitor to India.

On the 16th July 1857 the approach of Havelock drove Nana Sahib out of his capital. He retired through Bithur, where amid the busy preparations and precautions which his defeat had rendered necessary and his feverish search for every jewel on which he could lay his hands, he still found time to order the murder of Mrs. Carter and her month-old infant, the only Europeans left within his reach. It is to the lasting credit of the widow of Baji Rao, and of Kasi Bai, Nana's youngest wife, that they had six weeks before protected Mrs. Carter, vowing that they would destroy themselves if a woman in her condition were killed.

On the 6th December of the same year came an end to his pretensions. Sir Colin Campbell defeated him and Tantia Topi and pursued them for fourteen miles along the road to Kalpi. Hope Grant was in charge of the pursuit but was delayed by the necessity of securing the guns abandoned by Nana's troops at Serai Ghat. Major Russell continued the pursuit, but Nana Sahib and his companions made good their escape across the frontier into Nepal.

From this moment a curious fog descends upon the story. But I have had the opportunity of examining the records, not only of what used to be known as the Thagi and Dacoiti Department and the few but interesting

documents possessed by the Indian Foreign Office, but the Maharaja of Nepal has placed at my disposal all papers dealing with the matter that his own State Departments contain. More than this will probably never be known.[1]

It may be useful to recall the exact position which Nana Sahib occupied. He was the second son of Madho Rao Bhao Bhat, whose wife was the sister of the wife of Baji Rao, the last Peshwa of Poona. Baji Rao was the representative of the Maratha claim to the empire of India, and when he went into compulsory retirement there is no doubt that he took with him the sympathy of a large number of Hindus, though his personal record was not of the best. The Indian Government treated him with generosity. It allowed him the handsome pension of £80,000 a year and permission to choose his own place of residence. He was childless, and it was made clear from the outset that this pension was to be a personal annuity, and would not descend to anyone. He elected to live at Bithur, a town about thirteen miles north-north-west of Cawnpore, and adopted two sons in order that at his death there should be no mistake about the performance of the last rites. Nana Sahib—then known as Dhandu Pant—was chosen together with another boy who died soon afterwards, and whose place was filled ultimately by Gangadhai Bhat, the Nana's younger brother, who was afterwards known as Bala Rao.

The ex-Peshwa's choice of Bithur—or, as it was then frequently called, Brahma-wat—is significant. Bithur is well known to Hindus as the especial place of resort of those who have a grievance. It is reputed to be the vindicator of every injured man. In 1851 Baji Rao died, and Nana Sahib, in spite of the definite warnings of the Indian Government, immediately set on foot an untiring agitation for the enjoyment of the pension which had been allowed to his adopted father. He sent his secretary, an ex-khitmagar Azimullah Khan, to London to induce the Court of Directors to admit his claim, but without success. In the circumstances it was a monstrous proposal. Baji Rao had by will left Nana Sahib property which has been estimated at two million pounds, and as an act of grace the Court of Directors had offered him in addition the revenues of a small district. This latter concession was rejected, but Nana Sahib from Bithur continued to show the utmost friendship to the English in Cawnpore.

When Nana Sahib fled, he took with him the widow of Baji Rao and Kasi Bai. The latter lived for fifty years in a retreat in Katmandu which was provided for her by Jang Bahadur and is well remembered by middle-aged men still living in the Valley. At the time of the flight she was thirteen years old. She was the daughter of one Ramchandra Sakharam Karmakar.

[1] As a concluding chapter to a book dealing with India, which I published in 1906, I traced the story of this unresolved problem, but I then had only partial information to help me.

Her name was originally Sundra Bai, and she was known in Nana's household both as Kasi Bai and Krishna Bai. She was also called Kaku Bai. This confusion of names is characteristic of everyone concerned. Most of the Nana's adherents had two names, and many even more. To this complication, which was not wholly understood at the time by the Indian Government, is due no small amount of the uncertainty of nearly all information reaching the Investigation Department from Nepal.

With these two ladies the Nana took with him on his flight his brother Bala Rao, Tantia Topi the younger, Baba Godbole, Jannu Singh, and Parusram Jagmal, servants. It is probable that Tantia Topi the elder and his wife accompanied Nana on this occasion, but if so, the former must almost immediately have left Nepal and made his way back to India. The story of their reception on the frontier is strange. They were received by Kedar Narsingh, a Nepalese general who had been specially deputed to meet them by Jang Bahadur. He escorted them to a small village called Deondari, probably identical with Deongarh near Tribeni Ghat. There they awaited orders.

It must have been an anxious moment for Nana Sahib. He may well have encountered on the road some of the contingent of eight thousand men that Nepal was sending to the help of the English at that moment. Moreover Jang Bahadur had an ugly method of dealing with emergencies. However, there was no help for it. There was no safety for Nana in India as he knew well enough. At last instructions were sent down by Jang Bahadur. His terms were simple. Kasi Bai and the other women[1] and the servants were to put themselves under the protection of the Prime Minister, but Jang Bahadur emphatically refused to extend any shelter to Nana Sahib himself. "Tell Nana Sahib and Bala Rao I will not protect them and disturb my relations with the English. If you want to fight the English and the Gorkhalis, say so, and you shall be massacred to a man." There was a curious rumour which caused the Governor-General in India some anxiety that two Englishmen had been carried off by Nana Sahib at the time of his flight. Narsingh Padhya sent in a report to Sidhiman Singh, the Military Governor of this district, that two Englishwomen had been murdered near Mumbukha cantonment.

According to the Calcutta records Nana Sahib accepted the implied suggestion that, provided Jang Bahadur never saw him again he would not be hunted for. He and Tantia the younger then delivered their wives over to the custody of the Nepalese, assumed the mendicant robes of the Atit order, and went west. But before leaving Deondari, one of the most dramatic incidents of this flight took place. Nana Sahib, as has been said, took with him from Bithur the most valuable jewels in his possession. They

[1] Besides his wife and his adoptive mother Nana Sahib had taken two women from Bithur, who were living under his protection.

included the famous "Nau-lakha," the principal jewel of the Peshwas. It is—for it exists still—a long necklace of pearls, diamonds, and emeralds, and is perhaps without a rival in the world.[1]

The quite unsympathetic Prime Minister offered 93,000 rupees, and Nana, compelled to take the offer or leave it, accepted the money. But Kasi Bai, with a shrewdness beyond her years, made a personal appeal to Jang Bahadur, and was given in place of the money the revenues of two villages, Dhangara and Raharia, in return for an annual payment by her of 4,500 rupees. This gave her a margin of between six and seven thousand rupees a year, besides the four hundred a month which Jang Bahadur allowed her for her maintenance and the use of a house rent free adjoining Thapathali outside Katmandu. Among other jewels belonging to Nana Sahib that were then transferred to the keeping of the Prime Minister's family in Nepal was a remarkable single emerald three inches in length, which Nana Sahib had had mounted as a seal. It is now the chief stone in the official head-dress of the Prime Minister, and may be seen lying horizontally against the right-hand side of the head-dress (see p. 238). Below it is a cluster of fine emeralds of great size like a bunch of grapes. This also is part of the treasures of Nana Sahib.

The Maharaja of Darbhanga also possesses a finger-ring set with a single diamond of the purest water and of great size. It is a shade under three-quarters of an inch in length and over half an inch in width. The writer has had this ring on his finger, and he wondered what emotion would have been caused to a clairvoyant by the contact of so intimate and personal a jewel that had belonged to such a complete and world-famous scoundrel.

Of other jewels brought by Nana Sahib into Nepal we have descriptions sent by Sidhiman Singh in the letters to Jang Bahadur to which reference will soon be made. He describes a necklace of forty-eight pearls and twenty-four emeralds, and sends a sketch of a magnificent diamond ornament of roughly oval shape just three inches in length and two in width. The central diamond was five-eighths of an inch in length and half an inch in width. It was surrounded by thirty-four diamonds close set. There was also an armlet three and a half inches by two inches consisting of a large Table diamond with thirty-one diamonds round it. Another smaller one

[1] The Maharaja of Darbhanga owns this necklace now. It descended through Jang Bahadur's brother, Rana Udip Singh, to Maharaja Bir Sham Sher, whose widow sold it to the Maharaja Deva Sham Sher during the short time that the latter was Prime Minister. In 1901 he was expelled from Nepal, and the Maharaja of Darbhanga has told the story to the writer of how a message reached him one night that a wonderful necklace was for sale. "I said at once that must be the Nepalese necklace, for I was certain that two such jewels did not exist. I asked for time to consider the matter but I was told that it was absolutely essential that the bargain should be concluded that night." The Maharaja of Darbhanga bought the necklace and has added slightly to it, but in its general shape it is practically what Nana Sahib sold to Jang Bahadur.

is one and three-quarters by seven-eighths inches. A certain number of these jewels were offered as bribes to Sidhiman Singh or to Jang Bahadur.

The story can now be taken up from the records of Katmandu. At this time General Dhir Sham Sher Jang was commanding in the Tarai, and the despatches of Brigadier-General G. A. Holdich report that the Nepalese authorities were active in searching for and surrounding the rebels who had taken refuge in Nepal. In June 1859 Sirdar Sidhiman Singh writes to Jang Bahadur from Dang and from Tara in the Tarai.[1] He says that Bala Rao, the Nana's brother, wanted to leave his family under the protection of Jang Bahadur.[2] He asserted that he and his brother belonged to the priest family of the Rajas in Sitara, and claimed that as a priest Jang Bahadur was the pupil of Bala Rao and owed him obedience. To this extraordinary claim Jang Bahadur replies that the English are his friends but that he will do what he can, provided he is not disloyal to this friendship. Bala Rao, whose movements were apparently unconstricted within certain limits, told Sidhiman Singh that he was going a little way away from Dang. Shortly afterwards Nana Sahib informed Sidhiman that he had sent two Christians and one English lady, who had been with them, together with other women in India to Tara.

Jang Bahadur replied that Sidhiman Singh had done well in offering shelter to the women and to the Englishwoman. But no protection could be offered to Nana Sahib or Bala Rao, nor could any arrangement be made for them with the British. Further trouble then ensued about the rumoured presence of an Englishwoman still in Nana Sahib's camp, or in the camp of the *late* Bala Rao. There seems to be some mistake about this, as Bala Rao showed Sidhiman Singh a receipt for the safe arrival of the lady at Gorakhpur signed by Mr. Burns, but spies were sent in to Bala Rao's camp to find out if there were any Christians there.

It was about this time that Bala Rao died, and the rumour of Nana Sahib's death was spread abroad. About October 1859 the mother of Nana Sahib and Bala Rao came to see Sidhiman Singh and said she wished to see Jang Bahadur as soon as he arrived. She complained that fever was attacking the women with her, and wished to be moved to a healthier spot. She told Sidhiman Singh that Nana Sahib had died at Deokari. Whether this was true or no the circumstances of her statement had been well prepared. She complained that she had no opportunities of celebrating a proper funeral for her son at Deokari, and she wanted therefore to carry out the *kirya* ceremony in due form in the presence of Sidhiman Singh.

[1] Dang is a district south-east of Salyana, about twenty miles distant. Tara is to be found on the map under the name of Tahada on the Budhwapati, north-east of Jarwad.

[2] And it is a new light upon the situation that he adds a request that Jang Bahadur should see that Nana Sahib and himself were smuggled through to Pharansisdanga, by which he meant the French settlement of Chandernagore, "for that will mean our safety."

But she said she had no money and no white mourning. She also wanted to sell certain jewels, and Sidhiman Singh obtained an offer from a certain merchant—who may perhaps have been Jang Bahadur himself—of 10,000 rupees for the entire number.[1] This offer she refused at first, but eventually submitted to. The money was paid to her, and three ornaments were handed over to Sidhiman Singh. He wrote that they were so fine that he was unwilling to entrust them to the ordinary messenger to Katmandu. Sidhiman Singh complied with the wishes of Nana's mother, and sent a pandit and the necessary *pustak*, or funeral office book, for the purpose of the ceremony. The question of the European woman alleged to be detained still caused trouble, and Jang Bahadur was evidently becoming restive at the persistence of the Indian Government. He wrote to Sidhiman Singh that if she and all Christians were not surrendered, none of the rebel women would be protected and the whole lot of them would be captured and handed over to the English.

At this moment there seems to have been a general confusion. Nana Sahib's mother was insisting vehemently—perhaps too vehemently—that both her sons were dead. Sidhiman Singh was reporting the matter to Jang Bahadur, who, on his side, was probably receiving from the Indian Government demands for further and better particulars of Nana Sahib's death. Jang Bahadur passed these requests on to Sidhiman Singh, who practically says: "What can I do? If the British will tell me whose witness they will accept about Nana Sahib's death"—a thing that the British were obviously unable to do—"I can convince them." Meanwhile he had procured a frontal bone belonging, it was said, to the Nana Sahib. This his mother had sent, asking that it should receive formal burial at Benares.[2] Jang Bahadur commends Sidhiman Singh's action in bringing the *astu* of Nana Sahib from Deokari to Tara and arranging for the proper *kirya* (1916, *Kartik-sudi*, 10).

Now we will turn to the evidence which exists in the records of the Indian Foreign Office. The first intimation of Nana Sahib's death that was received by the Indian Government was contained in a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel G. Ramsay, the Resident in Nepal, dated 8th October 1859. He writes that Jang Bahadur had received on the previous evening a few lines from Sidhiman Singh mentioning the death of Nana Sahib on 24th September 1859. Sidhiman Singh's authority was a message received from the Nana's court in the Deokur Valley sent by the women of Nana's family. He forwards the news but suggests a doubt as to its accuracy.

[1] It is curious that with these jewels in her possession she professes she had not enough money to provide for the *kirya* ceremony for her son.

[2] This habit of sending a vital piece of the structure of the body in place of the body itself is well known. The technical name of the relic is *astu*.

The Indian Government seems to have taken some time in making enquiries, for it is not till the 4th December 1859 that the Indian Government formally —but rather sceptically—reports the matter to the Secretary of State in London.

With even greater leisureliness the India Office, referring to this letter, writes back on the 17th May 1860 to ask that this rumour of Nana Sahib's death and another of Azimullah Khan's death in Butwal at the beginning of December 1859 should be examined. Lord Canning, as we have seen, took steps to sound the Nepalese Government on the matter, but the difficulty of dealing with this affair was increased by the unwillingness of Jang Bahadur to discuss it with Colonel Ramsay.

On the 22nd July 1861 the Resident reported to Mr. E. C. Bayley, " if the Nana be still alive, the secret is buried in the breast of Jang Bahadur. . . . The subject is never now referred to by His Excellency except once when Mr. Peppé's servant at Gorakhpur said that Nana Sahib was alive, and the ' Friend of India ' took the matter up." On one occasion Jang Bahadur asked Colonel Ramsay what his own opinion was, but the Resident evaded the question. The Prime Minister then said that if he were asked by the British Government about Nana Sahib he would say, " If you believe the Nana to be alive, you may send persons into Nepal to search for him, who shall be attended by several Nepalese officers to assist them in procuring supplies, and to protect them from insult or injury. If they succeed in finding the Nana, I will seize him and give him up to you, but before they cross the frontier, a formal written engagement must be made to this effect between the two Governments, with a proviso that, if you do not find the Nana within a reasonable time, the British Government shall cede to Nepal the tract of territory that has lately been refused me, viz., the low lands now composing the British Teraie, north of the eastern portion of Oude, which lie between the Arrah Nuddee and Bhugora-tal." Colonel Ramsay notes that this was a wager which Jang Bahadur could not lose, as he could with the utmost facility keep the Nana out of the way of any cavalcade of persons attended by officials of his own Government. It is perhaps from the terms of this astonishing and impossible offer that more suspicion as to the continued existence of Nana Sahib is aroused than from any other circumstance. But the story is by no means ended here.

Colonel Ramsay reports that Jang Bahadur had sold an estate in Butwal Tarai to a member of the Nana's family for 36,000 rupees, and he adds that the Nana, disguised as a " byragee "[1] (or more probably as a " gosaien "), might find a safe asylum there. He continues that a jeweller came up from Delhi to value the jewels of Nana Sahib and the Begam Hazrat Mahal of Lucknow. Jang Bahadur bought jewels from the Nana's family estimated

[1] A bhairagi is an itinerant mendicant devotee and no doubt reflects the story already referred to of the escape of Nana Sahib as an Atit.

to be worth between 50,000 and 60,000 rupees for 36,000 rupees; and from the Begam 40,000 rupees worth of jewels for 15,000 rupees. On the whole it may fairly be conceded that Jang Bahadur was at the same time offering to the refugees something that was of far greater value than the respective difference in these two sums. The jeweller complained that orders had been given forbidding any private person to buy the Nana's jewels. At the same time Jang Bahadur sent a message to say that the Nana's family were so poor that he was allowing them 300 rupees a month.

All this seems to be a different version from that which has already been given on the authority of the C.I.D. papers, though reconcilable. About this time a fakir arrived in Katmandu with a report of the presence of two important men at Muktinath, but Colonel Ramsay dissuaded the Indian Government from any further enquiry after Nana Sahib. It would be, he said, practically hopeless and likely to lead to the bitter resentment of the Darbar. As he was penning this letter, Jang Bahadur sent in to the Residency a curious message that the Nana's family had offered to buy the house of the ex-Rani of Lahore for 20,000 rupees, if Colonel Ramsay would guarantee the transaction. This, of course, was impossible. In a letter dated 14th August 1861, the Governor-General in Council approves of the cessation of all official enquiry from Katmandu. In replying about five weeks later, the Resident sums up the evidence in a letter that is worth some study. Colonel Ramsay thinks that there is fair presumptive evidence that Nana Sahib is still alive. He gives as his reasons that the Maharaja had repeatedly said that he was sure Nana Sahib would not live. This, reasonably or not, excited the suspicion of Colonel Ramsay. Then came a period of almost complete silence. Jang Bahadur treated the matter lightly at the time, "professing to have received only one short letter from one of their Sirdars in the Teraie... evidently intended to be laid before myself." When Bala Rao died, there were the most circumstantial explanations and reports, both before and after the event. In conversation with a Residency havildar, a fakir said that he had been in Nana Sahib's camp for some time after Bala Rao died. He had remained with him until after Jang Bahadur went down into the Tarai in the cold weather (15th November 1859). It will be remembered that the Nana's death was reported by Jang Bahadur as having taken place on the 24th September 1859). At Butwal Jang Bahadur called for all the "puggeree wallahs," or rebel leaders, that were in Nana Sahib's camp and the other "baghees'" camps. Almost all went. Nana Sahib would not go, being afraid of treachery. He said, too, that Jang Bahadur had invited him to come to Nepal, had taken his money, and now refused to give him any assistance.

"Nana Sahib was in the Teraie at that time, and I saw him myself. When the 'puggeree wallahs' came eastwards to meet Jang Bahadur, the Nana Sahib went up into the hills with a number of his followers. I went

eastwards and have not seen him since. I do not know whether he is alive or dead."

But this was not all the evidence. Another curiously detailed and somewhat involved story was told by another fakir a few days later. He was a Panjabi who had come from the Panjab through the hills. He had entered Nepal far to the north, and on his way to Muktinath he passed the Nana's camp, and saw and spoke to him. This was at a small village called Doongagaon in the territory of the Lamjang Raja about one mile westward of the Bamganga. Below the village was the Khundi Khola, where there was a camp of three or four hundred people. The Raja (who lived there) had posted sentries to keep strangers away.[1]

In one account the fakir, while bathing, was spoken to by a man dressed like a fakir with long hair plaited round his head. He was riding on an elephant, and he had fifteen or twenty followers with him, dirtily dressed and looking like fakirs. The newcomer gave the fakir ten East India Company's rupees, and the latter continues his story in these words: " I remained for several days at Doongagaon and had frequent talks with the villagers. The man I had seen was a great Maratha Raja who was continually engaged in religious ceremonies and performed more pooja than anyone they had ever seen, and he was very charitable. He continued his poojas for three-quarters of the day, and had a number of silver and gold utensils for the purpose." The Lamjang Raja sent food to his camp, where there were about three hundred sipahis all disguised as fakirs. Also three elephants and three small guns about three feet eight inches. The fakir explained the length of the gun by stretching out his left hand to the full and placing the other hand at his right shoulder.

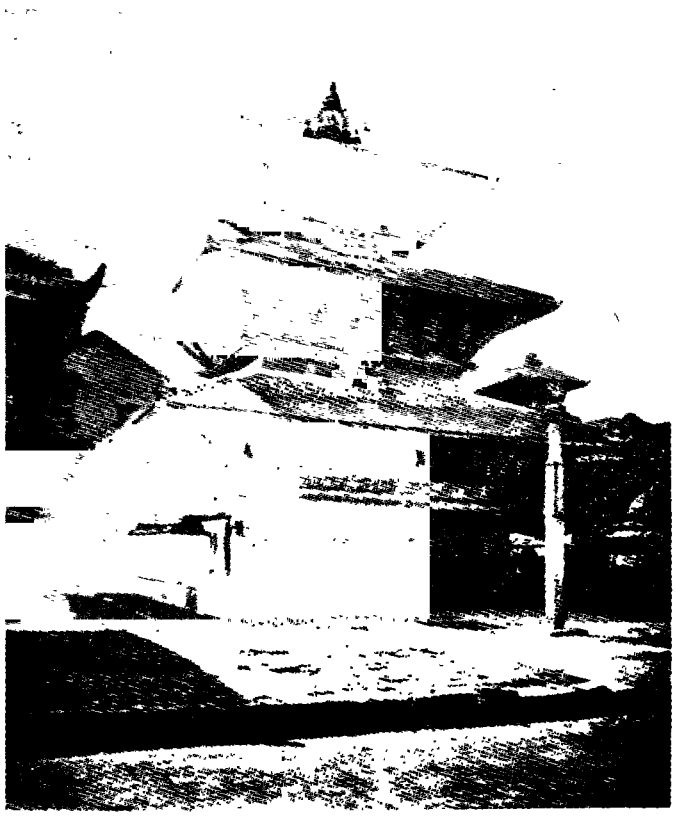
The report goes on: " Several of these sipahis often sat with me and talked to me, and they told me that their master was a brother of Bala Rao . . . and that he greatly abused Jang Bahadur, who had deceived him, invited him into the Tarai, had afterwards taken away his Ranis and many lakhs of rupees and jewels into Nepal, and had left him to shift for himself. He had lost an immense amount of money in Indian Government funds and had been in communication with emissaries from Golab Singh's country since arriving at Doongagaon." Afterwards the fakir met many sipahis disguised as fakirs on the way to Muktinath, and one old man of the 43rd Regiment who came with him to Katmandu and interviewed Krishna Bahadur. The latter sent him back with money, but offered to take the havildar to Nana's place after the Dasahra.

There was some difficulty in getting into further touch with this man. He took up his abode at Bhim Sen's temple across the Vishnumati. Nana's wife entertained fakirs from this temple.[2] Krishna Bahadur forbade the fakirs to talk.

[1] Jang Bahadur, as Prime Minister of Nepal, was Maharaja of Lamjang.

[2] This corroborates the story told in the records of the Thagi and Dacoiti Department.

The havildar went to the twelve-yearly festival at Godavari. He there saw several fakirs who said that Nana Sahib was living in the hills in the direction stated by the Panjabi. After smoking ganja, about nine p.m., the fakirs spoke about Nana Sahib, praising him as the best man in India though he had committed a great sin in killing women and children. He was very charitable. He was in the hills between Muktinath and Kumaon.



BHIM SEN TEMPLE AT PATAN

Some of the fakirs said that the sipahis declared that Nana Sahib was exactly like a fakir. He had bound a large roll of hair made of the tail of a chowree cow (=yak) around his head. He was very charitable and very pious, but exceedingly despondent. He said he knew that he could not escape, as the British Government had offered a lakh to anyone who would give him up.

In reply to this letter of 22nd July 1861 E. C. Bayley reports (12th August 1861) that Lord Canning is anxious to have further confirmation,

and that Forsythe is being asked to send Ram Singh of Nurpur to go and find out if there were rebels at Muktinath. " It is not probable that Nana Sahib is in Nipal or anywhere on earth." He adds as a distinguishing personal mark of the Nana, " he has one great toe tremendously carved and slashed by Tresidder."

Colonel Ramsay writes on the 23rd November 1861 to H. M. Durand, officiating Foreign Secretary in India. He says that Jang Bahadur had not mentioned Nana Sahib's name to him for eighteen or twenty months, but he includes a most interesting statement of a professional visit paid to Jang Bahadur on 9th November by Dr. Oldfield, the Residency surgeon. Jang Bahadur seems to have opened the question of Nana Sahib as if there were something he wanted to have conveyed to the Indian Government. He began by exculpating Nana Sahib from the guilt of the massacre at Cawnpore, which was perhaps an unfortunate foundation for what he had to say afterwards. He put the blame for that upon Bala Rao and Jwala Prasad, and then—forgetting his previous assurances to the Indian Government—plunged into the question whether Nana Sahib and his brother were or were not still alive. He said there was no doubt of the death of Bala Rao. Colonel Sidhiman Singh had seen Bala Rao when at the point of death and unable to speak even a few words except with difficulty.

Sidhiman Singh had seen Nana Sahib at the same time. He was perfectly well and strong. Jang Bahadur went on to say that, although the Nana's death was reported to him, not a single Gurkha nor any person on whose veracity he could rely, had seen Nana Sahib when he was said to be ill nor had been present in his camp when he was said to have died, nor when his alleged obsequies had been performed. The only authority for his illness and death was the evidence of the Tharus, whom Jang Bahadur himself described as a degraded and ignorant people. These men stated that they had heard of his being ill and of his death, and that they had seen a corpse, which they were told was that of Nana Sahib, burned with the ordinary funeral ceremonies. Jang Bahadur remarked that it might not have been Nana Sahib's body but that of some other person burned *ad hoc*. " There is no other evidence of his death, and I admit that I have some doubt (*shubah*) in my mind whether he is really dead."

After this astonishing admission Jang Bahadur went on to say that if Nana Sahib were alive, he was not living either in Nepal or in Tibet. Where then was he? " Gone to the South (*Dakhan-ka gya*)." If he were in Tibet —which Jang Bahadur denied, as Nana Sahib had not crossed the passes or been reported by the Nepalese agents in Tibet—the Tibetans would not give him up to the British (whose authority they did not recognize), but would give him up to Jang Bahadur.

Commenting upon this extraordinary interview, Colonel Ramsay notes that in his opinion Jang Bahadur had become afraid that the Indian

Government would discover Nana Sahib's existence for themselves, so he hedged.[1] It is to be noted that at the time of the alleged death, Jang Bahadur treated it as an established fact, and quoted as final the evidence of Sidhiman Singh, who was at Taragari, near Nana Sahib's camp, at the time, since he had attended the ladies of Nana Sahib's establishment to his own camp a short time before. Sidhiman Singh then said that the intelligence had been directly brought to him by messengers and that he had tested its truth.

Ram Singh and Lal Singh were sent by E. C. Bayley, secretary to Colonel H. M. Durand, the Indian Foreign Secretary, and reported on the 7th November 1864, but as neither of these men went outside the Katmandu Valley, their evidence as to Nana Sahib's existence is of less importance than the story they told of Jang Bahadur's treatment of his womenkind. After asserting that Nana Sahib had died at Bhuddour or Chillung-ghurree —when from 1,500 to 2,000 of his followers died with him (?)—Lal Singh continues: "Jang Bahadur behaves as though Nana Sahib's women"—who had been given shelter in Katmandu—"were his wives. He goes to their house every three or four days and sends for them. So nobody believes the Nana is still alive."[2] He has no news of Azimullah Khan, which in itself casts some doubt upon the thoroughness of his enquiries. He says that the widows of Bala Rao and Nana Rao get 500 rupees a month from Jang Bahadur, and two villages. Jang Bahadur, he says, borrowed their jewels on the occasion of his son's marriage; he did not return them but gave them some additional lands instead.[3] He makes the interesting note that Ganesh and Baba, who brought the news of the Nana's death to the Ranis, are still with the latter. Nor is it without a touch of human interest that Jang Bahadur took five of the Ranis' best-looking servant girls and sent them five old ones in their place.

Ram Singh—who succeeded no better than his companion in getting outside the Valley—reports that food was distributed to Brahmans after the report of Nana Sahib's death. He was generally believed to be dead. "Who would take his wives and jewels if he weren't?"

Meanwhile, as has been seen, the mother and the two wives of Nana

[1] Taken in connection with the records of the Thagi and Dacoiti Department, the use of the phrase, "*Dakhan-ka gya*" shows that Jang Bahadur knew more than he admitted about the Nana's movements.

[2] There is no doubt that Kasi Bai remained for many years the mistress of Jang Bahadur, but it is not equally clear that she was only Jang Bahadur's mistress. A quarrel about her took place between Jang Bahadur, Bulwant Rao, and Narazon (probably Narayan?) Rao, which resulted in the expulsion of the latter and the actual imprisonment of Bulwant Rao. In this connection one of the strangest incidents of the whole story occurred. Kasi Bai managed to approach the late Duke of Edinburgh while he was shooting in the Nepal Tarai, and asked that he would plead for Bulwant Rao's release.

[3] This is evidently an inaccurate echo of the actual transaction.

Sahib settled down in a house just outside the precincts of Thapathali, Jang Bahadur's palace. It is unchanged to this day, a grim-looking edifice of the usual Nepalese plan, with a double guard-house at the door, a garden and well inside, and the house itself facing north and south to the left as one enters. The place lies low near the river Bagmati, and must often have been enveloped in river mists. Beyond it to the north and east were then open fields: it was, in fact, the last house in Katmandu to the east, and its seclusion as well as its propinquity to Thapathali was no doubt the reason why it had been selected by Jang Bahadur. To this day there is no means of access to it except through the grounds of Jang Bahadur's palace. On the way one passes the palace in which the refugee Begam of Lahore had been given a similar asylum by the Nepalese Government. At this moment the house presents a dreary and almost forbidding appearance, which may no doubt be in part the result of one's knowledge of its history. But no one can look without a touch of emotion upon those guardhouses wherein once a year, at the time of the Shurat mela in January or February, the religious mendicants from far and near were given a meal by Kasi Bai. It is to be noted that once a year on these occasions, she threw to the winds the restrictions of her Brahman caste, and personally superintended the distribution of the food to the pilgrims. Is it too much to suppose that on these occasions she managed to snatch a few moments' conversation with her husband until he died? [1]

A more important point is to be found among the records of the Thagi and Dacoiti Department. Three or four years after her arrival in Katmandu Kasi Bai sent a letter to her father in India, asking him to come up to Nepal and see her. He takes his time about complying with her request, but eventually does so in 1866, and with him apparently went Azimullah Khan, Nana's late secretary. Now in 1866 the belief that the infamous rebel was dead had become universal, so that Kasi's father, Sakharam, was a little upset when he noticed that his daughter was still wearing the *tika* or spot of red turmeric on her forehead, bangles on her wrists, and the *kajur* (antimony) adornment round her eyes. No Konkanasta widow could

[1] It was a house of misery. Think of the agony of Nana Sahib's child-wife—partly fear of being thrown back into the hands of the English, partly anxiety lest her very sustenance should be denied, partly terror lest Jang Bahadur should discover her husband's secret visits to her house, partly terror that Nana Sahib should discover her relations with Jang Bahadur. She lived in the midst of spies. She knew that both the English and the Nepalese noted her every movement. As if to increase the tragedy of the situation, the child never guessed that had she gone back to India she would have been treated like a princess by the English, because in 1857 she had threatened to kill herself if Nana Sahib took the life of the expectant English mother at Bithur. Many people in Katmandu recall Nana Sahib's widow. She was described when elderly as being long in the face, light in complexion, and rather inclined to corpulence. She built the temple that exists in the garden. It is dedicated to Narayan.

wear these proofs of " coverture " for a moment. Bala Rao's widow, who was still living in the same house, had, of course, abjured them all. Azimullah Khan, on his return to India, also assured one Ganesh, a chowkidar at Cawnpore, that Nana Sahib was still alive and living under the protection of Jang Bahadur. Indeed, in Nepal there seems to have been very little concealment of the fact. Servants still watched over Nana's bed, *puja* was still made to Nana's silver chair and tulsi leaves strewn before it. Nor was this all. The nightly talk in the *kacheri* of the Begam's house next door was of the coming of the Russians, and the reinstatement of Nana upon the throne.

From this moment onwards it is difficult to trace with any certainty the actions or even the existence of Nana Sahib. The Indian Government maintained an open mind upon the subject, until at last any reasons that may have existed for the exemplary punishment of the scoundrel were lost in the realization that it was far better for all concerned that Nana Sahib should never appear again. Had he done so, he would have formed a rallying point for the disaffection that had been put an end to by the failure of the rebels. And though there may be some little interest in a reference to later reports of the continued existence of Nana Sahib, the anxiety of the Indian Government to trace him was converted into an earnest hope that no sign of him would ever again be found.

But in the records of the Thagi and Dacoiti Department there are certain curious references which are perhaps worth recording as corroborative evidence, should any further and more definite news be discovered. In 1864 our troops at Diwangiri on the Assam frontier heard that Nana Sahib was present with the Tongsa Penlop and the Bhutan army. Six years later a near relative of the Governor of Butwal—in which district the Nana is said to have died—testified from personal knowledge that he was still alive. Early in 1895 the definite news was received that on 5th March he would come to make his annual visit to his Rani " through Chitwan (? Chitlong) below Chandragiri." But in that year the Atit mendicants did not arrive till the latter days of April. They received clothing and other presents at the Rani's house, and by her arrangement started again westwards.

Another even more extraordinary piece of evidence exists. Nana Sahib, doubtless in his disguise as an Atit, is said from time to time to have attended the Kumbh mela at Allahabad. It is almost inconceivable that he should thus put his head into the noose, but it will be remembered that his existence among the inhospitable mountains and jungles of Nepal must have been almost unbearable to a man used to the last luxuries that India or Europe could afford. It is at any rate clear that, so late as 1885 the President of the Cow Protection Society testified that Nana Sahib had dined with him
26 at the mela. Here we leave the last evidence of which any definite record

remains to-day. Of stories there are many, and though it will scarcely be believed, the rumour of the survival of Nana Sahib has still been heard in India within the last twelve years. Of these tales one was told me by a well-known Rajput sportsman some years ago. He told me that Nana Sahib, when between sixty and seventy years of age, was murdered in the Tarai by a man named Pulia Pamé, whose sister he had seduced some years before. He was born in or about 1830. This would suggest that he lived until the last decade of the nineteenth century.

The other story is very different and has a grim tragedy of its own. In 1895, at a place about thirty miles from Rajkot, an aged mendicant, who had been creating a disturbance in the road, was arrested, chiefly to protect him from the insults and ridicule of the children of the place. Next morning the head of the thana came with a curious story to the English police officer of the district. He said that the man was partially insane. He claimed to be Nana Sahib, and appealed to the protection of Jang Bahadur, who had of course died many years before. This would not have been taken seriously had it not been that in his sleep also he spoke of Nepal, and claimed that if he had his rights he would be Peshwa. The police officer sent for the records of Nana Sahib's bodily marks, and he found that his prisoner possessed them, at least to some extent.[1] Naturally elated by his success, he telegraphed to the Government at Calcutta. "Have arrested Nana Sahib. Wire instructions." The reply came along cleared line, "Release at once." It was an unutterably wise decision, but a bitter disappointment to the young Englishman.

If there be any truth in this story, there is hardly a more desolate picture in history than that of Nana Sahib—old, discredited, half-witted, but still claiming the horrible honour of being himself—contemptuously set free by those whom he had so foully injured, to wander still along the roads, the laughing-stock of the children of his own people, vociferating his ancient claims to idle wayfarers who passed on to their own business with only a smile for the homeless and broken old man whose brain God had filled with illusion.

This perhaps is all we shall ever know of the later days of Nana Sahib.

[1] Nana is said to have been rather above middle height, with a round face and eyes peculiarly set. He was marked with smallpox, and some authorities say that he had a scar on his forehead. We have already seen that his toe bore the marks of a severe operation, and he may also have borne traces of another operation for varicocele. The man detained in 1895 seems to have had in addition a scar on his back, evidently caused by a lanced carbuncle.

CHAPTER X

THE VALLEY

"A lovelier spot than this the heart of man could scarce desire."
SIR HENRY LAWRENCE.

The Road to Katmandu

§ 1

LONG after sundown last[1] night the two elephants carrying the heavier baggage moved away like ghosts from the rest-house in Raxaul, and by the light of a single lantern at the lean gates one watched their huge, grey-trousered bulk tread off along the north road that leads into Nepal, vanishing into the darkness after twenty soft footfalls. The black-purple blanket of the dark was broken only by the ragged flame of the spilers' camp across the stream, the fiery scatter of stars overhead, and the intermittent streaks of the fireflies among the hedges of hibiscus. Next morning at dawn one followed in the track of the elephants for some seven miles under the great avenue of rich dusty mangoes and sculptured pipals. At the little red bridge over the writhing Raxaul river India was left behind; the Empire had been exchanged for the Kingdom; ahead, to the very summits of the ice-clad Himalayas, more than a hundred miles away to the north, for two hundred miles to the right and three hundred miles to the left, lay Nepal.

It is with a curious sense of adventure that a stranger sets out for the first time upon this journey. For the rule about the presence of foreigners in Nepal is as the laws of the Medes and Persians; it is absolute and admits of no exception. No one is allowed to begin the journey to Katmandu unless the two Governments of Nepal and India agree to extend to him what is not merely a permission, but an invitation. Katmandu is determined that the disadvantages which seem inevitably to attend the presence of the hustling European with his material standards of development shall be avoided as much as possible by Nepal; and as Simla is entirely at one with Katmandu in this matter, the number of Western strangers who have ever visited the white stupas and golden roofs of Katmandu is fewer even than the small company of those who have crossed the Sacred Way that encircles Lhasa.

[1] This was written in May 1924.

For sheer beauty the road is worthy of the goal. Here and there the long green tapestry of the avenue is broken by the wall of a Nepalese country house overhung with flaming bougainvillea; and at the second milestone one's car echoes through the only street of Birganj, the frontier town. The road, like the surrounding Tarai, is level enough; though the car has to steer its quick way between the humps and long javeaux of dusty turf that curve and cross and join and divide the footworn channels of hardened sand that have served as the road to Bichako and the Valley since long before the Gurkhas captured Katmandu, perhaps before King Amshu-varman sat upon the throne of the Valley. Beneath the rich verdure of the avenue and between the passing trunks there is a vision to right and left of flat fields stretching out into the haze of a burning day in May, decked here and there with fringes of less furnished trees, or with the rich canopy of a mango tope, under the side of which are cuddled a few farmhouses and an almost dry pond. After about six miles the avenue is abandoned, and for another league or so a newly made grassy drive is banked up two or three feet above and across the parched Tarai. Then the avenue is re-entered, and another quarter of an hour brings one to Simra-basa, where the tail end of another new road opening out on the left promises well. But it promises only; there is but ballast and metal laid down here and another hour must be spent along the " lik " or cart road that runs beside the still unmade track. The car pushes its way between the unfinished road on one side and the sal forest on the other; should an ox-cart be seen floundering ahead of us the driver will jump off and urge his bewildered beasts a few yards into the thick jungle of undergrowth to let us go by.

We are now in the twelve-mile-wide strip of raw forest, which has not unjustly earned for the Tarai its famous reputation of being the unhealthiest region in all Asia. But there is nothing to betray its evil nature unless, perhaps, like the upas valley in Java, the extra luxuriance of its vegetation suggests a warm marshy soil and therewith, to a modern mind, mosquitoes. We brush past the encroaching emerald undergrowth, and from time to time scare from the track some herd of grazing buffaloes, who lumber away through the long grasses in a dense grey block, each wet muzzle upon his predecessor's quarter. In one clearance stands magnificently watching us a mighty ash-grey Brahman bull, black of snout and hump and fore-quarter, a picture in himself of India in Indian eyes—strength and sanctity and Shiva

Throughout the hours of daylight the Tarai is safe enough.[1] It is the evening that man may not spend in this most beautiful park. Sundown in the Tarai has brought to an end more attempted raids into Nepal and has buried more political hopes than will ever be known. The English

[1] Dr. Oldfield repeatedly notes as unusual any safe passage of the *awal* district except during the hours of daylight.

learned their lesson early, for within forty years of Plassey a column—moving to the help of hard-beset Nepal—withered and retreated before the miasma of this paradise. The English had been told of its dangers, but they had to learn by experience what all India had known and feared for centuries—and the lesson went home. To this day the depot at Gorakhpur is open only from 15th October to 31st March because of *awal*. The tribe of the Tharus alone—an indigenous race of the Tarai, fit only to act as carters—are immune, though the curious note is to be added that if they remove themselves elsewhere they are said to be as liable to malarial fever as others. Perhaps after all this zone is only affected by an unusually virulent form of the fever, but of its mortal effect there is no question. The records of Nepal and of the Indian Army are crowded with the names of its victims. This local pestilence is known far and wide as *awal*, a name which hums an undertone of death throughout the chronicles of Nepal. Between October and March its teeth are drawn, but for the rest of the year so serious is the danger that not only will the Legation surgeon in Katmandu warn travellers against the foolishness of spending a single night in this district, but the Maharaja will give him the most practical of all support by refusing to allow his guests any chance of committing this indiscretion. It is solely as His Highness's guests that the rare strangers make their way between Nepal and India, and from March to October no visitor is offered a halting-place for the night between Sisagarhi, high up in the Himalayan foothills, and Raxaul, where the Maharaja's responsibility ends.

§ 2

Bichako.—At the twenty-fourth mile Bichako, or Bichakori—the Nepalese have the pleasant habit of adding or lopping off a syllable from a name whenever it sounds better—stands athwart the road. It is a small village with a few brick houses, of which two are respectively the State bungalow and the powah or rest-house for the Nepalese. Beyond a narrow strip of cultivated land a dry, wide river-bed defines the foot of the first and farthest outpost of the distant silver Himalayas. All the morning their summits have been camouflaging themselves among the faint loitering white gauze that hides or reveals their icy silhouette against the blue of the sky. As the experiences of the late Everest expedition have taught us, that faint haze, so delicate and graceful among these argent heights, may, in fact, be just such a tempest of hail and snow as that in which Mallory and Irvine lost their lives—from here it seems only a slow and almost coy raising or lowering of a half-transparent veil.

At Bichako the alluvial plain of India has washed up against the backbone of the world—and can no more. From this moment the track begins to ascend, either beside the river-cut ravines, or across the watersheds

which divide them. For the first few miles the road is a mere cleared length of the river-bed itself. One follows the thin trodden line between the stones and sand-whorls with which the Churia river played all last year, and abandoned only when the dry season dammed up her tributary streams and forced her back into the devious and invisible underground channels



THE ROAD TO KATMANDU (NEAR MARKHU)

which are never dry. On either side the river cliffs rise three hundred feet and more, and wherever roothold is possible the jungle swarms up. But for the most part on the western river face the slope is too precipitous, and the gaunt grey rock is set like a wall.

Up through the debris of the river bed the narrow track threads its way, turns westward through a gorge that is to be spanned some day by a bridge, and arrives at last at Churia on the eastern bank. In other days

I have spent nights at both Bichako and Churia—not, as I need hardly say, during the hot weather—and for picturesque surroundings Churia can hold its own against any other bungalow south of the Himalayas. The rest-house lies scarcely fifty feet above the river, not far from the foot of the pass. " Forest upon forest hangs above its head, like cloud on cloud " —and behind it is the Churia ridge that played so important a part in the Nepal war of 1816. This stubborn under-feature of the northern massif is crossed only by this pass, or, rather, it was believed by both sides that this way was the only way, until Lieutenant Pickersgill discovered the torrent-bed of the Chukri Mukri a little to the west, up which Ochterlony successfully pushed a company of men with incredible labour and difficulty and thus outflanked the Nepalese. The track is now being reconstructed as a road fit for motor traffic, cut deep between precipitous screes of red sandstone. At the top of the Churia pass is an overhanging rock, beneath which a fakir has elaborated a little shrine, adorned with half a dozen tridents in honour of Shiva, god paramount of Nepal. In the middle is a sacred stone, duly anointed and powdered with red. The freedom of the pass and the fakir's benediction are secured by a rupee, and the car runs easily down a fair road between another stretch of tangled woodland until Hetaura is reached.

§ 3

Makwanpur.—Five miles to the right of Churia, but almost unapproachable from this side is the hill of Makwanpur, which is chiefly known because it formed the objective of Ochterlony's campaign of 1816, and often is referred to in his despatches and in subsequent notices of these operations. It is also described by Father Georgi, an Augustinian, who passed along this route on the way up from India in the middle of the eighteenth century. In his curious day-book, part of which deals with the route between Calcutta and Lhasa, he says that at " Maquampur " there is a thick forest twenty-eight miles wide and a hundred miles long from east to west. It is the home of elephants, rhinoceroses, tigers, bisons, and many other savage beasts. Some danger attended penetration into it. The worthy father's palanquin was surrounded at night by bivouac fires, and its occupant got such sleep as he could while his attendants shouted, beat drums, and let off firearms to drive away the tigers. He records the superstitious use of charms and mascots by the " idolatrous " guides and porters, and proceeds to note that he encountered in the middle of the forest the ruins of the ancient town of " Scimangada ";[1] and he adds that a plan of the place is

[1] M. Lévi identifies Scimangada with Simraon, of which the ruins are still to be traced, and he is doubtless right; but—"gada" or "gara" being merely an addition signifying a fort—Sciman seems likely to be a recollection of Samanpur which lies seven or eight miles north-east of Simraon. Dr. Oldfield says that the ruins of Simraon are

engraved upon a stone in the Darbar Square of Bhatgaon, and that ancient coins were occasionally found which represented the same place apparently laid out in the form of a labyrinth. Father Georgi, noting with much accuracy the danger of the *awal* plague, says that the windows must be closed at night, and that the only chance of escaping the curse is to climb high enough upon the mountains to avoid the miasma that bathed their feet. He writes, however, that whatever precautions are taken and however quickly a man may seek a kindlier climate, he often carries with him the seeds of the *awal* which will not fail to attack him at a later date. He asserts that those who have once recovered from the disease are thenceforth immune—a statement which, however, is not corroborated by modern medical science.[1] Georgi probably followed the course of the Bagmati and makes some interesting notes upon the triple dynasties of the Valley. It is possible that his reference to Kakou, a village on a small tributary of the Bagmati, relates to Khokna.

Father Marc, who never traversed it himself, records from the stories of others the journey along the present main road from Raxaul and mentions Simra-basa, Bichako, Hetaura, and Makwanpur. Of this fortress he tells a strange tale. The invading army of one Kasim Ali Khan, a Mohammedan chief, lost its way at Hetaura and lighting upon an eastern track through the forests arrived before Makwanpur. The soldiers tried to storm one of the three forts there, but were ignominiously defeated by the stone throwing of one man and two women, the sole occupants of the post. These hardy defenders were afterwards reinforced by ten other men, and the tiny company of eleven fell after sundown upon the outposts of the Moslems and killed ten thousand persons. Nor was this all. The army of " Casmalican," stampeded by this night attack, lost six thousand more over the precipices. On the following day it retreated at the threat of the little band that if the enemy did not withdraw at once, they would shut the passes and massacre them to a man. Father Marc states that the kingdom of Nepal began at Hetaura, and he gives a vivid account of the journey to Bhimphedi. Afterwards the good monk is perhaps influenced by the remembrance of his " Casmalican " story when he says that at Tamba khani—which he may have confused with Chandragiri not far away—ten men could easily keep away twenty thousand by throwing stones.

From Lady Day to Michaelmas there is nothing in this fever-haunted district of Hetaura but a few houses, deserted by all except a handful of

extensive, but it is said that they are almost unapproachable. They are buried in a thick jungle which it is considered sacrilegious to attempt to clear away. Simraon is to be found in the Bartholomew map of India.

[1] M. Lévi quotes the descriptions of the *awal* fever written by Father Desideri in 1722, and Father Marc della Tomba, who nearly died of it at Bettia in 1767.

carters and a native traveller or two—sojourners unwilling enough—who have no means of traversing in one day the width of the Tarai and have perforce to spend the night therein. But during the winter it is a well populated centre from which diverge four or five of the main routes of southern Nepal, and many temporary structures are then run up for the shelter of man and of a few favoured beasts. The name of this place, by the way, will illustrate three of the most frequently found difficulties of Nepalese nomenclature. It will be disguised in English books as Hetouda, Hetowara, Hitounda, Ytauda, Etunda, Etaura, Hetounda, or Ytaunda. Each of these spellings has some justification, first because the pronunciation of the last consonant is a perfect blend of an " r " and a " d "; secondly because the nasal sound preceding it is added or withheld, as it is in scores of Nepalese names, at the whim of the speaker; and thirdly because the aspirate is scarcely to be caught by a stranger.

From Hetaura the road runs through very fine wooded scenery on the left bank of the Rapti to Suparita, crossing on its way the stream of the Samari by a fine four-spanned steel bridge. At present the motor road ends at Suparita, though if necessary cars can be pushed through to Bhimphedi; one moves upwards by pony or on foot through river glades of increasing beauty to the iron bridge of Bhainsi-duhan and the exquisite valley that eventually flattens itself out into the plain of Bhimphedi. Here an hour of mercy is granted before the ascent of Sisagarhi begins. Bhimphedi is a pleasant little town strung out for a long way beside the track.[1] The first buildings that one reaches are the country residence of a Nepalese of high rank, the pool and fountain—which were reconstructed and beautified as part of the scheme with which in the Tarai the name of the present Maharaja's first wife will ever be gratefully associated—and the State rest-house, which is closed during the hot months of the year. For two or three hundred yards hence the route passes between small houses of timber, brick, and adobe, half of which expose for sale some of the necessities of life. It is not until one enters one of these shops that one encounters, perhaps with regret, the neatly labelled rolls of mercerized stuff that come from Manchester instead of the sturdy cloth of local manufacture. The road takes a sharp turn and in the middle of the village resumes its course beside a standpipe and a sacred enclosure in the middle of the street. Thence it descends through river-fields to the stream, and during the dry season the three-hundred-yards crossing is easy enough. On the other side

[1] The term is generally applied also to Dokaphedi. Dhursing, two miles down the road from Bhimphedi, is distinguished because it is the temporary terminal of the Katmandu ropeway. William Moorcroft, writing upon the road up through Bichako and Bhimphedi, notes that the latter place is so called from a figure of Bhim which is cut in stone on the right of the path as one goes up. He notes the copper mines at Ṭamba khani, and somewhat carelessly makes the distance from Bichako to Katmandu no less than 109 miles.

is the remainder of Bhimphedi, with better built houses, the residence of the head man of the town, and the quarters in which the coolies spend the night. For this is the end of all carriage by pack animals; henceforth all porterage is undertaken by human beings. No elephant even can climb the pass. He is obliged to go round by a circuitous route to the west, and even so he can carry nothing but his own weight. No laden pony or mule can face the southern slope of the Sisagarhi pass.



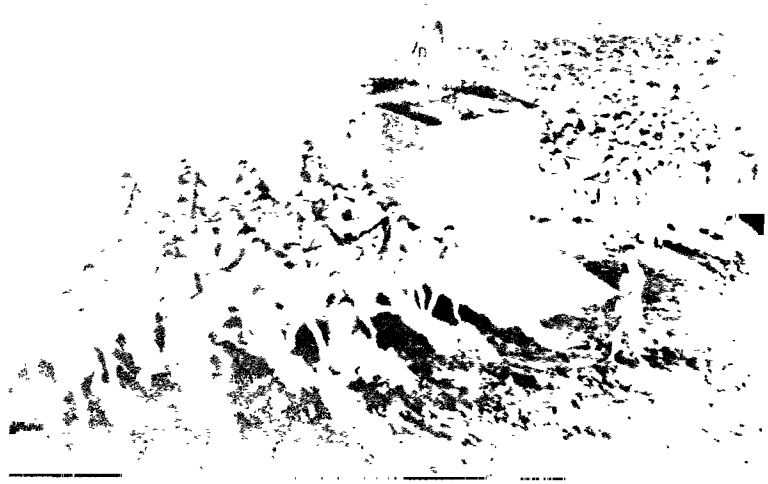
THREE COOLIES RESTING ON THE WAY UP

§ 4

Sisagarhi.—From here for the next five miles the track—if track it may be called—first climbs up to Sisagarhi, and soon afterwards descends on the northern side to Khuli-khani. The first section is of such difficulty that—were it not that Chandragiri is still to be overcome—one would rank it as the worst path that leads the traveller to any civilized capital in the world. Up from Bhimphedi a kind of torrent bed is climbed at a gradient that varies between twenty-five and thirty-five degrees, that is, for each horizontal yard that is gained the traveller has to ascend about two feet. At times it is even steeper, but it is rather the slipping, unstable foothold of loose stones under foot than the gradient that makes the track difficult in the best of weather—and in really rainy weather, impassable. Two miles

of this disheartening work—if one goes over it in a chair, eight men are required to carry it—brings one up to the old fort, where the night is spent in cool, mosquito-less air over 6,000 feet above the Indian plains.

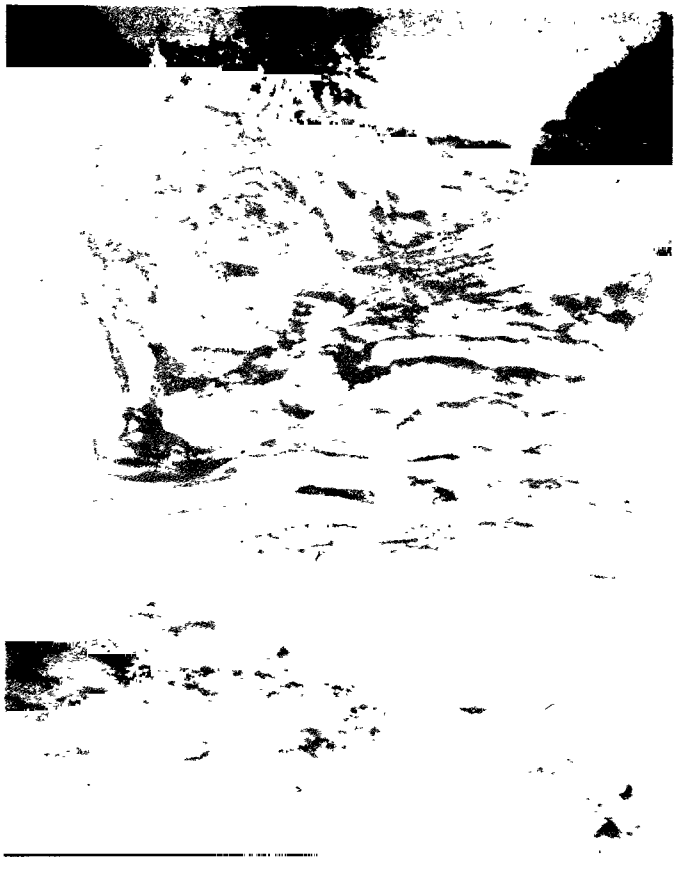
Next morning the march is resumed. After a short climb to the top of the pass the descent is begun into Khuli-khani by a somewhat better track. From Khuli-khani the way lies beside, and often within, the bed of the Markhu river; but there are few places of any difficulty, and a little beyond Markhu there are open downs for four or five miles until Chitlong is reached. This is a straggling village, composed more of fields than



PORTERAGE OF HEAVY GOODS TO KATMANDU

houses, attending the road for a mile and a quarter. The beauty of this last piece of cultivated land before the ascent of Chandragiri is remarkable, as also is the exquisite craftsmanship of the carved work of the powah or Nepalese rest-house of Chitlong. A stiff ascent from here takes one to the summit of Chandragiri, but it is not a very difficult climb, and would be possible for pack animals were it not for the descent on the north-eastern side. This is the crux of the entire route. The gradients vary from thirty to over forty-five degrees in steepness. Only one corner is actually over fifty degrees, but the points are not infrequent when one descends a yard for every yard one moves forward. From time to time one meets with massive stone stair-treads, but they are worn smooth and in nearly

all cases are broken and slanting at all angles; often it is better to use the raw slide of rough rock embedded in the hill-side that drops beside them. But, bad though this way is, it is of almost indescribable beauty. Overhead the dark-leaved rhododendrons, muffed by orchids and ferns, follow some way down the track, and when they give place to other trees the same



THE ROAD TO KATMANDU

magnificent canopy, now of emerald greens shading into jade, shelters almost every furlong of the steep journey into Thankot. Occasional glimpses of the farther side of the ravine down which we are painfully lowering ourselves frame in a distant and entrancing view of the Valley of Katmandu, with its spires and domes, its red-roofed towns and villages, its careful cultivation, its avenues and woods, its great parade grounds, and its winding river-beds. All round this hundred and fifty square mile plot of intensive sanctity, cultivation, and national life rise the woody

mantles and the sharp peaks of the guardian hills. Below the foot of the north-eastern slope of Chandragiri is a stretch of verdure like an English park with cattle feeding on the short green smooth turf. At Thankot the declivity ends, and one is rapidly taken by a car over the eight or nine miles that intervene before the capital is reached.

The Valley.—This is no unfitting place in which to remark that within the confines of the Valley—between Chandragiri and Mahadeo Pokhri, twenty miles away to the east, and between Sheopuri and Phulchok to north and south—there is concentrated a world of varied interest, tradition, and beauty as may be found nowhere even among the history-coloured and majestic towns and ruins of India. There are three cities in the plain before us, each crowded with beautiful things;[1] there are four almost untouched Asokan stupas; there are palaces greater and more numerous than any Indian prince can boast; there are ponds of mystery and flowing pools of sheer delight rippling under the shadow of enormous trees; there is real green grass underfoot—and the Himalayan snows dominate the northern horizon with intolerable purity. Perhaps the greatest of all differences between Katmandu and its southern rivals—a difference that cannot fail to strike the most shallow observer—is that there are few ruins in the Valley. The great temples in India often lie deserted, mere goals of the antiquarian and the tourist; here they are living and venerated.

[1] The territory ruled over by the kings of the three cities of the plain varied at different times. The following is a rough estimate of their extent:

The principality of Patan included the whole of the Valley to the south of the Bagmati and Hanuman Khola. The chief towns in this district were Kirtipur, Chobar, Thankot, Pharping, Godavari, Harisiddhi, and many smaller townships in the south-western quarter.

The Prince of Katmandu ruled over the north and west of the Valley, including the far north-east. Sankhu, Changu Narayan, Harigaon, Boddhnath, Swayambhunath, Jitpur, Nilkantha, Deo Patan, and Balaji.

Bhatgaon was thus restricted to an eastern triangle which included only the towns of Budi and Timi, but its jurisdiction went—as indeed was the case with the other two—far beyond the limits of the Valley, as far as the Dudh-kosi to the east and northwards to the Kuti Pass on the Tibetan frontier. No certain definition of the territory beyond the Valley can be attempted. We know that Gorkha was at one time within the sphere of Katmandu and that the southern limit of Patan was probably defined by the under-feature on the Himalayas which runs east and west above the Tarai and is surrounded at Sisagarhi. The inaccessibility of this range and the deadliness of the Tarai combined to prevent any serious invasion, or indeed, intercourse between the Nepalese and the inhabitants of the northern plains of India. Small as was the territory of the Prince of Bhatgaon, and uncertain as was his supremacy, there can be little doubt that Bhatgaon was the dominating power in the Valley for two centuries. Ever since the unfortunate division of his kingdom by Yaksha Malla until the Gurkha conquest, Bhatgaon was little more than *primus inter pares*. His leadership scarcely amounted to hegemony and was generally opposed by his cousins of Patan and Katmandu.

The continuity of life and faith has suffered from no religious intolerance for, strange though it may seem, Buddhism and Hinduism have here met and kissed each other. Especially is it to be remembered that no Moslem invader has ever set his foot in Nepal, no Christian missionary is allowed to undermine the belief of her inhabitants. In some ways—certainly in more ways than any other state or district in India itself can claim—Katmandu remains to-day much as it was in the seventh century. Modern improvements have been introduced with a lavish hand and to-day electricity illuminates this quiet sanctuary of the life of an older day. But the Valley of Nepal at heart remains, and one trusts will always remain, unchanged and unchangeable.

It is worth while briefly to refer to the traditional origin of the Valley of Nepal. The Swayambhu Purana relates that formerly the Valley was a lake of circular form at Naga Vasa, full of deep water wherein countless water-fowl rejoiced. The king of it was Karkotak, king of the serpents. No Lotus grew upon its water. Many aeons ago Vipasya Buddha came from Vindumati Nagar and after due circumambulations repeated certain charms over a root of the Lotus and then threw it into the lake prophesying " When this Lotus shall flower Swayambhu [1] shall be revealed as a flame." [2] He then departed.

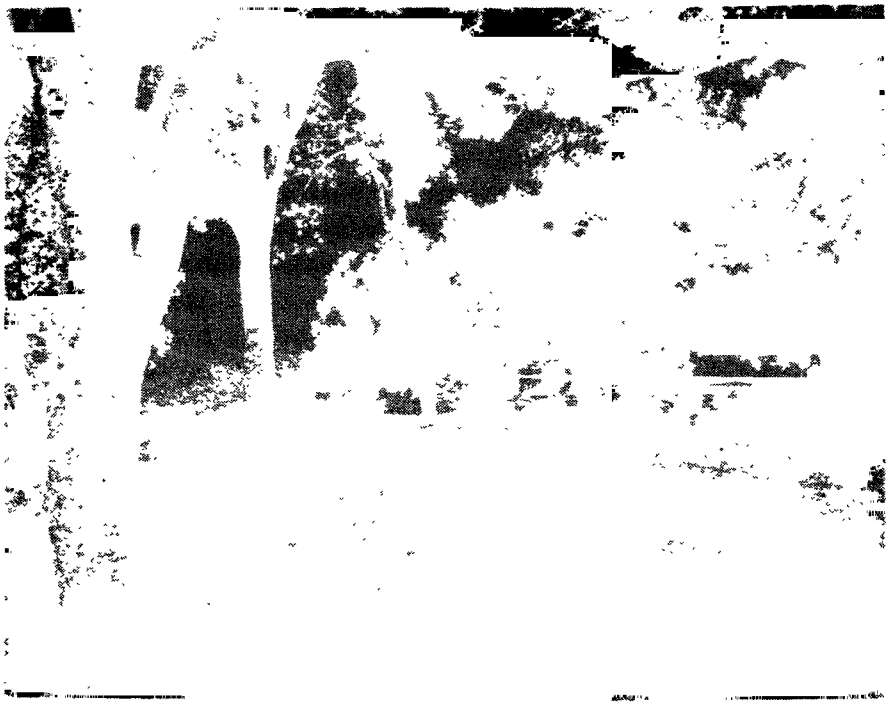
The next divine visitor, Sikhi Buddha, after prophesying that this shall become " A delightful abode to those who resort to it from all quarters to dwell in it, and a sweet place of sojourn for pilgrims and passengers," then entered Nirvana upon the bosom of the Naga Vasa.

The third Buddha to visit the lake was Visvabhu. He also prophesied the prosperity of the Valley as soon as a Boddhisatwa should cause the land to appear above the waters. This Boddhisatwa was no other than Manjusri who, assuming the form of Visvakarma, the Artificer of the Gods, went to Naga Vasa, and after due lustrations he walked round the lake. Satisfying himself the waters should be drained off towards the south, he struck the enclosing mountain with his sword. This in the famous Kotbar through which the Bagmati to this day drains the waters of the Valley. After protecting the root of the famous Lotus, on the now exposed plain, by a solid shrine, he selected for his own residence the western half of the small hill,[3] on the eastern half of which rises the great temple of Swayambhunath. This was the beginning of the valley home of the kings of Nepal. Immediately after the departure of Manjusri, some of his disciples built the stupa of Swayambhunath upon the summit of the Lotus Hill, in order

[1] Self-existent one.

[2] This is the origin of the eternal fire which is kept burning in the temple immediately behind the Swayambhu stupa, and at Boddhnath.

[3] And built Patan as the seat of government of the traditional first king of Nepal, Dharmakar.



THE OLD STUPA, SWAYAMBHUNATH

that, together with Swayambhunath or the self-existent deity, the cult of Manjusri should be venerated. It is worth while to notice that Manjusri came from China, where he is still a most popular deity, and there are those who somewhat doubtfully connote the name Manju with that of the better known title of the later dynasty of Chinese Emperors, Manchu.

In due time the Buddha Krakuchhanda is said to have visited Nepal with many disciples, of whom some remained in the fertile little valley. This account of the traditions of divine visits is entered in the Nepalese record, and the visit of Kasyapa, the Buddha who immediately preceded Sakyamuni. The probability of a visit to the Valley by the historical Buddha Gautama has been referred to elsewhere, and it may be that the Emperor Asoka in erecting here the largest memorials to Gautama he set up in all his active life, and in setting up Rang Patan, was influenced by the reported statement of the Master, " In all the world are twenty-four Pithas, and of all these that of Nepal is the best." Buddha would not have made this statement had he not personally visited the Valley.

§ 5

Katmandu.—The first impression upon the mind of a visitor passing through the streets of the capital of the Valley for the first time is that nowhere else in the world is wood so exquisitely treated as an adjunct to architecture. Cairo has her " mashrabiyah " work, but not for a moment can she hold a candle to the intricate strength and slowly disclosed detail of the house fronts of Katmandu or Patan or Bhatgaon or Kirtipur. The windows are imbedded in carving, and the lintel and the sill are often wantonly carried a yard or more outwards into the surface of the wall on either side simply to give larger scope to the worker in wood. Often a lintel is bracketed or a jamb buttressed by a mighty scroll or volute flush with the wall and as exquisitely carved as the lintel itself. The pillars are fluted with lotus moulding, and crowned with box capital half Ionic and half Hindu in character.

The roofs project in a manner that recalls China.[1] Tier above tier these gilded mantels rise to the finial that crowns the building. But nowhere in the length and breadth of China are the supports of her temple roofs so magnificently or so essentially a part of the architect's conception. Sometimes in domestic architecture there is merely a row of carved battens with a double curve as an emblematic projection symbolizing in little the lavish work that decorates the richer temples. Sometimes the infinitely detailed carving on these astonishing struts presents a pair of deities standing side by side, with every hair upon their heads suggested by the

[1] Some critics believe that China obtained the idea of the multi-roofed pagoda from Nepal. See Appendix XX.

carver's chisel, sometimes it is a many-armed divinity, sometimes a prancing sardul. Carved in deep relief upon a kind of predella below them there is often an allegorical scene, recognized as religious at once by the Nepalese, but often disconcerting in its realism to a visitor fresh from Europe. The street fronts of the four larger towns are bedecked with carvings that betray the private taste of the householder—a taste that runs to emblematic piety or superstitious use rather than conscious art. It would require the close examination of months to exhaust the symbolism that meets one at every corner. There is now a tendency to imitate the uninteresting stucco style which India has adopted from ourselves, and no doubt the time will come when, as elsewhere in the East, Nepal will come to rely less and less upon carved walls and shutters and exquisite tilted eaves and more and more upon prosaic brick and plaster and corrugated iron for her shelter from the wind and rain; there are signs already that such a fate is not long to be postponed. But the illustrations to this book show how beautiful the cities of Nepal are at this moment.

The present city of Katmandu, which lies in East longitude 85° 19′, and North latitude 27°43′, is only the latest of a series of more or less evanescent capitals and towns which have flourished and died away at the junction of the two large rivers of the Valley.[1] It is true that the building of the two greatest Buddhist shrines in Nepal—Swayambhunath and Boddhnath—is lost in the fog of time. But at least the former could scarcely have been built had there not been an active population where Katmandu now stands, nor would the still older site of " Purana Sambhu " have been chosen had there not been worshippers in the plain below. Moreover, as early as the third century before Christ, history records the existence of the small shrine-centred town of Deo Patan but a mile away to the north-east. Although the city of Patan was chosen by Asoka as a centre of great age and importance in 250 B.C., Katmandu was certainly then in existence and lost the honour of his memorials only because the tradition of some definite act of the Buddha at Patan recommended the sister city to the Emperor's notice and munificence. What that act was is unknown, but the setting up of the five great monuments in Patan is ample evidence of Asoka's belief that Buddha found a settlement of some kind here two hundred and seventy years before the coming of the Emperor.

Katmandu is a picturesque city in which a primitive beauty of con-

[1] The foundation of Katmandu is attributed to Gunakama deva, but it is admitted by the Chronicle itself that the place was already a resort of special sanctity. It was Gunakama who founded the annual festival of which the principal event was a vigorous stone-throwing by parties of boys. This at first is said to have been attended by the actual sacrifice of those taken prisoner by the other side. This had long been a mere matter of tradition when the jatra was abolished by Jang Bahadur as a result of an accident whereby the British Resident, Mr. Colvin, was struck by a stray stone.



THE ROYAL PALACE

struction and decoration contrasts with the significant efficiency of the parade grounds and with that military smartness which we have learned to associate with the word " Gurkha." Nor are the spaciousness and splendour and luxury of the many outlying modern palaces of Katmandu less remarkable after the narrow and congested streets of the capital.

Nothing is more arresting than the first sight of the home of the Prime Minister, or the long white façade of the King's palace. The royal palace is of great magnificence. It lies to the right, at the end of the walled lane running towards the Legation from the Rani Pokhri,[1] and is surrounded

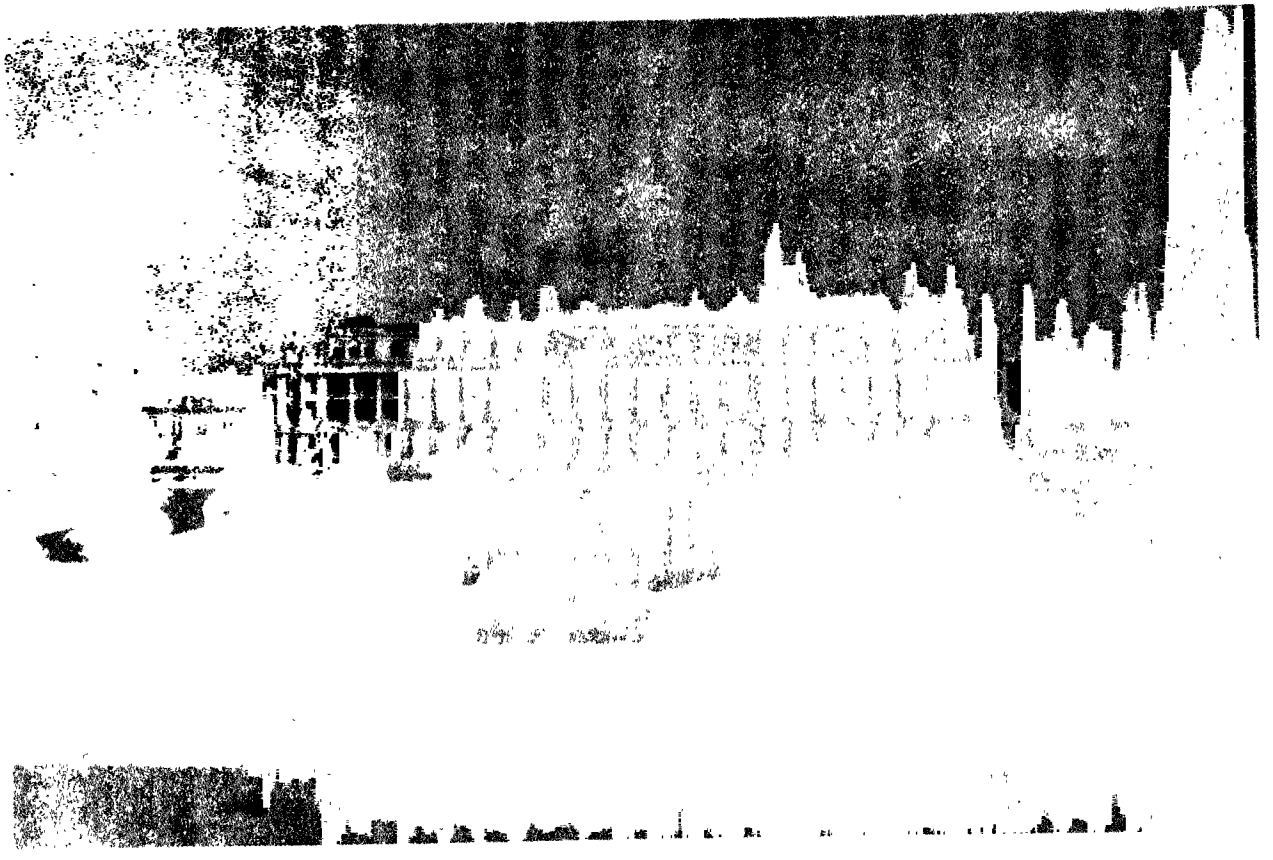


SINGHA DARBAR, MAIN GATE

not only with fine grounds but with water gardens, due to the passage through the grounds of the little stream Tukhucha.

The former palace is the centre, not merely of the government, but of the life of Nepal, and through the generosity of the present Maharaja it will, in future, become the permanent official home of all succeeding Prime Ministers. Under a great white gateway of French design the visitor passes through elaborately wrought iron gates, and skirts a long artificial pool, on either side of which trees of considerable size rise from well-kept lawns. The palace itself presents a vast facade, flanked by a colonnade masking an inner garden. The dominating feature of this front is the huge

[1] The Queen's tank, or Rani Pokhri, lies to the north of the Tundi Khel. It is a fine sheet of water in the centre of which is a small temple joined by a causeway to the western bank. It was in this pool that the ordeal by immersion used to take place.



THE SINGHA DARBAR

entrance of three well-proportioned archways, between which rise double Corinthian columns. From a purely artistic point of view it is to be regretted that some effort had not been made to retain some, at least, of the characteristics of Nepalese architecture, but the necessity for enormous reception halls and suites of rooms devoted to ceremony made it difficult, no doubt, to adopt for this purpose a style which, though the most picturesque in Asia, has always hitherto been applied to very much smaller buildings. The illustration will give a good idea of the exterior. Within the building a wide staircase to the left leads to the main floor. Before entering the great hall there is confronting the visitor a curious picture.[1] Painted on a large panel, some twenty-five feet by five, an incident is here recorded which is not unworthy of a nephew of Jang Bahadur. This happened during a shikar of the Maharaja in 1906 after the proposed visit of the then Prince of Wales had been abandoned owing to an outbreak of cholera. Tigers in Nepal are generally reserved for such occasions by marking them down after a kill and encircling them with a ring of elephants, 200 to 250 in number. In the centre of the ring is a patch of jungle, chiefly deep grass with perhaps a few small forest trees. As soon as the guns have joined the ring, a dozen elephants are sent into this undergrowth in line in order to beat the tiger or tigers out in the direction of the Maharaja and his guests of honour. This is not as simple a matter as might be thought. The tiger is well aware of his danger, and will often lie in some depression among the tangled bents of the six-foot grass as motionless and as invisible as a hare on her form. Often it is not until he is almost trodden upon by one of the advancing elephants that he will betray himself. When this occurs there is often some confusion, the elephant's trumpetings of fright being taken up by his companions. The circle of elephants outside remains intact, but the line of beaters is broken, and the tiger may escape back, when the work has to be done all over again. But by this time the tiger is in a royal rage, and his belching roars shake the air. It was at such a moment that the elephant upon which Chandra Sham Sher was watching one of his son's skill with the rifle, terrified by a rhinoceros that had been ringed in, swerved suddenly, throwing the Prime Minister out of his howdah into the long grasses, only three or four yards away from two or three of the infuriated beasts. Two of the elephants made the best of their way to his rescue, but working through this long undergrowth is a slow matter, and the artist has caught the moment when the Prime Minister, unarmed and helpless but still with his characteristic smile, confronts a lurking brute, who, luckily, has not made up his mind quickly enough. The tigers were ridden off by the elephants, and a new mount provided for the Prime Minister, who continued to watch the progress of the shoot.

[1] The painter of this picture was Mr. F. T. Dawes.

The head of this staircase leads directly into the great hall of the palace. Most readers will experience a shock of surprise in seeing for the first time the illustration of this reception hall. Its rich decoration may seem to many too rich, but it is only right to say that there is not in all India a hall of such magnificence. One wonders how all these enormous mirrors, these statues, these chandeliers of branching crystal were brought over the mountain passes of Sisagarhi and Chandragiri. But unlimited human labour will achieve almost anything in the way of transport. The heaviest



THE DARBAR HALL, SINGHA DARBAR

pieces ever carried over are said to be the statues of the Prime Ministers on the Maidan. They weigh about four tons each. The Maharaja's throne is raised upon a dais at the farther end of the room. On each side of it stand busts of King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra. As one looks towards the throne from the entrance, wide French windows open upon the deep pillared verandah. At the extreme end to the right behind the throne is a door leading through another chamber into the Maharaja's private rooms, which are for the most part furnished in the European style; the pictures, however, in most cases record the divinities and legends of Hinduism. It is always said—though of course it was impossible for me to test the truth

of the assertion—that the quarters set apart for the ladies of the Maharaja's family are modelled upon those of Mortimer House, now Forbes House, in London.

The palace stretches back for an enormous distance, and one can well believe that, with two exceptions, all the sons of the Maharaja, with their wives and families, are easily accommodated in the building;[1] but with the exception of the two youngest all the sons of the Maharaja have been or are soon about to be provided with magnificent homes of their own. The only two, however, who make regular use of them are General Kaiser, who lives in a palace not far from the King's residence on the road out to the Legation, and General Singha. The exception in their case is probably due to the fact that each of them has married a daughter of the royal house.

Of the other modern palaces none is the equal of these two, but there are notable and imposing structures, occupied respectively by the Commander-in-Chief; by the Senior Commanding General; or by the sons of the Prime Minister.[2] Besides these is the palace built by Jang Bahadur, at Thapathali, with its satellite residences. Not the least interesting of the latter is the house in which Jang Bahadur allowed the fugitive wife of Nana Sahib to obtain shelter for the remainder of her long life. Whether Nana Sahib himself ever visited the place we shall never certainly know, but to this day there is something uncanny about this neglected house in which a forlorn and ageing woman spent fifty years with every recollection of her short and splendid married life in India clouded by the memory of the courtyard in Cawnpore and the well down which by her husband's order the English women prisoners, slaughtered or still living, were thrown with their children.

The palace for the Maharaja's son Mohan is on the road to Nilkantha; that of Krishna is on the opposite side of the road to Mohan's; the Baber Mahal is beside the Singha Darbar; and Kaiser's is in the lane opposite the royal palace.

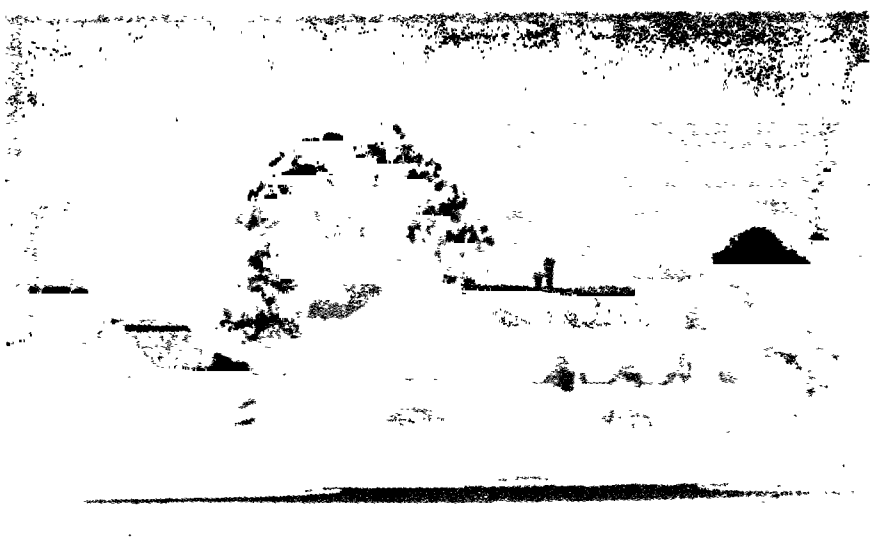
The British Legation—as it is now called since the assumption of the title of Envoy by the Resident—requires no particular description. It replaces an edifice of brick and plaster of the " churchwarden " Gothic type. But it cannot be said that the new building is much improvement. It has been stated that a sanatorium in Switzerland must have been taken as a model for this unfortunate and undignified Legation, which is the less admirable because it contrasts so unhappily with the sumptuous homes of

[1] A glance at the map will show the vast extent which the Singha Darbar occupies. Its grounds are surrounded by a high brick wall which extends to the pool above which the suburb of Dillibazar is built and is broken by very few entrances.

[2] The Maharaja has been anxious to complete the building of his sons' residences because he intends to devise his own magnificent house, the Singha Darbar, to be used as the official residence of his successors, the Prime Ministers Marshal of Nepal.

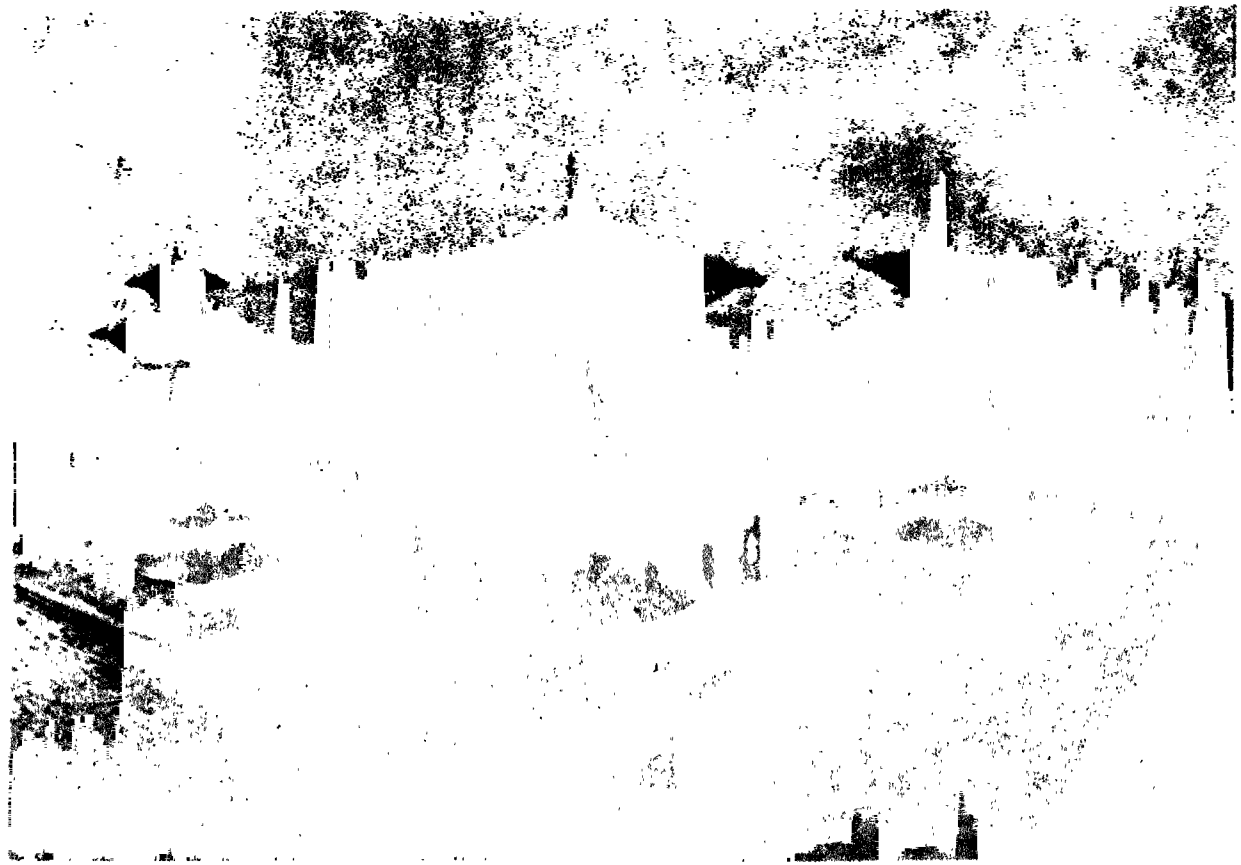
even the junior members of the Maharaja's family. The Legation compound comprises much more than the Legation and its grounds. Here are also the residences of the Legation surgeon, Lieutenant-Colonel J. B. Dalzell Hunter, a post office, and the lines for the Indian escort. There is also a small guest house.

In the older part of the city of Katmandu—as is the case in the other towns of the Valley—interest centres round the Darbar square. The old palace, part of which dates back to the days of the old Malla kings, is a handsome and interesting structure, flanked by, and even including,



THE BRITISH LEGATION

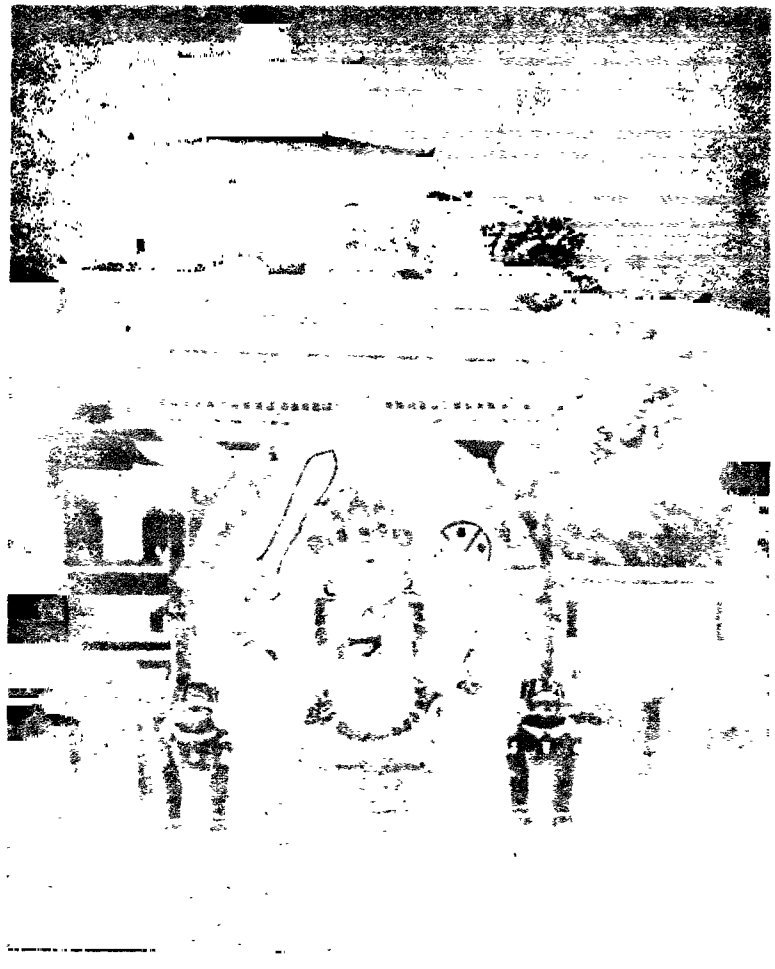
temples that for picturesqueness and colour combined have probably no superiors in Nepal. A reference to the photographs which illustrate this chapter will explain better than any detailed description the peculiarities of Nepalese architecture. The wealth of carving has already been noted, but even more remarkable at first sight is the vivid colour scheme which prevails more consistently and universally in Katmandu than in either of the other two cities. The painters, consciously or not, work for posterity. When first laid on the tints are for the most part crude primary colours, and this must have been so in all periods of Nepalese construction. In the older buildings these strong hues—like their fellows in China—have toned
29 down into a harmony that is exquisitely set off by the full cardinal of the



DARBAR SQUARE, KATMANDU

brick and the rich browns of the weather-beaten and uncoloured wood-carvings which surround them.

The wanderings of a visitor through the streets are beguiled by a hundred quaint incidents. There one sees a man squatted in one of the



THE BLACK FIGURE OF KALA-BHAIRAB AT KATMANDU

shops sucking at a hookah, watching 150 quails shut up in a wicker cage with seventy-five compartments; they were fattening for the Indian market. Elsewhere a couple of men dyeing their stuffs in the much estimated water of the Vishnumati. One of the disappearing sights of Katmandu is that of the fashionable undergarments of the high-class ladies hung out to dry. It

is almost inconceivable, but these garments are often twenty feet in length with a leg at each end. In wear, the remainder of the material is bunched up between them.

Forming two sides of the Darbar square is the old royal palace or Hanuman-Dhoka. The main gateway of the palace is guarded by the large figure of Hanuman, from which it takes its name; this is gaily painted and credited with much virtue by the people of Katmandu. Inside is the courtyard, of which the left side, as one enters, is taken up by the Hall of Public Audience. It is of the normal Nepalese type except the elephant-eared corners over the towers to the east. There is a gilt fish put up on a pole at the northern end of the reception room of the Mallas. The people of Katmandu, ever ready to see allusions in words, still believe that this fish (nya means both " fish " and " five ") is to show that there are five crores of rupees buried by the last of the Malla kings below the palace floor. The reception room is supported by six fine double columns with convex flutings.[1] This royal pavilion along the left-hand side of the courtyard of the old royal palace in Katmandu is forty-five feet long and fifteen feet wide.[2] It dates from the period of the Malla architecture. The buildings at the south-east corner of the courtyard were put up by Prithwi Narayan. The drop-eared elephant roof to the east is Malla architecture. It is commonly believed in Katmandu that the carvings on the predellas of the brackets supporting roofs in Katmandu defend the place from lightning.

Of the temples of Katmandu—besides the shrines in the Darbar Square, nearly all of which are dedicated to Mahadeo[3]—the most important is Taleju, the royal shrine, on the steps of which the Gunpowder Plot of 1769 was laid. It is a fine building of five storeys said to have been erected by the demon Maya Bije from Ceylon in honour of Tulaja, overlooking the outer wall of the Kot where the massacre of 1846 took place, and is handsomely set off by the attendant trees. Mahankal on the Tundi Khel is the most remarkable of the religious centres of Katmandu, not for its beauty but in that both Hindus and Buddhists worship here the same image under different names. Whether the statue was originally intended for Shiva or for Avalokiteswara in his popular form as Padmapani is probably settled by the fact that out of the head emerges, in the familiar Mahayanic fashion, a small figurine that can hardly be other than Amitabha, of whom Avalokiteswara

[1] See legend of Hiranya Kasipu Rakshasha.

[2] In this hall is the only carefully drawn and authentic portrait of Prithwi Narayan that exists. See p. 60.

[3] There are two exceptions. The large temple almost facing the polyglot inscription on the eastern wall is sacred to Guhyeshwari and Jagannath, and a small shrine in the south-west corner is dedicated to Indrani. The two shrines built into the fabric of the palace on the south are claimed by the 330,000,000 divinities and the Akalalya or concentrational worship of all. Immediately north of the figure and gate of Hanuman, within the palace wall, is the temple consecrated to the family deities of the royal house-



MAHADEO AND PARVATI AT WINDOW IN A TEMPLE AT KATMANDU

is an emanation. But the Hindus insist that the image is that of Shiva, and whatever its origin, it has become for them as real a representation of the national deity of Nepal as for Roman Catholics the toe-worn statue in St. Peter's is a figure of the first of the Apostles. Elsewhere are temples to Narayan, to Mahadeo and Parvati—the two divinities are represented at an upper window looking down upon the crowds of their favoured city—and to other gods, but though most of them would attract notice in another town, here they merely contribute their grace to a city in which one comes to expect graceful architecture as a matter of course. Jang Bahadur's solid temple to Jagannath near Thapathali is almost an anachronism.

Of Buddhist shrines there are naturally fewer because Katmandu was long as much inclined to Hindu worship as Patan was to Buddhism, and the difference is marked even in the present day. There are minor versions of the holier places outside, a model Machendranath and in Katisambhu a little Swayambhunath—which is in a bad state because any restorer traditionally comes to a speedy end;[1] and the Buddhmandal in the south of the city is worth a visit. The tall thin " round tower " two hundred feet in height, built as a whim by Bhim Sen Thapa during his administration, rises close to Jang Bahadur's statue beside the Tundi Khel. The shaft is not an object of beauty, but it scarcely deserves the contempt that has been heaped upon it, and as a fixed point for trigonometrical survey has been of great use to Nepalese engineers.

Kos Chandra Malla made the Tundi Khel, or great parade ground. Its name records the legend that the work was paid for by the gold which, by a miracle of digestion, replaced maggots in grain. The story is too fantastic to retell, but the maker of the plain, in the first lease of it—it was to an ogre—stipulated that three bricks were never to stand one on another upon the Khel. Except for the double plinth surrounding the famous tree, this condition has nearly been kept to this day.

The equestrian statues on the Tundi Khel are placed as follows:

North-east corner, Maharaja Rana Udip Singh; north-west corner, Maharaja Bir Sham Sher; west side, Dhir Sham Sher, Commander-in-Chief; and Maharaja Jang Bahadur, farther to the south, looking back towards Bhim Sen's shaft.

The empty pedestal, constructed of magnificent marbles that is waiting for Maharaja Chandra, is placed between those of his father, Dhir Sham Sher, to the south, and his brother, Bir Sham Sher, to the north.

[1] This may be compared with the tradition in Burma that only the three shrines of (1) Pegu, (2) the Arrakan pagoda outside Mandalay, and of course (3) the great Shway Dagon, confer merit upon their restorers and beautifiers. But Katisambhu contains some of the most exquisite carvings in the Valley.

§ 6

Swayambhunath.—Outside Katmandu lie the two temples to which reference has already been made. Boddhnath lies among the maize fields



THE THREE COLOSSAL FIGURES OF BUDDHA AT SWAYAMBHUNATH

to the north-east of the city. Swayambhunath is built on the crest of a wooded hill, perhaps three hundred feet in height, to the west of Katmandu. The centre of each, a "garbh" or white hemisphere of brick surmounted by a square gilt "toran" and a "churamani" or conical canopy of gilt steps or rings, is in design the same as the four cardinal Asokan stupas round Patan. They were planned in imitation of those memorials which

may not have preceded the erection of these two holy centres by any great distance of time.

The temple on the saddle-back hill, a mile or so to the west of Katmandu, is the famous Swayambhunath, dedicated to the Self-existent One, the traditional origin of which has been told elsewhere. Asoka probably found a stupa in existence upon " Ancient Sambhu "—as the western spur of the hill is called,[1]—and may have adopted its general design. Afterwards the obviously more dignified and visible site on the eastern promontory was chosen. Legend attributes the setting up of the existent stupa to one Gorades between two thousand and three thousand years ago; and as has been suggested, the entire hill, eastern and western spurs alike, was probably invested with sanctity before the days of Asoka or even of Buddha himself, in which case it would of course be of Brahmanic or animistic consecration. It seems a reasonable conjecture that Asoka, declining to use an already dedicated site, chose Patan for his memorials, the form and details of which were at a later date adopted by builders of the existing stupas both at Swayambhunath and Boddhnath. It has been estimated that these two great monuments may date from about 100 B.C., but M. Lévi suggests that there may be truth in the story that Boddhnath, the later of the two, was built by Mana deva about A.D. 496-512. There is not as yet sufficient material on which to form a judgment.

Up through the trees that cover the abrupt eastern side of this eminence an ever-steepening stone stairway leads to the plateau on the top. Here the central and most holy object is the high gold-crowned white hemisphere of the stupa.

When I first visited it in 1908 this noble shrine was in scarcely better condition than it was at the time that Oldfield drew it fifty years before.[2] The great garbh, or sphere, was covered with vegetation and much of its surface was decayed. In some ways Swayambhunath was in worse state than it was in Oldfield's day, as the narrow processional way round the base was falling in several places and the stone and wooden props that sustained it were tilted in all directions, and the two topmost arches of the great gilt Vajra, or Dorje, at the top of the steps had dropped off or been taken away. This must have occurred since Dr. Wright's day, as he gives the " double dorje " with all its eight spokes.[3] To-day, however, all is in perfect order. The garbh is freed from all plant growth, and glows argent

[1] The name by which this western stupa—of which the tree-clad vestiges are still easily recognizable—is known, Manju Parbat, records its dedication to Manjusri, the especial saviour of the Valley. Worship is offered here by Hindus to Sarasvati, the wife of Vishnu—another illustration of the absence of any popular sense of antagonism between the two creeds. Oldfield is not correct in assuming that the existing chaitya is of any great antiquity; moreover, the diameter of the enclosure is but about fifteen yards, and the chaitya is not in the centre of it.

[2] *Sketches in Nipal*, vol. ii, p. 219.

[3] *History of Nepal*, 1877, p. 23.



THE GREAT DORIE OF SWAYAMBHUNATH

against the azure sky, the processional way has been renewed, an iron framework between the smaller shrines offers to the pilgrim the merit of turning countless prayer wheels.[1] The Vajra has been restored and re-gilt, and the attendant sikras freed from their overgrowth glitter with snowy limewash. The toran, or square copper-covered erection upon the top of the garbh which supports the thirteen ringed finial or "hti," has been, with the finial itself, re-gilded, and the grave all-seeing eyes that keep watch over the plain of Katmandu have been repainted in grey and blue and black.

The stupa itself occupies the main part of this sacred compound. To the east, overlooking the plain, are the staircase and the golden Vajra on its circular stand or "dhatu-mandal" of greater age than itself, round the drum of which are cut in strong relief the symbols of the year-cycle in the Tibetan calendar. They encircle the stand in the following order, beginning with the panel to the left of the central or eastern panel facing the steps: Rat, Bull, Tiger, Hare or Jackal, Dragon, Serpent, Horse, Sheep, Monkey, Goose,[2] Pig. The last is carved upon the central panel facing the steps. Pratapa Malla covered the stand with an intricately engraved sheet of gilt copper diapered with representations of divinities and sacred emblems and utensils. The Vajra itself and two guardian lions were added by the same benefactor about 1645. On either side of the head of the stairs is a rest-shed or "mandapam," the tall sikras just referred to, which are dedicated to Tantric worship, and a stone-slung bell. Beside the white swelling mass of Swayambhunath there stands a single fine tree, the last survivor of several which in other days added a pleasant shade to the unsheltered stone and plaster of the shrine.

Round the main shrine is the usual series of large gilt figures set in stone iron-curtained shrines roofed and string-coursed with gilt copper, dedicated to the five Divine Buddhas. In a recess beneath each is a figure

[1] New sets of prayer wheels have been recently put up round the stupa of Swayambhunath. As will be seen by comparing the illustrations of this stupa with any earlier photographs or sketches, they form a very recent addition. The circumambulatory or sacred path, which sixteen years ago was actually next the stupa, a narrow track, uneven and badly supported by short, irregular pillars, has now been cut off from the ceremonial track by the great metal frames which hold the present prayer wheels. The new ceremonial track is much wider, and lies outside between the other shrines and these rows of prayer wheels. One result of this change has been to prevent strangers—who may not, of course, use this road—from getting a near view of some of the more interesting monuments which actually touch the edge of this sacred path. The fact is to be remembered in connection with the growing tendency in Nepal to exclude strangers. Less and less are those who profess neither the Buddhist nor the Hindu faith welcomed at the holier shrines.

[2] The need of some bird that could be equally well combined with the "earth" element as with "water" led to the adoption of the amphibious goose as the symbol; but it is called merely a "bird" when used for reckoning time.

of the beast or bird sacred to the Buddha, and at his left hand is a smaller shrine dedicated to his celestial consort. As usual, Vairochana, who should



SWAYAMBHUNATH FROM NORTH-WEST CORNER

be hidden in the middle of the garbh, is given a place of honour at the right hand of Akshobya, Lord of the East and Vairochana's consort, Vajrada teswari, has therefore to sit on her husband's right. A multitude of smaller shrines, of guardian beasts, of chaityas, of sacred pillars crowned with

images of divinities, peacocks or sarduls, of representations of the holy footmarks,[1] fill up the rest of the sacred compound. To the west of the stupa stands a building wherein, as at Boddhnath, Buddhist priests tend and keep alive for ever a sacred flame. Between it and the garbh are pillars crowned with exquisite gilt bronze-work, and between these again are a couple of statues of which the southern is perhaps the finest piece of work ever achieved by those masters of bronze modelling, the Newars. It represents Tara, and is a reminder to the Tibetan visitor of the Nepalese woman to whom he owes the introduction of Buddhism into his country in the seventh century. Not far from these statues and almost adjoining the Temple of the Flame, is the shrine of Sitala, the dreaded goddess of smallpox. This is comparatively new, as the original shrine was defiled, desecrated, and partly torn down by the mad king, Rana Bahadur Sah, in 1800. Sitala is, of course, a Hindu goddess, but Buddhists—just to make quite sure—bend the knee to her as reverently as do the followers of Vishnu or Shiva.

Dispersed about the area of this holy plot of ground are numerous other symbols which at first sight have as little to do with Buddhism as the shrine of Sitala. A large number of lingams are to be found, but most of them have either been camouflaged as chaityas or have been decorated with the four faces of the Divine Buddhas, thus, in a measure, salving the conscience of the Buddhist priests.[2] The whole story of the relation between Buddhism and Hinduism in Nepal has still to be told. Sir Charles Eliot has touched upon the matter in his work upon the two subjects,[3] and in an appendix to this book[4] there is traced an outline of the interwoven Mahayanic and Hindu influences which contribute many special features to Nepalese Buddhism.

I may add as a fact significant of the increasingly strict treatment of foreigners throughout Nepal, that while in 1908 I was permitted freely to approach both this stupa and that at Boddhnath, I was requested in 1924 to remove my boots before treading on the path of lustration which surrounds the stupa.

§ 7

Boddhnath.—In the case of the Temple in the Plain, Boddhnath, which in general conception resembles Swayambhunath, terraces have been built

[1] The footmarks of Manjusri have an eye on the sole: those of Buddha are ensigned either with circles or the eight "happy emblems"; those of Vishnu bear an inscription.

[2] I do not pretend for a moment that later Buddhism is not permeated with sex. But the ceremonial worship of the conventional lingam-in-yoni—which from the Golden Temple at Benares to a red daubed stone under a village tree marks the service of Shiva—is not found in Tantric symbolism. The nearest approach to it is perhaps to be found at the north-eastern corner of the wall surrounding Norbuling, the Dalai Lama's country house just outside Lhasa.

[3] *Hinduism and Buddhism*, 1923.

[4] See vol. ii, Appendix XV.

BODDHNATH

round the central dome, and the toran has been heightened, not by concentric rings, but by a lofty step-pyramid of gilt copper, from below which, to all the cardinal points of the compass, as from the Temple on the Hills, there look out across the plains of the Valley two strangely arresting eyes. Scarcely less questioning is the " ? " which stands where the nose should be. Perhaps the Indian convention, which represented the upper eyelid of the Buddha with a droop at the centre, is responsible for a curious sense of detached contemplation or inquiry in the gaze of these great set pupils that would do credit to the Recording Angel. Round Boddhnath a square vihara, remotely resembling, and constructed for the same purpose as, an Oxford quadrangle, has been built. Here, in times of pilgrimage, the regular priests in attendance and other occupants, many of whom are skilled workers in silver, are reinforced by a crowd of devotees. In nearly all cases, these pilgrims come from Tibet, for the links between Lhasa and these two shrines near Katmandu are still strong, and for Northern Buddhists Boddhnath is the holiest shrine out of India.

As has just been said, the garbh or white central hemisphere is raised upon a series of rectangular terraces rather reminiscent of southern Buddhism, though it is doubtful whether these are of the same age as the garbh. In their present form they were almost certainly no part of the original structure, which probably stood as barely upon slightly rising ground as the northern and southern stupas of Patan. There is not much to remark in this simple and splendid building except that whenever the finial and the terraces were added care was taken to make both the one and the other of exactly the same height as the garbh itself.

At an early date the house in which fire is constantly maintained was built, and the piety of a later day added the vihara which encircles the stupa. The picture of it in Wright is difficult to follow. The native artist has turned the two uppermost of the square-cut terraces into curves—in which he has been followed by M. Lévi—and in other ways it is hard to follow in his sketch the lines of a perfectly simple structure. Its elementary shape is well given by Oldfield.[1] Three clearly defined square terraces, each with a central rectangular projection, are superimposed one upon another. From the uppermost and smallest rises the circle of the garbh set round its base with about eighty small square recesses, each containing a seated figure of Buddha. The low octagonal wall bearing prayer-wheels was probably built round the base about the end of Jang Bahadur's administration as it appears in Wright's picture. The prayer-wheel has never been popular in Nepal, and except in the hand of a Tibetan I have never seen one carried as part of the personal equipment of anyone. At the corners of the lowest terrace a plain massive chaitya acts, in appearance, as an artistic contre-fort to the swelling weight of the dome, and in the

[1] Vol. ii, p. 260.

" prayer-wheel wall " there has lately been erected a gateway in the European style with spiral pillars, Corinthian capitals, and a round arch filled by a blind fanlight. From a distance this plain and most dignified shrine dominates the Valley fields, and it is pleasant to know that it is now kept in perfect repair.

One of the legends of its building may be interesting to an ordinary reader as well as to a student of comparative folklore.[1] A little girl named Kang-ma, of supernatural birth, having stolen a few flowers in Indra's heaven, was rather rigorously punished by being reborn on earth as the daughter of a swineherd in the Valley. She married, and being left a widow with four children, she maintained herself and them as a goosegirl. Having accumulated much wealth in this unlikely way, she was seized with the desire to build a noble temple in honour of the Buddha Amitabha. So she went to the king and asked him for as much ground as a hide would cover. The king replied " Ja-rung," which is equivalent to " Can do." So, using the conventional trick, she cut the hide into thin strips and of them made a leathern cord. Stretching this out in the form of a square, she claimed and, in spite of local jealousy, was allowed, the land, whereon she began to build Boddhnath. It has several names.[2] That which contains the germ of this story is " Ja-rung k'a-sor "—the actual words of the king to her opponents, " I have said that she may." Her sons completed the stupa after her death and, rivalling the famous Shway Dagon in Rangoon, laid in the central chamber some relics of Kasyapa Buddha.

The tale ends curiously. Of Kang-ma's four sons one became the famous Buddhist scholar and teacher Thonmi Sambhota, who introduced the existing Tibetan alphabet into Tibet, and the second became Abbot of Samyas Monastery. An elephant, which had assisted in carrying the materials for the stupa, demurred at this point to the selfishness of his masters, and in answer to his prayer that he might destroy their labours, was reborn as the infamous apostate Lang-darma. But the blind son overheard the beast's jealous complaint and prayed that it might be given to him to put an end to the evil designs of the elephant. He was therefore reborn as the monk[3] who slew Lang-darma. Of the youngest son we are not told the destiny.[4]

§ 8

Patan.—Besides the capital Katmandu there are, in the Valley of Nepal, two towns of considerable size and historic importance, Patan and

[1] Waddell's *Lamaism.*

[2] Khasa Chaitya and " Maguta " as well as the accepted " Boddhnath."

[3] Lho-lun phel kyi rdorje.

[4] On the road back to the Singha Darbar from Boddhnath is " Chota Boddhnath." This is a small representation of the larger structure. It is clearly much later in date and presents no especial points of interest.

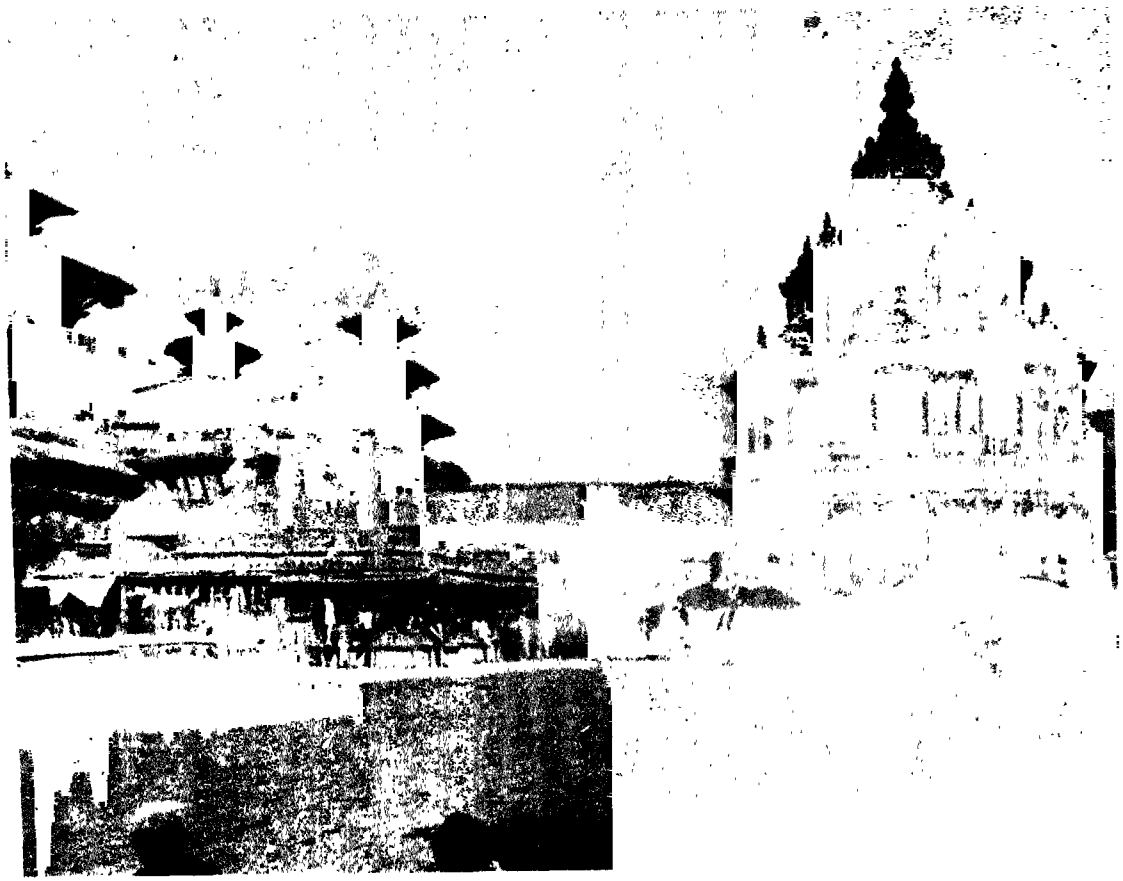


DARBAR SQUARE, PATAN

Bhatgaon. It is difficult to determine the relative age of the three cities, nor is it really necessary. So far as Katmandu and Patan are concerned, the land about the junction of the two chief rivers of the Valley, the Bagmati and the Vishnumati, has from time immemorial been held especially sacred both by Buddhists and Hindus, and the whole district is littered with major and minor shrines of great and unrecorded antiquity.[1] The rough triangle of land between Pashpati on the north, Ankhe Daha on the south, and Swayambhunath on the west is the natural centre of the Valley's life. It is true that other capitals—of which by far the most important was Bhatgaon—were built from time to time in this mountain-encircled plain, but from the earliest days this watersmeet beside which lie both Katmandu and Patan, has been the heart of the life and strife of Nepal.

Patan—which, by the way, is pronounced with the accent on the first syllable—though her royal independence is gone and her ancient pride is in the dust, though she is dwarfed by the rapid rise to power and wealth of her neighbour, Katmandu, remains a populous and busy centre; and though her streets are not so rich in colour as those of the capital, and her standard of living is more primitive—Patan needs no sympathy. The streets of Patan are like those of all cities of the Valley. They are narrow and as a rule have sharp turnings that impede the traffic, the more because the street sellers choose these corners in which to display their goods upon the ground. More has been done in Katmandu than elsewhere to improve the surface of the streets, but much remains to be done both there and in Patan and Bhatgaon in the areas that are not directly connected with the central Darbar Square. Sorely needed sanitary work is being carried out, but it may be imagined that the expense of any proper system of drainage would be very great and must be spread over more than one generation. It will be remembered that when the new city of Delhi was planned by the Government of India, the necessity of draining old Delhi was recognized, but even now the work can only be said to have been begun there despite the large resources of the Indian Government. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that the pressing demand for modern improvements in all directions which has been dealt with by the present Maharaja, has left him scant leisure and little money for the regularization f the matter. But if they are not remarkable for their cleanliness it would be difficult to rival the streets of the Valley for a picturesqueness which is universal, and for scenes of real beauty which await one a dozen times in any traverse, and

[1] Katmandu is said to derive its present name from a large building in a corner of the Darbar Square, which, so the story runs, was constructed from the timber hewn from a single tree. If the tale be true, even the most magnificent of the "karao" trees that Nepal can show to-day would appear as a mere shrub compared with this father of the forest—and of the town.



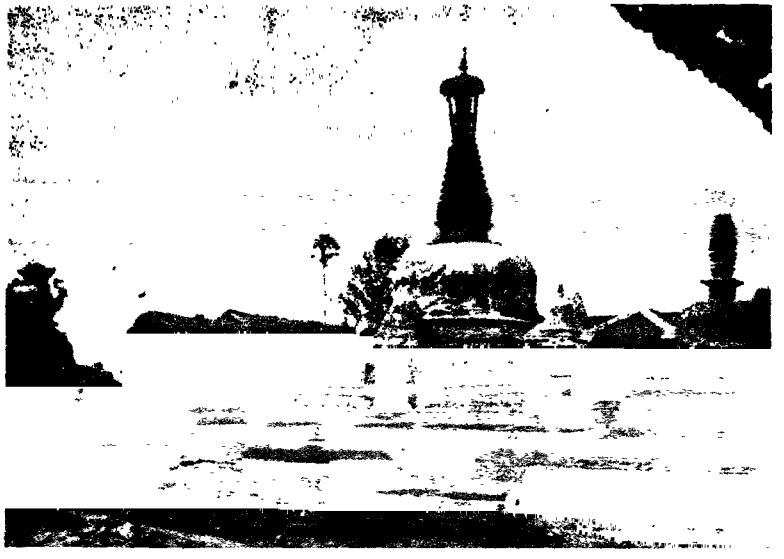
A CORNER IN DARBAR SQUARE, PATAN, SHOWING BIG BELL

the overhung, irregular, exquisitely carved house fronts. The sudden openings that surround a fountain or a cluster of shrines, the court of yet another temple, and everywhere the charm of foliage which will not be denied its rights even in the most crowded thoroughfares. As an ensemble, the Darbar Square in Patan probably remains the most picturesque collection of buildings that has ever been set up in so small a space by the piety and the pride of Oriental man. There is not much indeed to choose between the three famous " squares " of the Valley. Each has its special charm, and whichever a traveller may chance to see first is likely to spoil him a little for those which he visits afterwards. But, after making due allowance for the colour of Katmandu and the gilded pride of Bhatgaon, that inconceivably picturesque square in the heart of Patan will probably leave the deepest and most lasting impression upon his memory. It has the dignity and the pathos which always tinge a city that has been once a capital; and in design and composition it is the noblest of the three.

Some strangers in the Valley seem to have been content to neglect other beauties and to return time after time to this exquisite maidan of stone and wood and brick and brass. M. Sylvain Lévi, whose devotion to historic Nepal and whose felicitous pen make him the friend of all who would understand what Nepal is and has been, suggests that the Darbar Square of Patan is a marvel beyond the power of words to tell. Yet his own phrases have been more quoted than those of any other. Patan, he writes, has never recovered from the rapacity and fanaticism of the Gurkhas, and Time is finishing the work of man. " But the last remains of a dying past still call forth visions of dazzling beauty. Who could describe this jewel, this Darbar place? Under the living brilliance of a sky that still leaves the eye undazzled, the royal palace spreads out its front, enriched by the hands of sculptors and carvers glorying in their work. Upon it the hues of gold and blue and red light up the darkened timber, and over against it in the centre, like the idle caprice of a great artist, is a world of almost luminous white stone, of pillars crowned by bronze statues, of light-filtering colonnades, and of fragile dream temples—guarded all by a company of fantastic beasts, chimeras, and griffins." Among these clustered temples, mighty bells and palace frontages of the Darbar Square one, that sacred to Radha Krishna, lifts its five storeys above the others as much by its unusual design as by its height. It is of the Mogul pattern and it is strongly reminiscent of the Panch Mahal at Fatehpur Sikri.

But this is not all. The sense of respect and sanctity that haunts an Englishman so strongly and yet so elusively as long as he is within the town, comes perhaps from another source than the temples of the Darbar Square. Two thousand years ago and more, the famous and pious Emperor Asoka, seeking one Buddhist site after another, came at last to Patan on his pilgrimage beneath the Himalayas. He came because the Master had

come before him to this remote valley, and it is tantalizing to remember that we shall perhaps never know what incident or legend in the Master's life it was that he desired to honour. But that he found the place he sought is manifest, for nowhere else in all his empire—and Nepal he counted as his own—did Asoka raise so notable a memorial of his pilgrimage as in Patan. First, in the heart of the town he set up a stupa—which has been adorned and reconstructed in later days out of all recognition [1]—and then all round Patan at each of the four cardinal points, north and south, east and west, he built others—hemispherical mounds of plain unadorned brick. And



CENTRAL ASOKA STUPA, PATAN

these remain to this day almost in the state in which he left them, Ipi and Laghan, Teitos and Phulcha.[2] They are the challenge of one age to another,

[1] This stands opposite the southern side of the Darbar. Another traditional site of an Asokan monument is marked by a white modern chaitya beside a lotus-covered pool close to the western stupa. This, as well as a similarly traditional shrine in Kirtipur, is known as "Chillandeo." I estimate the proportions to be as follows: The plinth is eight feet high, the garbh is another eight feet, and the upper structure representing the toran is two feet high. At each corner there is a minor reproduction of the central building. Some years ago this was in bad repair, and maidenhair fern was growing in abundance wherever roothold could be found upon it.

[2] *The Northern Stupa.*—The name of this is Zimpi (though it is generally known as Ipi) Taudu. This is surrounded by a vihara. It has a three-railed wooden gate above its "toran," and the state in which it is can be judged by the illustration on p. 13. Dipankara Buddha has been placed in Vairochana's shrine. There is a spring under this stupa, and

for deep within themselves they contain both relics and records—even if the latter be but some illuminating title upon an alabaster or crystal pot, and the former but tiny gold-foil blossoms or a squarely cut point of cornelian or sapphire honouring the little pinch within the pot of those most holy ashes from the pyre of Kusinara. Here might be found something to tell us what it was that Asoka found in Patan of such surpassing interest.[1]

But throughout the ages these stupas have remained inviolate—and it is to be hoped that they will always so remain. For whatever treasures of archaeology might be found within them, there could be discovered nothing to justify so grave a desecration of the instincts of a people whose religion is the most vital element in their public and private life.[2]

These four guardian shrines round Patan are as remarkable as only simplicity carried to an extreme can make them. Like Karnak or Stonehenge, they enmesh the visitor to Patan with the sense of being on sacred ground—a sense that he will find it hard to shake off until he has turned his back upon this haunting sanctuary, and has either returned to the modernity of Katmandu, or has pursued his way farther to some other of the many hundreds of holy places within the Valley.

Among the other temples in Patan is that of Machendranath, which was built in 1408. Originally it was a purely Buddhist shrine dedicated to an

in wet weather water oozes from the south-western side. A similar spring is said to have existed under Swayambhunath, but it has been sealed up. Ipi Taudu has a close connection with the temple of Machendra in the south of Patan, and in the storerooms of the northern stupa are kept the decorations, the yoke, and wheels of the car which annually drags Machendra from his own home to a spot on a plain to the east of Patan, where he is regularly exhibited to his worshippers.

The Southern Stupa.—Laghan Taudu. This is by far the largest of these stupas. It is remarkable because there are three statues of Amitabha in his shrine on the west. The erection on the top of this stupa is wooden. It is a conspicuous object because it stands clear among the parade grounds immediately to the south of Patan, and distant from it only six or seven hundred yards. I made a note in 1908 that a small piece of railing near the Laghan stupa is quite unlike any other kind of stone I had seen in the Valley, and is strongly reminiscent of the typical double convex rails at Buddhgaya. I was not, however, able to discover it in 1924.

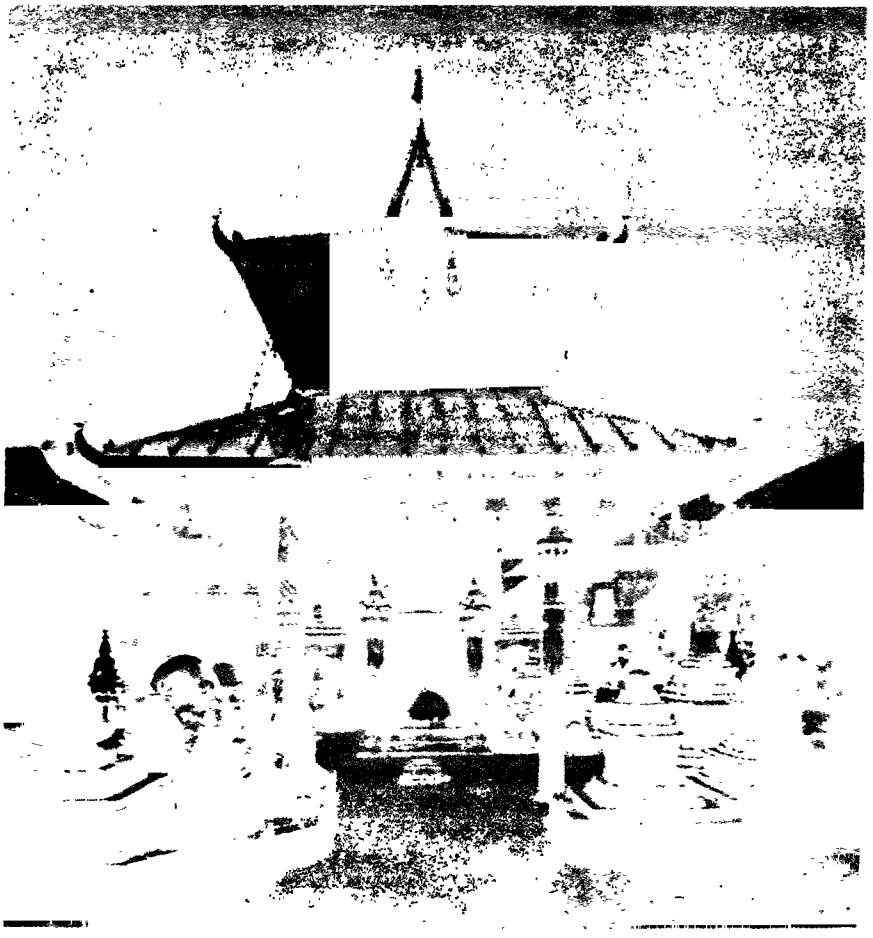
The Eastern Stupa.— This is written Traitas Taudu, but is pronounced "taitas." It is half a mile outside the city of Patan in the country. It has a large erection of stone in the place of the wooden gate-like object of its northern brother. It is remarkable because the shrine of Vairochana is entirely detached, as may be seen on p. 16. It was repaired in 1846.

The Western Stupa.—This is Phulcha Taudu. This is the stupa which is always first seen by a visitor, as it stands beside the way leading up from the bridge over the Bagmati, at the entrance of the town itself. It has shelters built beside it, and a very large series of lotus-covered pools stretches out in front of it to the east.

[1] Before the final identification of Kasia with Kusinagara, it was held by some that Katmandu, with its persistent Malla connection, might have been the scene of the Mahaparanibbana.

[2] For the significance of these shrines see Appendix XV.

incarnation of Padmapani, but like so many others of the faith, it has been taken to the hearts of all the Nepalese, Buddhists and Hindus alike. In general construction it resembles that of the Hindu temples in the Valley.[1] Once a year the figure of the god is taken in his sky-piercing car,



TEMPLE OF MACHENDRA, KATMANDU

with its twenty-five foot beam, for a short journey to the south out of and back to the town, and it is then on an appointed day exhibited with no small ceremonial to the crowds that come in from all parts of the Valley. In old days no house in Patan was allowed to be taller than the spire of the

[1] Among other emblems supported on pillars of the forecourt or otherwise, one finds the elephant, the horse, the fish, the cobra, the bull, the sardul, and a group of deities.

car of Machendranath. The Machendra-jatra is the most popular of all the festivals, and for good reason.[1] The ritual takes place in the early days of June, and is believed by all to bring the rain upon which the life of the Valley depends. As to this, I can only tell my own experience. In 1924 the spring had been unusually dry and fierce, and there was sore need of water everywhere, not only to enable the ploughing and seeding to begin, but even to provide the necessary drinking water. One by one the wells had dried up, and, though this was in a sense a relief, as there was cholera in the Valley and some of the lost wells had been condemned, the consequent rush to the remaining water supplies carried with it no little danger of spreading the infection still farther. The burning surface of the ground was as hard as rock, and the lesser herbage was as dried seaweed under the merciless sun; not a mattock could be used. I had expressed some sympathy with the farmers, and the answer had been made quite simply that the festival of Machendranath would most certainly bring rain; "the moment the god is exhibited to his worshippers there will be rain—assuredly there would be rain." I hoped it might be so.

Now on the afternoon of 8th June 1924 the Maharaja sent a car to the Baber Mahal, which his son had lent to me, as he thought it might interest me to witness this, the greatest of all Nepalese annual festivals. It was once more a sunny day, and the dust raised by the thousands who came out from Katmandu to see the exhibition of the god hung in the hot still air and from a long distance marked out the course of the roads. There was a little delay, and the heavens may have been preparing their coup while I was watching with keen interest the presentation to the dense crowds of the coat worn by the god—a regular preliminary to the presentation of the figure of Machendranath himself. The Maharaja motored up in time to be present when the curious red-wrapped figure was taken from the inside of the car and shown to the seething multitude. A spot of rain struck me at this moment, and in twenty seconds we were hastily putting up the top of the car against a driving downpour of huge drops that

[1] Machendra is the most notable deity of Nepal and, like the others, is worshipped by followers of both creeds. The god himself is a roughly hewn block of wood of a dark red colour. Once a year, on the approach of the rainy months, he is carried in a car (of which the upper structure, raised to a height of some sixty feet, is renewed annually) to a shrine on the banks of the Bagmati. He is then taken to the maidan to which reference has been made, and there first his shirt and then the red log itself is exhibited to enthusiastic crowds. His temple may be seen on p. 211. It is placed in a compound in which are a few houses, a stretch of turf surrounding the temple, and a couple of gateways. The various objects hung up under the projecting eaves are the thank-offerings made by those who have been ill, and who attribute their recovery to their prayers to Machendranath. For Machendra-jatra see Oldfield, vol. ii, pp. 327 and 334. The car of Machendra is red because he is a reincarnation of Padmapani; see Appendix XV.



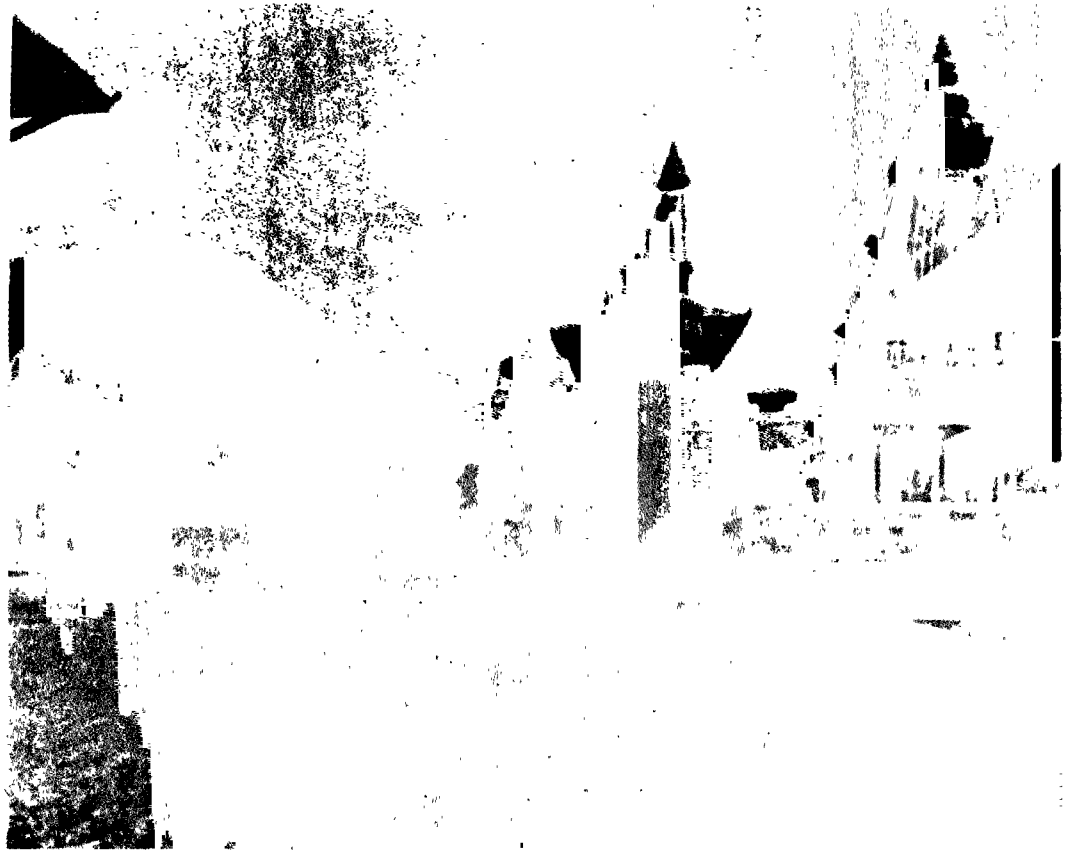
MULCHOK, PATAN

continued for nearly an hour, and was repeated twice or thrice before nightfall. So all went happily to sleep that night. In that which seemed to me uncannily like magic the folk of the Valley saw only the normal kindliness of Machendranath. The car was shortly afterwards pulled to Bagmati. Four or five days later it returned to Patan and was there taken to pieces. The wheels, the pole, and the lower part of the superstructure were stored in the vihara surrounding Ipi stupa in Patan, where it will remain until it is needed next year.

Mahabuddha.—To anyone who knows Buddhgaya in Bihar, the temple of Mahabuddha will be of curious interest. It is buried in a small vihara,[1] the walls of which press so closely upon the base of the shrine that it is difficult from any point to obtain a good view of the building. It is a reproduction of the famous temple at Buddhgaya which commemorates the exact spot where Gautama became the Buddha. Similar copies, all more or less fanciful, exist outside Peking (the Wu-t'a-sze) and elsewhere in China and at Pagan. In most cases there are definite legends connected with their foundation. The shrine in Patan was built by one Abhaya Raja and his descendants. After long sojourn and worship at the Place of Enlightenment, he was assured that his devotions were accepted and was bidden to return home. He is said to have brought back with him a model of the temple of Buddhgaya,[2] but the resemblance is not close enough to suggest that Abhaya relied upon any artificial aid to his memory when he designed the copy at Patan. Making every allowance for the mistakes that may have been made when the Indian original was restored in the last century, the proportions of the different parts of the Nepalese building are quite different from those of the structure of which it is a copy. It is, however, a much closer imitation than is the Wu-t'a-sze (A.D. 473), where the four pinnacles are as disproportionately large compared with the central sikra as in Patan they are disproportionately small. The architecture of this temple is pure Hindu in character, and were it not for its cramped position, which makes it as impossible to see it from afar as from near, would be one of the most remarkable buildings in Patan. It will be observed that the curve of the central sikra is reminiscent of an Indian style later than that of Buddhgaya, and the disproportionate height of the plinth from which it rises throws the whole structure out of sympathy with its original. The carving is exuberant and recalls South Indian decoration.

[1] This vihara gives shelter to an unusually erudite company of pandits.

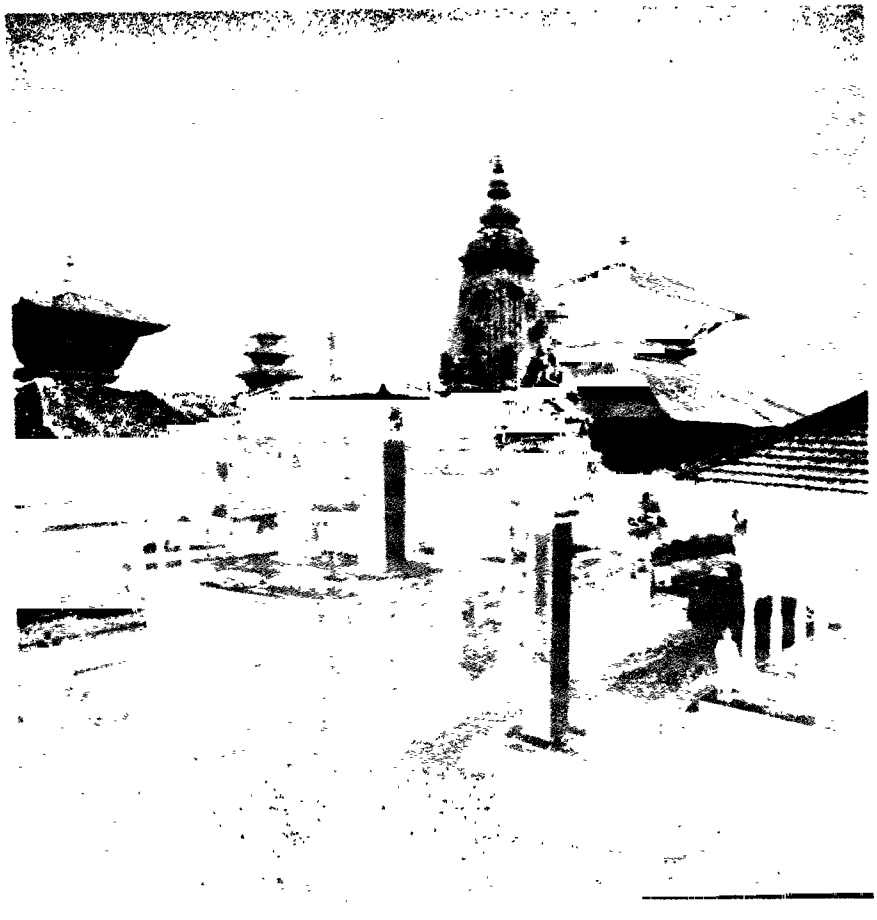
[2] The Vamshavali says that the builders of Mahabuddha temple in Patan took home with them from Buddhgaya a "model Buddha image." This probably means a model of the temple.



CORNER OF DARBAR SQUARE, BHATGAON

§ 9

Bhatgaon.—On the road to Bhatgaon one passes Themi, where there is a large factory of red glazed and unglazed pots which supplies the whole Valley. Bhatgaon it is easier to treat merely as a thing of beauty, for there is



CORNER OF DARBAR SQUARE, BHATGAON

less of the traditional sanctity within her which, in the case of Patan, Swayambhunath, and Pashpati, is recognized far and wide beyond the limits of the shrine, and her position, some eight miles east of Katmandu, leaves her somewhat outside the sacred hollow of the plain. But her Darbar Square is of those places of which the sight only will convince, for it contains a group of marvels hardly less splendid than that of the great

square of Patan.[1] Of them the most beautiful and best known is the golden door of the palace. As a work of art this is perhaps the most exquisitely designed and finished piece of gilded metalwork in all Asia. There is nothing in Lhasa or in Peking that can rival this piece of superb craftsmanship. Not the least of its charms is the casual way in which this triumph of the mould and the chisel is set into a plain, scanty section of wall that in no way acts as the frame that one would expect to find. To right and to left and in front of it are the walls of temples and palaces wonderfully enriched with moulding, knop, and trellis, with deep-set carvings, with strutted roof imposed upon strutted roof, with plinths and pillars, and with



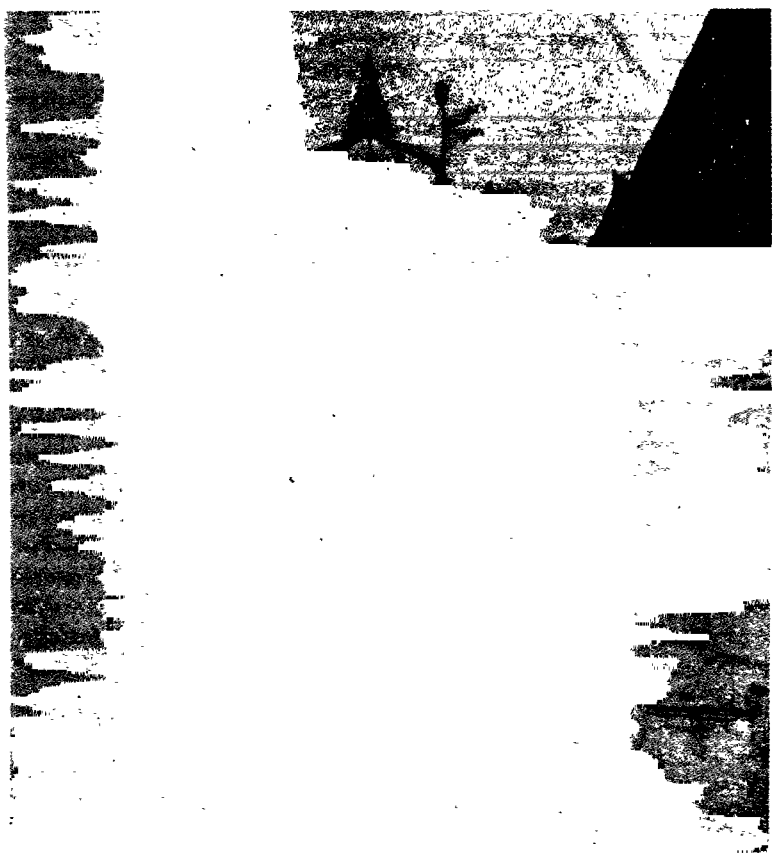
TEMPLE AT BHATGAON

windows of characteristically elongated lintels and sills, laden with incised pattern and arabesque; but on this little wall scarcely bigger than the doorway itself, there is nothing except the torn remains of two or three proclamations. Next it, as incongruously placed as itself, projects an insignificant shrine of brick and plaster, without any attempt at decoration, old, worn, and dirty—but a foil beyond price to the intricate carved and moulded copper work of that golden portal, the centre and pride of Bhatgaon.[2]

[1] The bell at Bhatgaon in the Darbar Square is five feet in diameter.

[2] Ferguson, the great authority upon Indian and Eastern architecture, makes the astonishing remark that the ornamentation on the Golden Door resembles that of the Nankow Gate thirty-five miles north-west of Peking. Except that the commonly found garudas and nagas are also to be seen there, no resemblance exists.

Elsewhere in the city are many beautiful things. Of them the long wooden façade of the royal palace, a triumph of ornamental grating, bracket, strut, eave, and sill, and the " five-roofed temple " are perhaps the most conspicuous. The latter—which, by the way, is dedicated to an



THE GOLDEN DOOR AT BHATGAON

unknown god—is a fine example of the pagoda work of Nepal, and famous far beyond it as the best example in the country of a terraced plinth of which the stairway is attended on either side by symbolic figures. In this case, there being four terraces and the lowest figures being set upon the ground, there are five pairs. These lowest figures are of two famous heroes who are locally believed to be Jaya Malla and Phatta, two champions of a Bhatgaon Raja, each of whom is said to have had the strength of ten

men.[1] Above them are two elephants which were estimated to be ten times as strong as Jaya Malla and Phatta. The third pair are lions reputedly ten times as strong as the elephants. The fourth are sarduls or dragons, ten times as strong as the lions. The last and mightiest pair of all are the two " Tiger " and " Lion " goddesses Baghini and Singhini, whose strength is supernatural.

But it is the streets of Bhatgaon which form the charm of the place. A little apart from the main traffic ways of the Valley, and busy with its own concerns, Bhatgaon has retained an individuality and an aloofness that

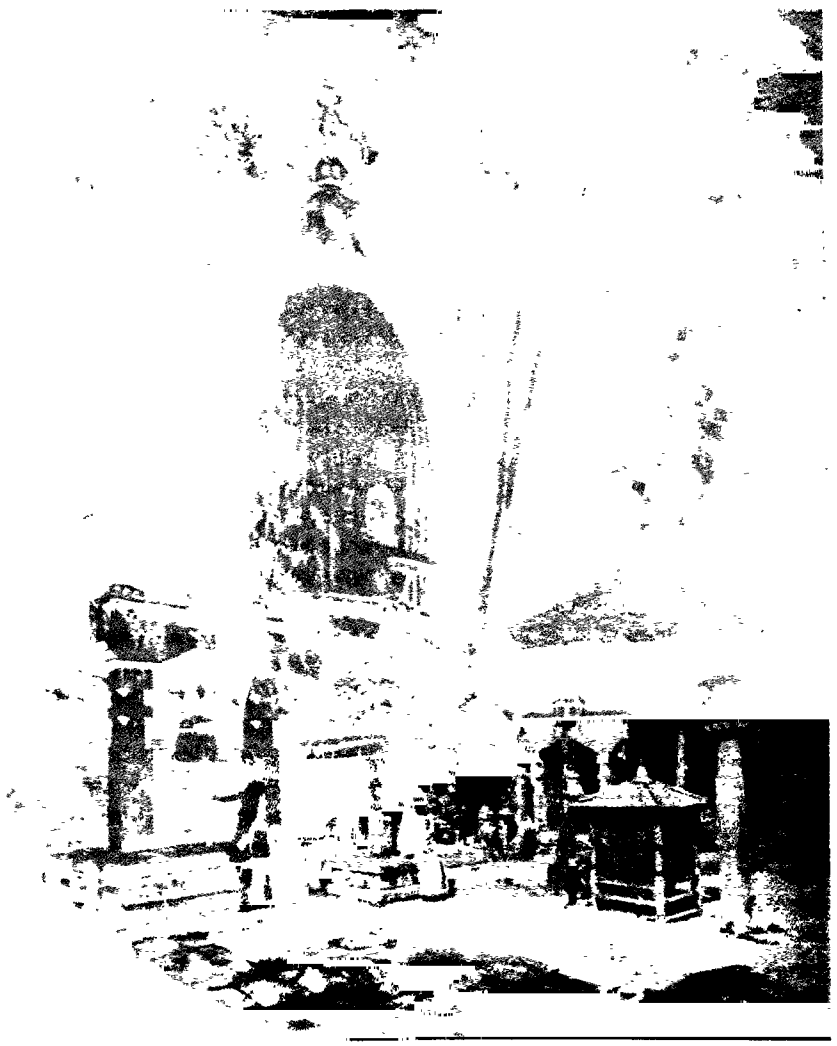


STEPS OF NYATPOLA, BHATGAON

other towns in the Valley have to some extent lost in the ever-growing influence of Katmandu—and naturally none has lost it more than Katmandu herself. Perhaps Bhatgaon-the-Newar still sits apart in a sheet of repentance for her king's ill-advised appeal to Gorkha in 1768 for help against his

[1] This is a curious example of the willingness of the Malla kings to add lustre to their family name even at the cost of truth. The history of these famous warriors is perfectly well known. They were respectively Jaimal of Bednor and his kinsman Patta of Kailwa. During the siege of Chitor by Akbar in 1568 Jaimal, though only sixteen years of age, commanded the besiegers, and with Patta carried on the gallant but hopeless struggle until 8,000 Rajputs had lost their lives, and Jaimal himself had been killed by the Emperor Akbar in person. Their figures are frequently to be seen beside the main portal of Rajput forts It is remarkable also that they are to be found as guardians of the south-western gate of the greatest of Mogul palace forts—Delhi itself.

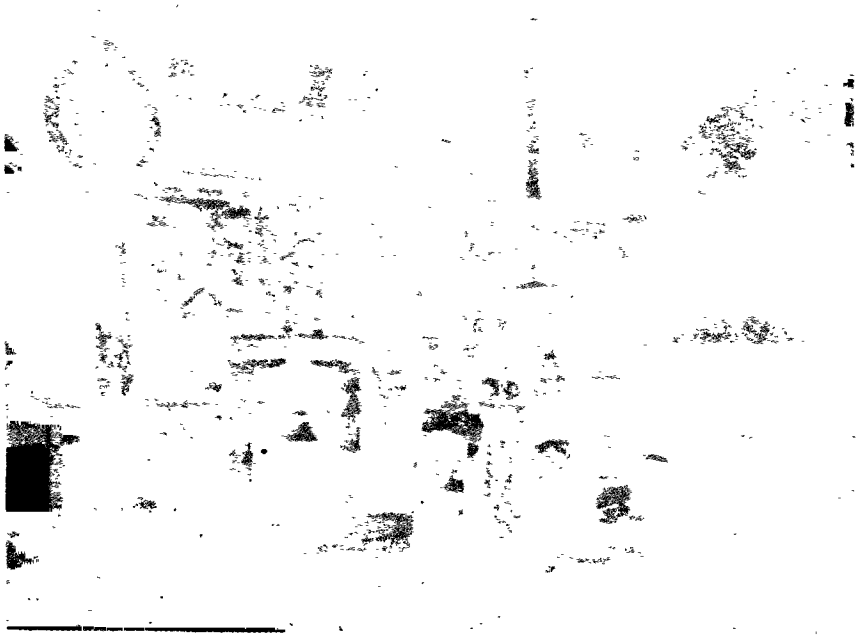
own kith and kin in Katmandu and Patan, for it sounded the knell of the Malla dynasties. It is commonly said that in her daily life Bhatgaon resembles the outlying and, to Europeans, unknown parts of Nepal more



TEMPLE OF SURJI-BINAYAKA GANESHA, BHATGAON

than does any other town in the Valley. She rests upon the fold above her curving river cliff, adjusting herself to its couch-like shape, and cultivates her well-watered fields below, remote—willingly remote—from her neighbours, and one of the most picturesque towns in the East.

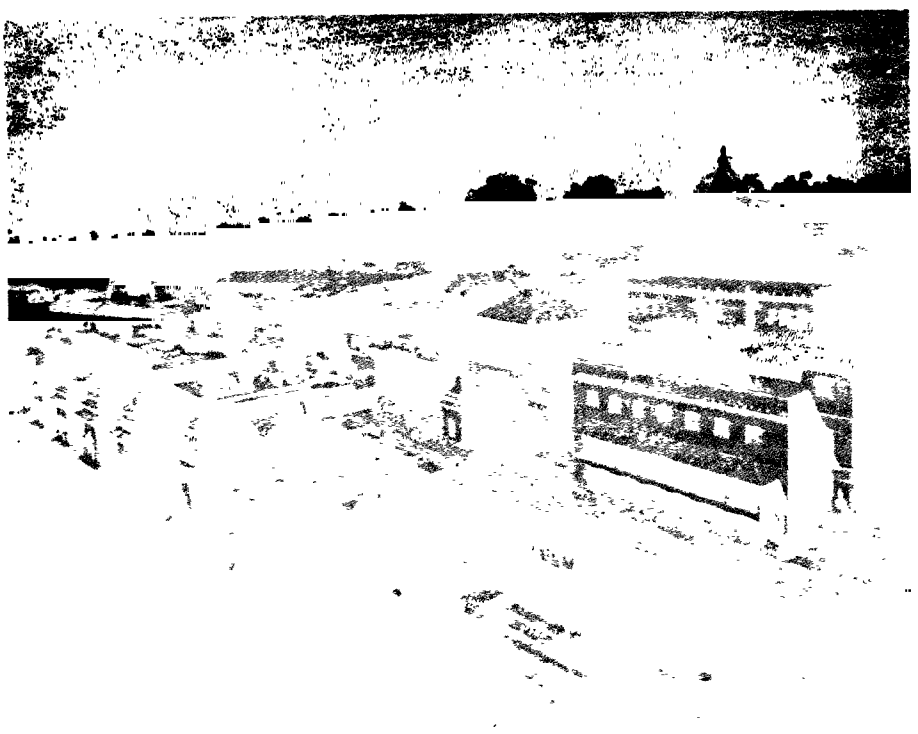
Changu Narayan.—For Bhatgaon, though it long remained an appanage of the lordship of Katmandu, the shrine of Changu Narayan is especially holy. This famed temple to Vishnu is built upon a spur a few miles to the north of the city, and though its doors are closed to strangers without the direct interposition of the Nepal Government, it is worth while to ask for exceptional privilege for the mere chance of seeing this sanctuary. Holy as Pashpati it is not, nor is it as popular as Balaji; but beyond any other Hindu site in the Valley Changu Narayan is rich in all that the historian



CHANGU NARAYAN

and the artist love. There are within its courtyard inscriptions which have given a key to the darkest passage in Nepal history; the carvings—stone and wood and copper alike—are older and more profuse than on the walls, doors, struts, and brackets of any other shrine, and of its spiritual authority there is no question. Upon the stretch of stone and gravel before the main doorway of Changu Narayan none but a Hindu may set his foot; though with a little persuasion from the Nepalese officer who for such a visit will accompany the stranger, permission will be obtained to examine the other three sides of the shrine. He will find that the tendency and development of Newari religious architecture are better exhibited in Changu Narayan than in any other building in the Valley. The reader will by this

time be already acquainted with the main characteristics of the "pagoda-like" architecture of the Mallas. In the illustration that is given of Changu Narayan he will be able to notice the extraordinary extent to which decoration has been carried. One remembers all the wealth of carving of the rest of the Valley; one remembers the woodwork of Peking, the Queen's golden monastery in Mandalay, and the temples at Nara and Horiuji in Japan. But when all is recalled it is probably to the shrine of



PASHPATI

Showing the main temple being re-gilt

Changu Narayan that one offers the palm. Perhaps one drives back home from Bhatgaon more full of thought than from any other expedition to the many outlying places of this crowded centre of holiness and history and art.[1]

[1] On returning from Changu Narayan a curious vulture with a white ruff, white trousered stomach and black wings, chest and crest, about 3 ft. 6 in. in height, as far as one can judge, excited some interest among the servants. I have not been able to trace it.

§ 10

Pashpati.—Of the Hindu shrines in Nepal the most sacred is that of Pashpati. Here, a mile or two outside Katmandu to the north-east, the river Bagmati forces its way through a wooded gorge, and the natural beauty of the spot may have gone far to suggest the many legends which have endeared it to the Nepalese. A stretch of the river a quarter of a mile in length is held especially in reverence, and in a great measure is to Nepal what the Ganges at Benares is to India. By the side of the stream there are on a smaller scale the same ghats backed by temples and other



PASHPATI

Showing royal burning ghats and river

buildings as at Benares, all devoted to the sad uses of the last of human ceremonials. For it is here that in their dying hours the people of the Valley are brought, in order that at the last moment they may be laved in the slow-moving waters of the holy Bagmati. These ghats are roughly divided into two portions by a pair of closely adjoining bridges. Upstream are the general ghats and burning-places. Downstream is the part reserved for the last moments of the two great houses of Nepal—those of the King and of the Prime Minister. The sloping ledge which may be seen in the photograph is that upon which the dying man is placed so that his legs at least are in the stream. Here he remains until death overtakes him. Afterwards
33 the body is burnt with great and decent ceremony upon the stone plinths

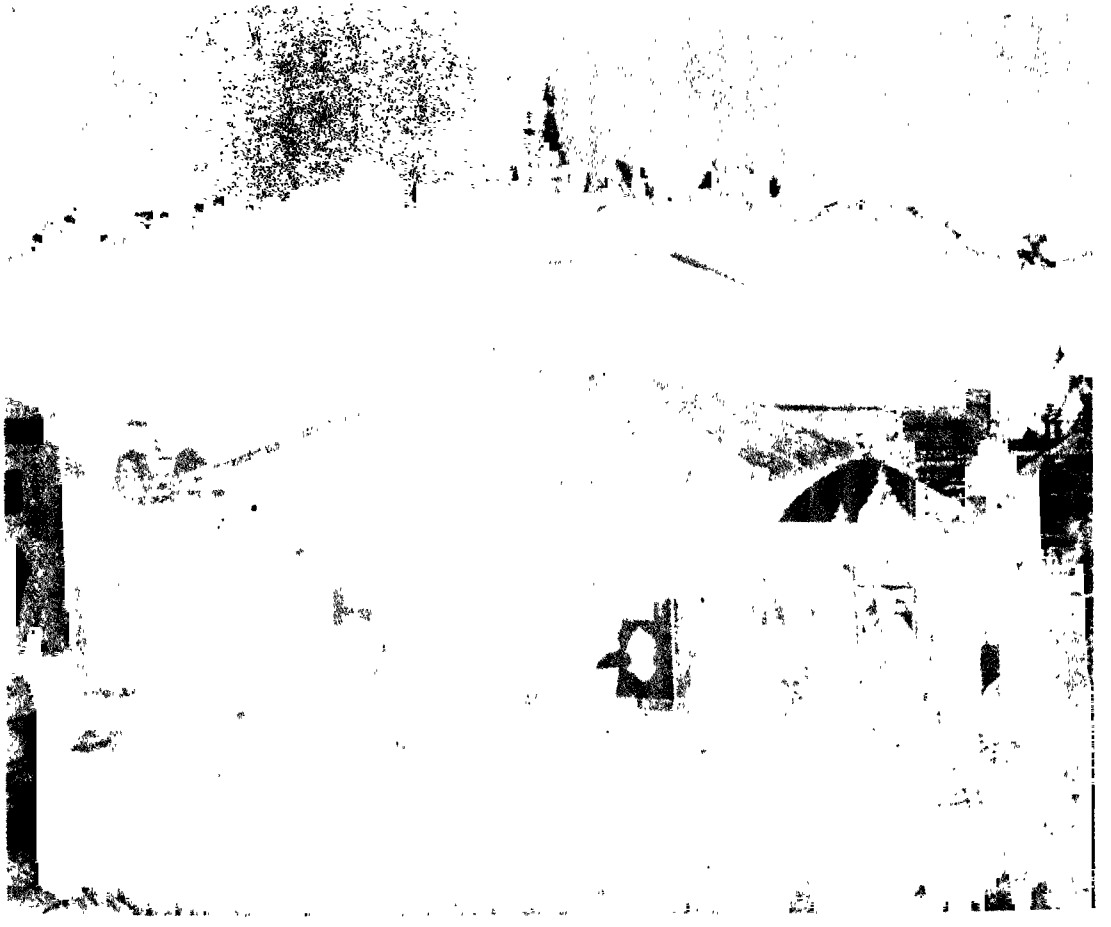
near by, which also may be recognized in the picture. The connection between Nepal and Benares has always been intimate. It has been to Benares that fugitive kings and leaders have as a rule made their way from Katmandu; and unfortunately it has also been in Benares that they or their adherents have concocted the plots and conspiracies for the subversion of the existing regime in the Valley which have given so much anxiety to the Governments of both India and Nepal. Visitors to



PASHPATI
Looking up stream

Benares will remember that there and nowhere else in India a Nepalese temple has been built and that it offers more than one remarkable contrast to the rest of the architecture and ornamentation of the holy city.

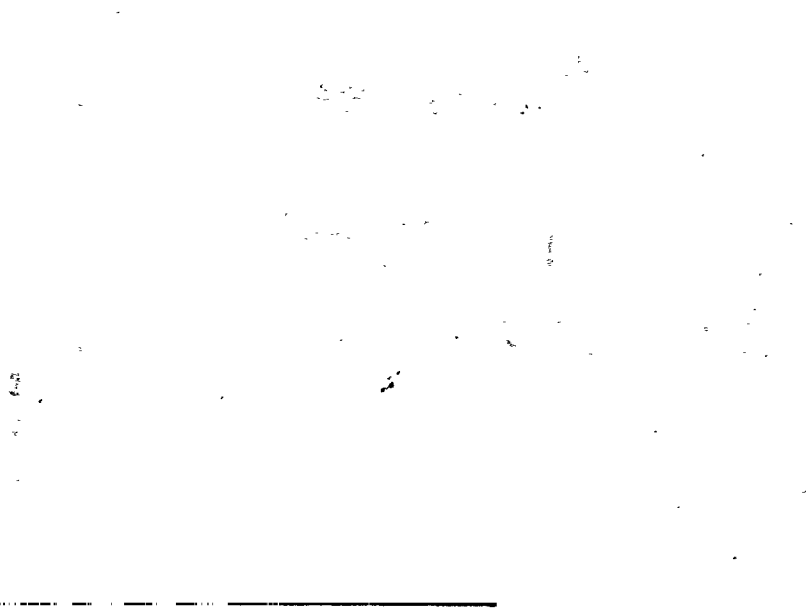
The holy town of Pashpati is for the most part a collection of solidly built brick or stone shrines. The characteristic Nepalese wooden architecture is less to be seen here than elsewhere. This is no doubt due to the eagerness with which generation after generation has sought to do ever fresh honour to the place, and in the effort has been apt to pull down the work of its predecessors and replace it by a finer building in the fashion of the day.



TEMPLE OF PASHPATINATH

(A unique photograph of the main temple, taken for the first time by special permission)

Nilkantha,[1] at the foot of the northern hills, is invested with more sanctity than are most of the outlying places of Hindu worship within the Valley.[2] The legend runs that a husbandman was digging in his garden either for the purpose of making a tank or at the orders of his king, and that he struck his spade against a hidden rock. A few minutes' clearing of the earth brought to light one end of a recumbent statue of Vishnu. The figure is of gigantic size and lies on its back upon a bed of coiling serpents. It has apparently been carved from a single block of black stone, and the tank



THE FIGURE OF NARAYAN AT BALAJI

which had been intended by the peasant for the collection of water for his fields, has remained to surround this remarkable piece of sculpture with a moat of clear moving water.[3] A few trees overhang this shrine, and round it there is a kind of courtyard backed by small shrines and other buildings.

[1] It was a long journey out and was marked only by the refusal of a dumb beggar to take a fourpenny piece because he was in rags and he would be thought to have stolen it.

[2] There are four shrines to Narayan in the Valley, at Changu, Chainju, Ichangu, and the Sikhar Narayan. These are visited by the religious who thereby acquire great merit. They are all derivatives of the Narayan of Buda-Nilkantha.

[3] At Buda-Nilkantha during the drought of 1924 the water was lower than it had ever been before, and the nest of cobras was exhibited in its entirety for the first time.

Balaji.—Elsewhere at Balaji, an exquisite and well-wooded resort two miles to the north-west of Katmandu, there is another and very similar recumbent statue of Vishnu. This also is couched upon a bed of cobras and partly submerged in a tank. The reason for the carving of this second figure is curious. By long tradition the King of Nepal is not permitted to



WATERSPOUTS AT BALAJI

visit the greater figure at Nilkantha. Legends have grown up to account for this prohibition, but the real reason apparently is that the king is himself a reincarnation of one form of Vishnu, and it is impossible that the two should meet.[1] But no objection is seen to his visiting this smaller

[1] Either this or the legendary dream of Pratapa Malla, that if he or any of his descendants or successors ever visited Nilkantha he would die, is responsible for the fact that no king of Nepal has ever visited the pool, and that has now become a custom.

reproduction of the Nilkantha figure. Balaji is indeed for king and people alike a more popular place of pilgrimage and picnics than Nilkantha, which is farther from Katmandu, which stands amid no wide wooded and grassy lawns, and of which, to say the truth, the outer buildings betray a good deal of neglect. On the other hand there are few prettier sights than the long row of old stone waterspouts at Balaji projecting their crystal curves into the stew below. Magnificent woods climb the hill behind them, and in front a broad lawn of a quality and colour unknown in India stretches out green and level beneath fine trees from the water's edge to the picturesque surrounding wall of interlacing arched brickwork. Here were roses rambling everywhere beneath the ashes, elms, and eucalyptus. Drawn together wherever there was a damp patch were clumps of the trumpet-petalled datura. On a terrace above are other stews, in which enormous carp of metallic green latticed with velvety black move confidently up between the lotus stems for the biscuit crumbs or the parched grain or the locusts of visitors—Fontainebleau in the Himalayas.

There is no space in which to tell the story of the other cities and monuments of the Valley, but a brief reference to some may be of interest. The Emperor Asoka built a stupa on the hill of Kirtipur, a town covering a long low fold of ground to the south-west of Katmandu. It was here that Prithwi Narayan, as has already been told, after promising to spare the inhabitants, carried out his diabolical revenge of hacking off the noses and lips of all the adult males; from which brutal act the place was long known as Naskatpur, and still seems to suffer.[1] Here is a fine temple to Bhairab as well as the overbuilt and much decorated Asokan stupa, no part of which now offers any resemblance to the original monument. It has been practically obliterated by the ornaments and additions of later ages, and the most interesting architectural feature now left in Kirtipur is a fine Newari temple to Bhairab or Shiva. The streets of this town are picturesque, and the houses are sometimes of a height and solidity that you would not easily find among the best streets even of Katmandu. But a sense of decay lies heavily over this, another of the abandoned capitals of the Valley.

From Kirtipur a long walk across the fields brings one past Chobar on a hill, and Chargarh—where the residence of the four Kazis used to be and where an ancient undeciphered inscription awaits the consideration of M. Lévi—to the lake Taudah.[2] This sheet of water was long identified with

[1] Father Giuseppe was an eye witness of this monstrous act, and Col. Kirkpatrick testifies thirty years later that he had himself seen at Naskatpur some of the survivors of this cruel mutilation.

[2] There is a story that an evil spirit in the form of Danasur coveted the wealth of Indra, the King of the Gods. Indirectly this resulted in the accumulation of the vast treasure which is hidden away in the small Lake Taudah under the guardianship of

the fiery spring mentioned by early Chinese travellers. There can, however, be no doubt that the pool Ankhe Daha, near Harisiddhi, represents this legendary spot both from the identity of name[1] and the correspondence of its distance and position from Patan. There is nothing of interest at either place, though of Taudah it is worth noting that but a few years ago the encroachments of farmers owning adjoining fields were cut away and the lake restored to its original size and shape. This was done by the advice of a Lama from Lhasa who was of opinion that a three years' serious drought had been caused by the sacrilegious action of the farmers. Rain then fell freely and a good harvest was secured.

So far as Ankhe Daha is concerned it is reached by a short journey from Harisiddhi on the main road to Godavari. There is a very ancient stupa, so ruined as to be almost unrecognizable, by the side of the road across the fields from Harisiddhi. Ankhe Daha, where the Chinese pilgrims apparently discovered a petroleum spring and were much interested in its inflammability, is on the plain of Dhapa Khel. There are two shallow ponds here. The larger is filled with water lilies and provides water for a small clump of houses on the northern bank. The smaller of the two ponds is probably that referred to by the Chinese travellers. Except for the legend connected with it, it is insignificant and could attract the attention of no one. Yet in all Oriental literature there is probably no clearer description of a petroleum spring than that which is given by seventh-century visitors to Nepal.

A third traveller adds to the witness of the others, that there was a slimy ooze round the edge of the pond. This cannot be other than the coagulated bitumen which is, next to the smell, the first and most palpable sign of the presence of a surface oil well. There is no doubt about the identity of the place, but that there is petroleum there at this moment is unlikely. Not the faintest trace of the black exudations is to be seen. It would be a hazardous thing for the Nepal Government to begin operations for the discovery of oil here without the most careful examination of the site by a modern expert.

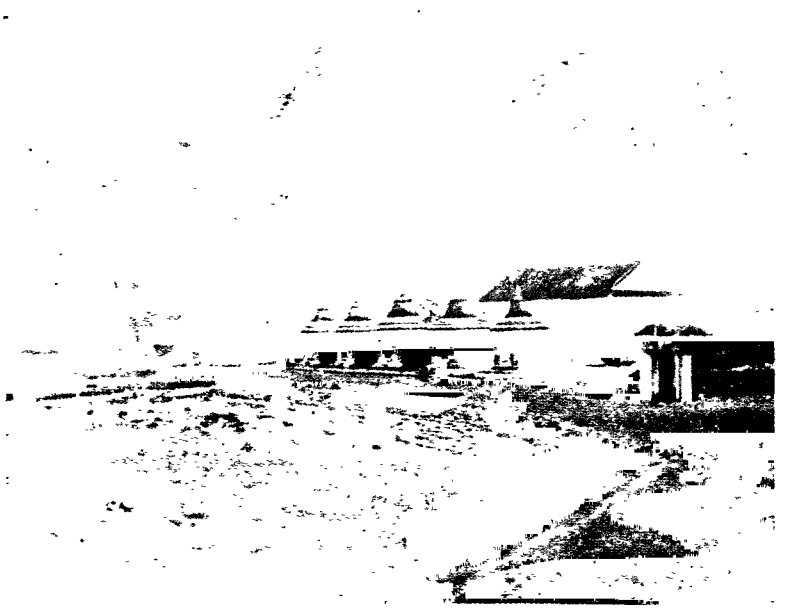
A local tradition has it that the famous self-sacrifice of Sakyamuni, who, in his previous incarnation as Mahasatwa, had offered his own body

Karkotak, King of the Serpent Gods. Jang Bahadur himself seems to have attached some importance to this legend, and had the pool dragged ; but he found nothing. There is probably a geological truth underlying the further legend that the same Danasur, in order to make a pond for his daughter to play in, filled up the Chobar gorge, with the result that the Valley again became a lake. On this occasion it was Vishnu who came to the rescue of the unhappy villagers and, having killed Danasur, reopened the sluice, and incidentally carried off the daughter.

[1] The Chinese rendering of Ankhe Daha by A-ki-po-li is almost exactly correct. The last two syllables represent the Chinese attempt to render "pokhri," an alternative for the word "daha," meaning "pool."

to feed a starving tiger, took place among the mountains at the south-eastern end of the Valley. The Tibetans, in consequence, know the site as Stag-mo-lus-sbyin.

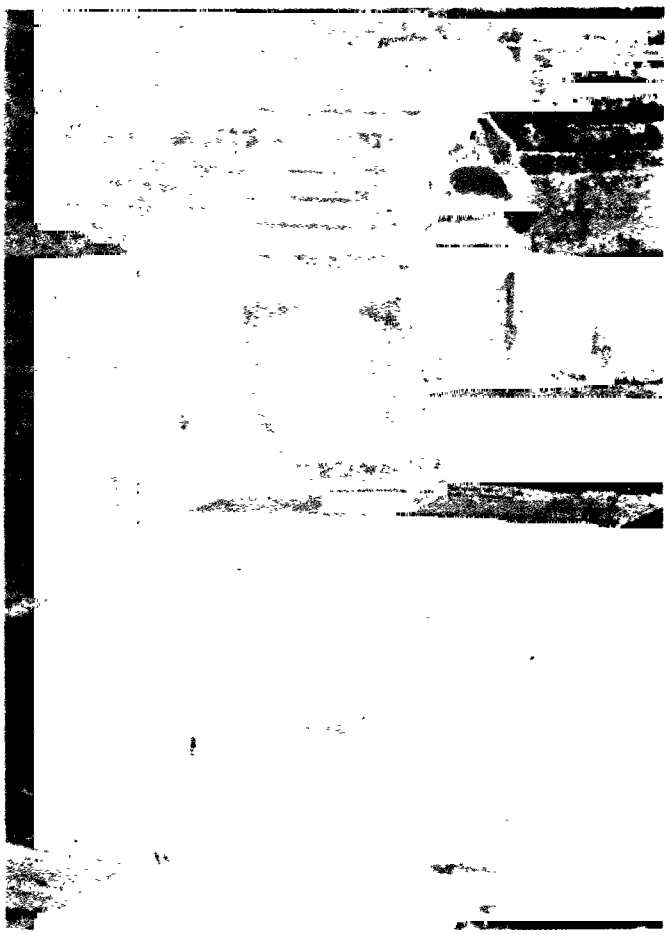
Godavari.—Of other places in the Valley the springs of Godavari are the most beautiful. A ten-mile road runs to them from Katmandu. It is a road that is motorable, though it has no pretensions to rival the one great thoroughfare of the Valley—that which leads from Thankot, at the



GODAVARI

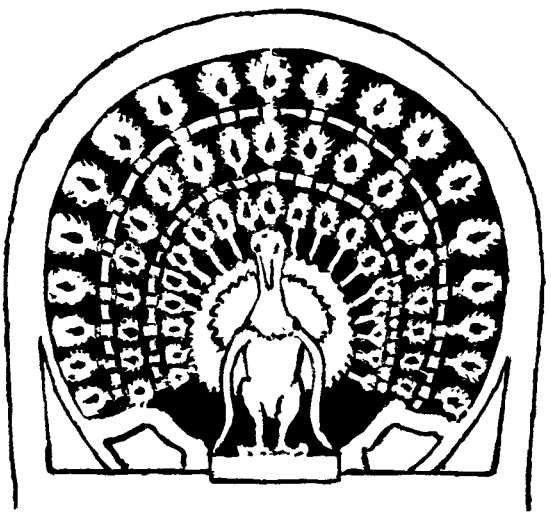
base of the Chandragiri Pass, through Katmandu, to Boddhnath and the Bagmati. It leaves Patan by the southern gate and, dipping down across the stream by Hatiban—which is not to be confused with another Hatiban "near the exit of the Bagmati"—it passes by the side of Harisiddhi, and then begins to rise over the under-features of the hills which shut in the Valley to the south. One passes on the right a prominent group of what would be called in South Africa "kopjes." They are named after "husked rice" (Chuwal), "unhusked rice" (Dhan), and "husks" (Bhusa). After leaving them the road ascends through increasingly beautiful scenery, and between the encroachments of the wooded spurs of Phulchok. The road ends in as forest-clad and secluded a spot as was ever dedicated for the

veneration of men. To the left, among these wooded hills, is a stretch of shrines along the masoned bank of a broad pool. Immediately to the right is the fabled source of the Godavari, the South Indian river. Nothing is more curious than the persistent legendary connection between Nepal and



MAHADEVA TEMPLE, GODAVARI

the South of India. With our present knowledge it is impossible to explain this association, but it is a fact, and a remarkable fact, that Nepal is united by many ties with this remote and, to her, almost unapproachable region of India, while her connections with the Northern India at her front gate
34 were in old days scarcely more than political.



APPENDIX I

ARMORIAL BEARINGS AND FLAGS

THE following notes upon the armorial bearings of the King and the Prime Minister have been given to me by a pandit in Katmandu. The accompanying drawing is the work of a Nepalese artist. They do not differ except in detail. The upper symbol is the " Sri Panch " or the head-dress. The King's head-dress is adorned with five " Chands " or leaf-shaped ornaments in front. In the case of the Prime Minister there are three " Chands." Other high officials bear one " Chand."

The " Chands " in the head-dress correspond with the number of " Sris " to which the wearer is entitled.[1] In referring to the King or the Minister, the one is styled " Sri Panch (five) Sarkar," and the other " Sri Tin (three) Sarkar " in consonance with the number of " Sris " that go before the name of each. The " Sarkar " in the reference stands evidently for " Government."

The bird of paradise plume is believed to have been introduced by Mathabar Singh Thapa when he came back after his sojourn in the Panjab Court.[2] The spray of peacock feather is a part of the badge of the high Chinese honour borne by the present Prime Minister and Marshal.

Below the " Sri Panch " or the head-dress is shown a pair of footprints known as " Guru Paduka," representing the footprints of Sri 108 Gorakh-nath, the guardian deity of Gorkha, whence the Ranas came. [It is not correct to interpret the " Paduka " as " Vishnu Paduka," inasmuch as those are used only in Gaya for offering oblations to one's ancestry, and hence cannot be an auspicious symbol to be placed on coins and armorial bearings.]

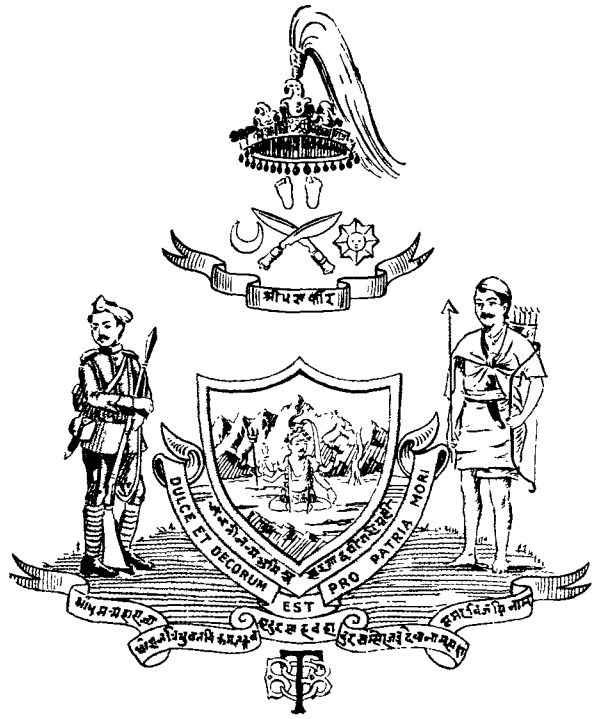
Below the " Paduka " appear a pair of crossed kukhris, the national

[1] The prefix " Sri " stands for glory, opulence, etc., and is enjoined to be prefixed to the names of the living and of the gods in " Sanskartatwam," as quoted in *Sabdakal-padruma*. It is customary to repeat the prefix a certain number of times before a name to express the dignity of the named. One authority quoted in the above lexicon from Patra Kaumadi by Bararuchi states that six " Sris " should be prefixed before the name of the Guru, five before that of the lord or ruler, two before the name of a servant, four before that of an enemy, three before that of a friend, and so on. Other authorities provide direction for the number of " Sris " to be attached to a name in accordance with the dignity of the named, and in the book referred to, the form of address or " Prasasti " for a King, a minister, the Guru, etc., are given in detail. These " Prasastis " give three " Sris " for the Minister. Thus the usage in Nepal, in this as in many other things, is in accord with the provisions of the " Hindu scriptures " without being an innovation, and a " Chand " in the head-dress corresponds to a " Sri " in the name of the minister.

[2] But it will be seen from the portrait of Prithwi Narayan on p. 60 that the plume was used in his day.

weapon of the Gurkhas. This emblem is of recent introduction into the armorial bearings of the country.

On either side of the pair of crossed kukhris, the sun and moon are represented. These are very common symbols on coins, flags, copper and other inscriptions, and are inserted to invoke the blessing of the gods, and to make the objects or the name and fame of the donor as everlasting as the two prominent orbs in heaven. These, with the " Guru Paduka," may be taken in the same manner as the auspicious symbols by which a

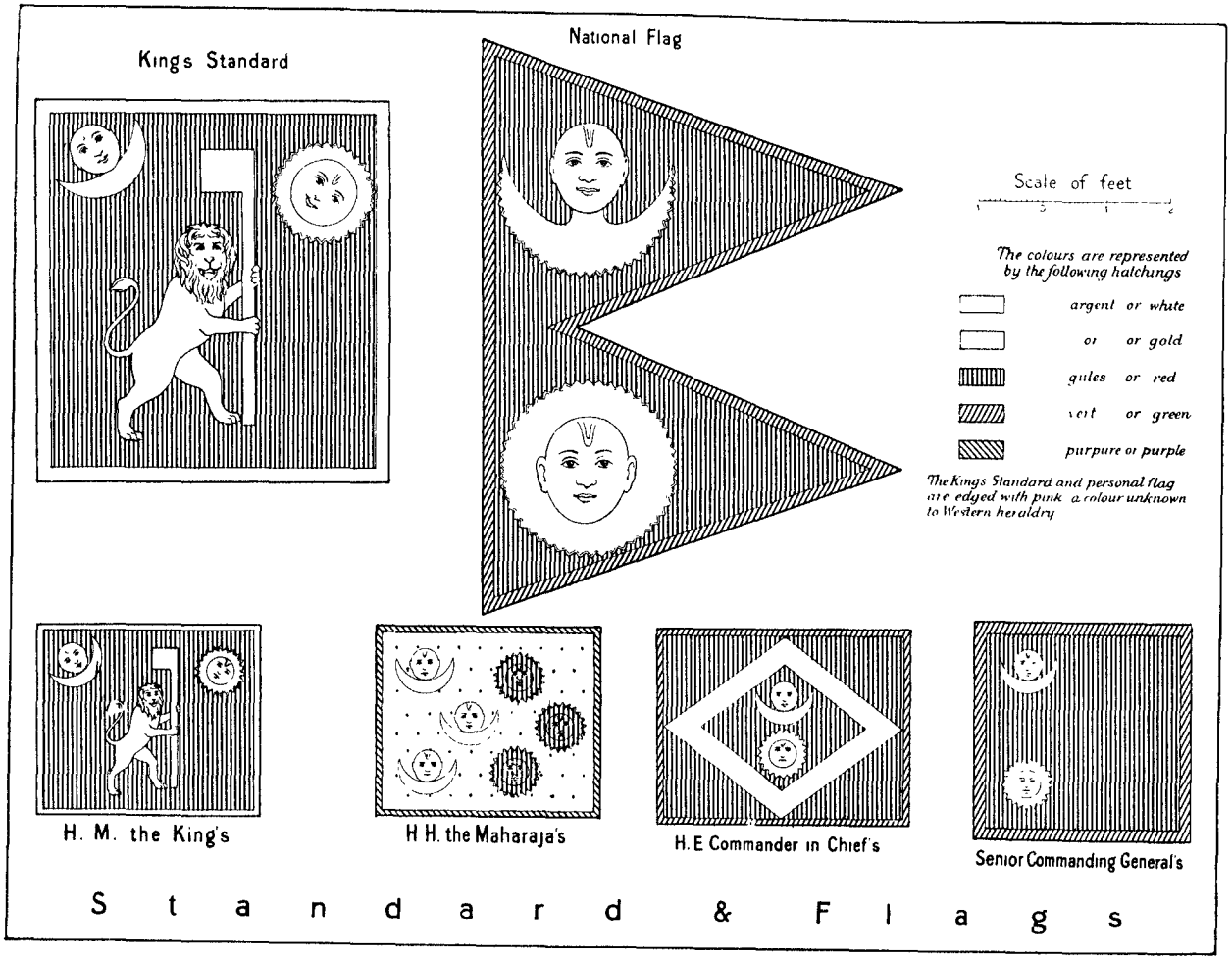


ROYAL ARMS OF NEPAL

letter should be begun. The crescent moon is in the increasing phase, typifying an expansion of glory and fame.

The shield below, the coat of arms itself, symbolizes the whole country of Nepal from the Himalayas to the forest-covered Tarai watched over by the Guardian Deity Sri 108 Pashpatinath, herein depicted with four arms and the emblems according to the " Dhyan " or mental image for worship laid down in the shastras. [The idea is of a god who creates and destroys the universe and protects and fulfils the wishes of a devotee.]

The legend in Sanskrit encircling the lower part of the shield expresses that one's mother and motherland stand even higher than, and are superior to, " Swarga " or heaven itself. So that he who honestly and faithfully serves both will in the end be admitted to a sphere of the highest heaven.


Kings Standard
National Flag
Scale of feet
The colours are represented by the following hatchings
argent or white
or or gold
gules or red
vert or green
purpure or purple
The Kings Standard and personal flag are edged with pink a colour unknown to Western heraldry
H. M. the King's
H H. the Maharaja's
H. E Commander in Chief's
Senior Commanding General's
S t a n d a r d & F l a g s

The Hindu cosmology mentions seven spheres in heaven, one beyond the other. Hence the bliss of the seventh or highest sphere is reserved for those who serve their mother and motherland.

The foreground below the shield represents the green cornland and the agricultural interests of Nepal. The military honour of the country is represented by the two supporters, the sinister standing for the raw recruit and the dexter for the finished soldier.

No description in heraldic language of the above bearings is extant here. The whole gives expression to a sustained idea not connected with ancestry, and may not be conveniently put in the language used by European heralds. Briefly stated, the conception is a prayer to the Almighty from the bearer of the arms to enable him to discharge the duties of his office and to defend the rights of the country and to perpetuate its name and fame as long as the sun and moon last.

The sketches on p. 235 illustrate the special flags borne by the high officials in Nepal.

APPENDIX II

REGALIA, ANTHEMS, AND TITLES

ON the top of the royal head-dress is a large emerald. The enormous ruby which surmounts the head-dress of the Maharaja is the representation of the Transparent Red Ball (commonly but wrongly translated as " button ") which goes with the grant of the Double-Eyed Peacock Feather, and was the badge of the highest class within the power of the Emperor to bestow. The Maharaja of Nepal possesses also the right to wear the sable coat.

The head-dress which crowns the Royal coat of arms is the " Sri Panch " or official crown worn by the King. It is entirely composed of diamonds, pearls, emeralds, and rubies. There are certain distinctions between the head-dress used by His Majesty and the similar crown which is appropriate to the Prime Minister's office. The latter is said to be the actual head-dress designed and worn by Jang Bahadur.

As will be seen from the accompanying illustrations, the Prime Minister's head-dress is composed of a cap of closely sewn pearls, ornamented as probably no other royal emblem in the world is adorned. In front there are three circular plaques composed of large diamonds. These are about $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches across, and with the six diamond-studded and emerald-bearing brackets which heighten the upper part are $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches in height. They bear a representation of the sun and moon, the faces being blocked out with large diamonds in the central boss. The middle plaque is more elaborate. It bears a representation of the " garuda," and is $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches in

height. The emeralds that depend from the diamond stalks of the three plaques are of considerable size, probably $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch in length on the average. To the right of this head-dress, in a setting of fine emeralds,[1] is a very remarkable jewel. It is an emerald $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, set with a beautiful carved gold and diamond seal at one end, on which is written in Arabic, "Ya-Ali," which was in the possession of Nadir Shah[2] and Nana Sahib.



THE KING'S HEAD-DRESS

This is held in position by a clasp of seven diamonds. The seal end of this jewel may be made out in the picture a little way above the cluster of huge

[1] The emeralds used on these head-dresses are drop-shape. The diamonds for the most part are "flatted."

[2] It was Nadir Shah, the Persian conqueror, who ordered a general massacre of the inhabitants of Delhi on the 11th of March 1739. He carried away with him treasures estimated at £50,000,000 sterling, among which were the Koh-i-Nor diamond, now one of the State jewels of the British regalia, and the famous peacock throne which stood in the Diwan-i-khas, and which was estimated to be worth about £13,000,000. The late Lord Curzon believed that he had discovered a fragment of this throne in the Shah's treasury at Teheran. The peacock throne which exists in the Shah's palace to-day has no connection with the Indian throne.

emeralds to which attention must now be drawn. These, too, came from the jewels of Nana Sahib. They form a cluster of four rows, the first and second containing five emeralds each, the third and fourth containing six larger emeralds, and the cluster is terminated by one enormous emerald.



THE PRIME MINISTER'S HEAD-DRESS

like the others of the most perfect water and measuring 1 inch in length. it is curious to notice that among them are a couple of emeralds that have been slightly gadrooned.

Except for one enormous emerald, slightly carved and measuring $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, the largest of this magnificent parure is that which hangs from the first of the row of heart-shaped or oval diamonds which is

carried round from the front to the back of the head-dress. There are ten hanging on the right side of the head-dress, and eleven on the left. The giant on the right measures 1½ inches in length, and the others are slightly smaller. A few enormous cut rubies are used here and there. The general effect is one of pearly sheen, enhanced by diamonds and toned by these rings and masses and pyramids of great emeralds.

In front rises the bird of paradise plume [1]—these plumes are taken from the *paradisia apoda*—like a fountain of brown and orange and white. It is set in a head-piece mounted in pearls and gold, and is one of the most beautiful parts of this dignified and splendid coronet.

The King's head-dress is differenced from that of the Prime Minister by five of these plaques or " chands."[2] The back of his crown is ornamented by enormous flatted diamonds about ⅝ of an inch square. It will be seen in the accompanying picture that he too has a bunch of large emeralds, of which the lowest is a gigantic stone of 1¼ inches in length. Behind, His Majesty's head-dress continues the row of hanging stones, but substitutes for them flatted diamonds, each hung as a pendant to the large square diamond above.

Among the Crown jewels of Nepal is one that deserves a passing mention. It is a knot of large diamonds which belonged to the late Empress Eugénie and was sold by her in 1886. The jewel, which is 5 inches in length by 4¼ inches in breadth, is composed of diamonds of large size.

[1] The same plumes of the great bird of paradise, though of different sizes, are used by all members of the royal and prime ministerial families.

[2] From only three of these chands, however, do the emerald and diamond heightenings rise.

ANTHEM FOR H.M. THE MAHARAJADHIRAJA OF NEPAL



ANTHEM FOR H.M. THE MARAHAJADHIRAJA OF NEPAL

Shrīmān gumbhīra gorkhāli prachanda pratāpi bhūpati
Shri-Pānch sirkār Mahārājādhirājako sadā rahos unnati,
Rākhun chirāyu eeshalé, prajā failiyos, pukāraun jaya premale
Hāmi gorkhāli bhāee sārālé.

Bairī sārā haraun, Shānta houn sabai bighna-byathā;
Gāun Sārā duniyālé saharsha nāthako sukīrti kathā;
Rākhaun kamāna bhāri bīratālé Nepālamāthi sadhai nāthako;
Shrihos thulo hāmi Gorkhāliko.

श्री ५ महाराजाधिराजको सलामी.

श्रीमान् गम्भीर गोर्खाली प्रचण्डप्रतापी भूपति,
श्रीपाँच् सर्कार् महाराजाधिराजको सदा रहोस् उन्नति;
राखून् चिरायु ईशले, प्रजा फैलीयोस्, पुकारौं जय प्रेमले,
हामी गोर्खाली भाई सारालै.

१

वैरी सारा हराऊन्, शान्त होऊन् सबै विघ्नव्यथा,
गाऊन् सारा दुनीञ्चाले सहर्ष नाथको सुकीर्ति–कथा;
राखौं कमान, भारी–वीरताले, नेपालमाथी सधैं नाथको,
श्री होस् ठूलो हामी गोर्खालीको.

२

ANTHEM FOR H.H. THE MAHARAJA OF NEPAL



ANTHEM FOR H.H. THE MAHARAJA OF NEPAL

Himashaila-mandita suhindutāshrita
Adhidevatā Pashupati prasādita
Nayapāla tīna Sarakāra bīrako
Jayahos, Nirāmaya chirāyu bhairahos;

Ripu nashtahun, atala shāsanā rahos;
Gunagāna magna sabaloka bhairahos;
Sthira bhairahos mulukmā svatantratā,
Sukha-Shānti-Unnati rahos jatātatā

श्री ३ महाराजको सलामी.

हिमशैलमण्डित सुहिन्दुताऽऽश्रित,
अधिदेवता—पशुपति—प्रसादित,
नयपाल—तीन—सरकार वीरको,
जय होस्, निरामय चिरायु भैरहोस्.

१

रिपु नष्ट हून्, अटल शासना रहोस्,
गुणगानमग्न सब लोक भैरहोस्,
स्थिर भैरहोस् मुलुकमा स्वतन्त्रता,
सुख—शान्ति—उन्नति रहोस् जता तता.

२

The following are the full titles, or "Prasasti," of His Majesty the King and His Highness the Prime Minister Marshal, as they have been incorporated in the design for the latest State seals.

श्री ५ महाराजधिराजको प्रसास्ति ।

स्वस्तिश्री गिरिराजचक्रचूडामणिनरनारायणेत्यादिविविधविरु-
दावलिविराजमानमानोन्नत प्रोज्ज्वलनेपालताराम हाधिपति
श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज श्रीश्रीश्री महाराज त्रिभुवनवीरविक्रम
जङ्गबहादुर शाहबहादुर शम्शेरजङ्गदेवानां सदा समरविजयिनाम्.

His Majesty the King

Svasti Shrī Girirāja-chakra-chūda-mani Nara-nārāyanetyādi vividha-virudāvali - virājamāna - mānonnata Projjvala-nepāla - tārā - mahādhipati Shrīman-mahārājādhirāj-Shrī Shrī Shrī Mahārāja Tribhubana-vīravikrama Jang-bahādur Shāha-bahādur Shamsher-jang devānām sadā-samara-vijayinām.

श्री ३ महाराजको प्रसास्ति ।

स्वस्तिश्रीमदतिप्रचण्डभुजदण्डेत्यादि प्रोज्ज्वलनेपालताराधीश
श्रीश्रीश्रीमहाराज चन्द्रशम्शेर जङ्गबहादुर राणा, जी.सी.बी.,
जी.सी.एस्.आई., जी.सी.एम्.जी., जी.सी.भी.ओ., डी.सी.एल्.,
आनरेरि जनरल वृटीश आर्मि; आनरेरि कर्णेल फोर्थ गोर्खाज्;
थोङ्-लिन्-पिम्मा-कोकाङ्-वाङ्-स्यान्; ग्राँहुद् अफिसिए द् ला
लेजिञो द् अनेयर्; प्राइम्मिनिष्टर, मार्शल, सुप्रीम कम्याण्डर
इनचीफ कस्य रुक्का.

His Highness the Prime Minister

Projjvala Nepālatārādhīsha Mahārāja Chandra Shamsher Jang Bahādur Rānā, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., D.C.L., Honorary General, British Army; Honorary Colonel, Fourth Gurkhas; Tung-ling-ping-ma-kuo-kan-wang; Grand Officier de la Legion d'Honneur; Prime Minister, Marshal and Supreme Commander-in-Chief of Nepal.

The following were the full titles used by His Majesty King Surendra Vikram, and His Highness Maharaja Jang Bahadur Rana:

His Majesty the King

Svasti Shri Giriraja-Chakra-chuda-mani Nara-narayanetyadi vividha-virudavali-virajamana-manonnata. Shriman-maharajadhiraj Shri Shri Shri Maharaja Surendra Vikram Jang Bahadur Shaha-bahadur Shamsher-jang devanam sada-samara-vijayinam.

His Highness the Prime Minister

Svasti Shri Madati-prachanda-bhujadandetyadi[1] Shri Shri Shri Maharaja Jang Bahadur Rana, G.C.B. and G.C.S.I., Tung-ling-ping-ma-kuo-kan-wang, Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief of Nepal.

It will be seen that there are slight differences in style. In some cases the addition explains itself, as, for example, Projjvala-nepala-tara-mahadhipati in His Majesty's titles refers to his position as sovereign of the Most Refulgent Order of the Nepala Tara. Similarly, " Projjvala Nepala-taradhisha " refers to the Prime Minister's position as Grand Master of that Order.

The additional title " Supreme Commander-in-Chief " appears at the end of the Prime Minister's prasasti. Maharaja Jang Bahadur used the title " Commander-in-Chief " and this style was adopted by his successors. But the second highest military officer of the State also bore the title Commander-in-Chief, and during the present ministry an attempt was made to avoid this repetition of the same title for two different officials by the introduction of a new designation. To the titles of the Prime Minister that of " Marshal " was then substituted for Commander-in-Chief, and the latter title was used only by the second highest military officer in the State. There seemed, however, a general feeling that the supreme military command exercised by the Prime Minister in virtue of his office was not sufficiently demonstrated by the addition of the word " Marshal " by itself. To avoid the difficulty which had arisen before by the employment of the same title for the two officials, and clearly to demon-

[1] The first portion of the titles, viz., "Svasti Shri Madati prachanda-bhujadandetyadi," is not written in the English transliteration, though it occurs in the Devanagari inscriptions of the State seals.

strate the seniority of the Prime Minister, the title Commander-in-Chief, preceded by the word " Supreme," has been restored.

It is worth noting that the conclusion of the prasasti of the King is in the genitive plural. The plural form is employed by the Sovereign in other languages, but the genitive termination used in Nepal represents the traditional royal formula in Sanskrit.

The exact title conferred by the Chinese Emperors on Jang Bahadur and Chandra Sham Sher has long been a matter upon which no exact information could be obtained. The transliteration which has been used, Thong-Lin-Pimma-Kokang-Wang Syan, is quite unrecognizable, and no Chinese scholar has been able to suggest the meaning or, of course, the correct form. As it stands this phrase has no significance; with three exceptions it does not represent any Chinese characters.

Taking advantage of a stay in Peking I had the original grant traced, after some trouble, and the real meaning authenticated at the Record Office. In this research I must record my sincere thanks to Baron A. Staël Holstein and to Mr. E. S. Bennett of H.M. Legation. Annexed are the actual Chinese characters.

統	t'ung	commander-in-
領	ling	chief
兵	ping	of the
馬	ma	forces
果	kuo	truly
敢	kan	valiant
王	wang	prince
銜	hsien	[title of]

Under this astonishing transliteration may be read by the laborious reader " Maha raja Mien cha je yeng na-i-pa-tso-laje of Nepal (Chandra Jang) ra tsun ta je sheaf."

In the 28th year of Kuang-hsü, the ninth moon, the thirteenth day [14th October, 1902] an Imperial decree was issued conferring the title [hsien] of KUO-KAN WANG upon Mien-cha-je [pronounced " rer "]-ying-na-i-p'a-tsa-la-je-na-tsun-ta-je-sheng-hsish-ts'eng-ha-je-p'a-tu-je, Maharaja

of Nepal, with the ruby button [ranking above the nine ranks of officials distinguished by various kinds of hat buttons] and garments, including long and short coats.

The meaning of the characters is as above: The last sign " hsien " is used only to introduce the others and should be omitted. It corresponds to the phrase " by the style and title of " in English grants.

Ping ma [literally " foot and horse "] means " of the whole army."

Thus the whole phrase signifies that Chandra Sham Sher holds the Chinese style and title of " Truly valiant prince, Commander-in-chief of the army."

THE KINGS OF NEPAL

Drabya Sah, 1559-1570.
Purandar Sah, 1570-1605.
Chhatra Sah, 1605-1606.
Rama Sah, 1606-1633.
Dambar Sah, 1633-1642.
Krishna Sah, 1642-1658.
Rudra Sah, 1658-1669.
Prithwipati Sah, 1669-1716.
Birbhandra Sah, d.v.p.
Narbhupal Sah, 1716-1742.
Prithwi Narayan, 1742-1774.
Singha Pratap Sah, 1774-1777.
Rana Bahadur Sah, 1777-1799.
Girvan Judha Vikram Sah, 1799-1816.
Rajendra Bir Vikram Sah, 1816-1847.
Surendra Bir Vikram Sah, 1847-1881 (17th May).
Trailokya Bir Vikram Sah (b. 1st Dec. 1847), d.v.p.
Prithwi Bir Vikram Sah (b. 8th Aug. 1875), 1881-1911 (11th Dec.).
Tribhubana Bir Vikram Sah (b. 30th June 1906), 1911-

THE PRIME MINISTERS OF NEPAL

	Gen. Bhim Sen Thapa.	Born 21st July 1775.	Prime Minister 10th April 1806.	Committed suicide in prison 29th July 1839 after having been removed from office in 1837.
36	Gen. Mathabar Singh Thapa.	Born 2nd Oct. 1798.	Prime Minister 28th Nov. 1843.	Killed by Jang Bahadur 18th May 1845.

THE PRIME MINISTERS OF NEPAL—*continued*

Gen. Maharaja Jang Bahadur.	Born 18th June 1817.	Prime Minister 17th Sept. 1846.	Died 25th February 1877.
Gen. Maharaja Rana Udip Singh.	Born 3rd April 1825.	Prime Minister 27th February 1877.	Put to death 22nd November 1885.
Gen. Maharaja Bir Sham Sher.	Born 10th Dec. 1852.	Prime Minister 22nd Nov. 1885.	Died 5th March 1901.
Gen. Maharaja Deva Sham Sher.	Born 17th July 1862.	Prime Minister 5th March 1901.	Removed from office 26th June 1901. Died in India, 20th Feb. 1914.
Gen. Maharaja Chandra Sham Sher.	Born 8th July 1863.	Prime Minister 26th June 1901.	

APPENDIX III

THE PRESENT ROLL OF SUCCESSION TO THE PRIME MINISTERSHIP OF NEPAL DRAWN BY MAHARAJA CHANDRA SHAM SHER JANG BAHADUR RANA

1. Maharaja Prime Minister and Marshal Chandra Sham Sher Jang Bahadur Rana (son of General Dhir Sham Sher J.B.R.), G.C.B. (1908), G.C.S.I. (1905), G.C.M.G. (1919), G.C.V.O. (1911), D.C.L. (1908).
2. Commander-in-Chief General Bhim Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of General Dhir Sham Sher J.B.R.), K.C.S.I. (1917), K.C.V.O. (1911).
3. Senior Commanding General Judha Sham Sher J.B.R. (Western Command),[1] (son of General Dhir Sham Sher J.B.R.), K.C.I.E. (1917).
4. Commanding General Dharma Sham Sher J.B.R. (Eastern Command), (son of Maharaja Bir Sham Sher J.B.R.).
5. *Commanding General Rudra Sham Sher J.B.R. (Southern Command), (son of Maharaja Bir Sham Sher J.B.R.).
6. Commanding General Padma Sham Sher J.B.R. (Northern Command), (son of General Bhim Sham Sher J.B.R.), G.B.E. (1920), K.C.I.E. (1919).

[1] The commands are of the relative importance indicated above. Promotion is by seniority of birth.

7. *General Tej Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of Maharaja Bir Sham Sher J.B.R.), K.C.I.E. (1919), K.B.E. (1921).
8. General Mohan Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of Maharaja Chandra Sham Sher J.B.R.), K.C.I.E. (1924).
9. *General Pratap Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of Maharaja Bir Sham Sher J.B.R.).
10. General Baber Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of Maharaja Chandra Sham Sher J.B.R.), G.B.E. (1920), K.C S.I. (1919), K.C.I.E. (1916).
11. Lieutenant-General Kaiser Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of Maharaja Chandra Sham Sher J.B.R.), K.B.E. (1924).
12. Lieutenant-General Bahadur Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of General Judha Sham Sher J.B.R.).
13. Lieutenant-General Agni Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of General Judha Sham Sher J.B.R.).
14. Lieutenant-General Singha Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of Maharaja Chandra Sham Sher J.B.R.).
15. Major-General Hari Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of General Judha Sham Sher J.B.R.).
16. Major-General Prachanda Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of General Fateh Sham Sher J.B.R.).
17. †Colonel Bhupal Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of General Fateh Sham Sher J.B.R.).
18. Major-General Krishna Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of Maharaja Chandra Sham Sher J.B.R.).
19 Lieutenant-Colonel Surya Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of General Judha Sham Sher J.B.R.).
20. Major-General Vishnu Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of Maharaja Chandra Sham Sher J.B.R.).
21. Major-General Shanker Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of Maharaja Chandra Sham Sher J.B.R.).
22. Lieutenant-Colonel Narayan Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of General Judha Sham Sher J.B.R.).
23. Major-General Madan Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of Maharaja Chandra Sham Sher J.B.R.).

Then according to seniority the sons of those who are in the Roll of Succession from their legally wedded wives with whom rice can be partaken.

At the time of Rana Udip's death the succession was as follows:

1. Rana Udip.
2. Jit Jang.
3. Padma Jang.
4. *Rana Bir Jang.

† General Fateh Sham Sher Jang Bahadur Rana was the Senior Commanding General (Western Command) in Nepal. He was the seventh son of Commander-in-Chief General Dhir Sham Sher Jang Bahadur Rana and died in the year 1907.

The abbreviation "J.B.R." against the names stands for "Jang Bahadur Rana," which goes after each name in the ruling Rana family.

5. Jŭdha Pratap Jang (grandson of Jang Bahadur, and the one legitimate child of Jagat Jang who was murdered at the same time as his father).
6. Kedar Narsingh (son of Badri Narsingh).
7. Bir Sham Sher (son of Dhir Sham Sher).
8. Ambar Jang (son of Jagat Sham Sher).
9. Dhoje Narsingh (son of Badri Narsingh, and adopted son of Rana Udip).
10. Khadga Sham Sher.
11. Bhupendra Jang (son of Jagat Sham Sher).
12. Rana Sham Sher.
13. Deva Sham Sher.
14. Chandra Sham Sher.
15. Bhim Sham Sher.
16. Fateh Sham Sher.
17. Lalit Sham Sher.
18. Jit Sham Sher.
19. *Bhairab Narsingh Bahadur.
20. *Icha (? Yaksha) Vikram (son of Bam Bahadur).

Note: The names marked with an asterisk are illegitimate. Rice cannot be partaken with them or with their families by the other members in the Roll.

APPENDIX IV

THE LAW OF ROYAL DESCENT

THE order of royal descent in Nepal is as follows:

1. The King.
2. His sons and grandsons in the same order of succession as that which prevails in Great Britain, *i.e.*, the eldest son of the King's eldest son would succeed his father or grandfather even if he happened to be born in point of time after the eldest son of the King's second son.
3. The King's brothers and their sons in the same order.
4. His wife.
5. His daughters in order of their birth and their sons.
6. The King's uncle.

APPENDIX V

DECORATIONS

THE MOST REFULGENT ORDER OF THE STAR OF NEPAL (*Instituted* 1918.)

SOVEREIGN (*with the title of Projjvala Nepal Tara Mahadhipati*).

His Majesty Maharajadhiraja Tribhubana Bir Vikram Jang Bahadur Shah Bahadur Sham Sher Jang.



ORDER OF THE STAR OF NEPAL
THIRD CLASS

GRAND MASTER (*with the title of Projjvala Nepal Tara Dheesha*).

His Highness Maharaja Chandra Sham Sher Jang Bahadur Rana, Prime Minister and Marshal.

FIRST CLASS (*with the title of Supradipta Mannyabara*).

Commander-in-Chief General Bhim Sham Sher Jang Bahadur Rana (1920).
Commanding General Judha Sham Sher Jang Bahadur Rana (1920).
Commanding General Padma Sham Sher Jang Bahadur Rana (1918).
General Tej Sham Sher Jang Bahadur Rana (1918).
General Mohan Sham Sher Jang Bahadur Rana (1920).

FIRST CLASS—continued

General Baber Sham Sher Jang Bahadur Rana, Nepal Pratap Bardhak (1918).

Lieutenant-General Kaisei Sham Sher Jang Bahadur Rana (1920).

SECOND CLASS (with the title of Pradipta Mannyabara).

Major-General Shere Sham Sher Jang Bahadur Rana (1918).



ORDER OF THE STAR OF NEPAL
FOURTH CLASS

THIRD CLASS (with the title of Mannyabara).

Colonel Ghana Vikram Rana (1918).
Lieutenant-Colonel Dambar Sham Sher Thapa (1918).
Lieutenant-Colonel Sham Sher Vikram Rana (1918).
Commanding Colonel Kumar Narsingh Rana (1920).
Guruji Hem Raj Panditju (1920).
Lieutenant-Colonel Bhairab Sham Sher Jang Bahadur Rana (1920).
Lieutenant-Colonel Gambhir Jang Thapa (1920).
Bada Kaji Marichi Man Singh (1920).

FOURTH CLASS (with the title of Mannya).

Commanding Colonel Dilli Sham Sher Thapa (1920).
Brigadier-Colonel Dala Bahadur Basnyat (1920).
Sardar Batu Krishna Maitra (1920).
Mir Subha Austaman Singh (1920).



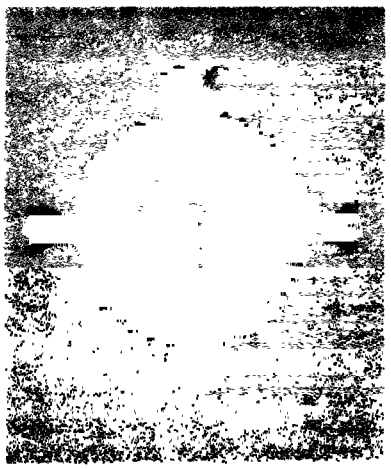
1st Class 2nd Class

ORDER OF THE STAR OF NEPAL.

The Gazette of India, 11th December 1920

The following are among the Decorations and Medals awarded by the Allied Powers at various dates to the British Forces for distinguished services rendered during the course of the campaign:

His Majesty the King-Emperor has given unrestricted permission in all cases to wear the Decorations and Medals in question.



MILITARY DECORATION

DECORATIONS CONFERRED BY HIS MAJESTY THE MAHARAJADHIRAJA OF NEPAL

Order of the Star of Nepal (2nd Class)

1. Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel (temporary Brigadier-General) William Desmond Villiers-Stuart, C.B.E., 5th Gurkha Rifles, Indian Army.
2. Major-General Nigel Gresley Woodyatt, C.B., C.I.E., Indian Army.

3rd Class

3. Major Wilfred Bertram Baker, O.B.E., 10th Gurkha Rifles, Indian Army.
4. Captain (temporary Major) William Douglas Grant Batten, 3rd Gurkha Rifles, Indian Army.
5. Captain (acting Major) Thomas Howard Battye, 10th Gurkha Rifles, Indian Army.
6. Captain William St. John Carpendale, 1st Gurkha Rifles, Indian Army.
7. Lieutenant-Colonel (acting Colonel) Thomas Howard Foulkes, C.I.E., F.R.C.S., Indian Medical Service
8. Lieutenant-Colonel John Wemyss Grant, M.B., Indian Medical Service.

9. Captain John Laurits Johanson, 7th Gurkha Rifles, Indian Army.
10. Lieutenant-Colonel William Campbell Little, 6th Gurkha Rifles, Indian Army.
11. Captain (acting Major) Alexander Sutherland Mackay, M.C., 7th Gurkha Rifles, Indian Army.
12. Major Alick Lindsay Mortimer Molesworth, 8th Gurkha Rifles, Indian Army.
13. Major William Brook Northey, M.C., 1st Gurkha Rifles, Indian Army.
14. Lieutenant-Colonel Charles McLeod Porteous, retired pay, Indian Army.
15. Captain George Gordon Rogers, 1st Gurkha Rifles, Indian Army.
16. Major Harold Middleton Drury Shaw, D.S.O., 1st Gurkha Rifles, Indian Army.

APPENDIX VI

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Old Nepali Weights[1]

1 Thick Pice	= 1 Tolâ	4 Pice . .	= 1 Kunuwâ
19 Tolâs . .	= 1 Pâo	4 Kunuwâs	= 1 Pâo
4 Pâos . .	= 1 Sur	4 Pâos . .	= 1 Sur
3 Surs . .	= 1 Dharni	3 Surs . .	= 1 Dharni

Measure of Length

3[2] or 8[1] Jows (Barley)	= 1 Angul
12 Anguls . .	= 1 Bittâ
2 Bittâs . . .	= 1 Hât
2 Hâts . . .	= 1 Gaj (Yard)
2 Gaj . . .	= 1 Dhanu or Danda
2000 Dandas . .	= 1 Kosha
4 Koshas . .	= 1 Yojan

For Measuring Cloths

3[3] Jows	= 1 Angul
3 Anguls	= 1 Giraha
4 Girahas (1 Bittâ) .	= 1 Paó
4 Paós	= 1 Gaj (Yard)
8 Girahas	= 1 Hât
2 Hâts	= 1 Gaj

[1] Different systems are in force in Nepal, and it is to be noted that while rice, wheat, maize, and other food grains are in the hills calculated by measure, they are sold by the weight in the Tarai. Originally the hill measures were based upon the capacity of a man's fingers and hands.

The weights in the Tarai used to differ according to the locality. This system presented such inconvenience that a regulation has been made fixing a common standard over the whole of the Tarai. The maund still represents different weights in India. That adopted by Nepal as official is a maund weighing somewhat more than eighty pounds. According to this, forty tolas are equal to one seer: eighty seers make one maund. In general the system of weights in use in India has been adopted along the frontier. [2] Barley arranged thus ⊂⊂⊂. [3] Barley arranged thus ()()().

For Measuring Forms of Land

8 Lines	= 1 Inch
12 Inches	= 1 Foot
3 Feet	= 1 Gaj
9 Feet and 3 Inches or 6 Hât and 4 Anguls	= 1 Janjir (Chain)
16 Square Chains	= 1 Muri [1]
4 Muris	= 1 Ropani
25 Ropanis	= 1 Kheta (Form)
4 Dâms	= 1 Paisa
4 Paisas	= 1 Anna
4 Annas	= 1 Jawâ
4 Jawâs	= 1 Ropani

Different Measures for different Kinds of Land

First-class Land.	16 Sq. Janjirs = 1 Muri
Second-class Land.	$4\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ Janjirs = 1 Muri
Third-class Land.	5×4 Janjirs = 1 Muri
Fourth-class Land.	6×4 Janjirs = 1 Muri

For Measuring House Lands

$1 \times 22\frac{1}{2}$ Hâts	= 1 Jawâ
4 Jawâs	= 1 Khâ

Measure of Time (chiefly ceremonial)

60 Bipalâ	= 1 Palâ
60 Palâs	= 1 Gharhi = 24 mins
$7\frac{1}{2}$ Gharhis	= 1 Prahara
8 Prahars or 60 Gharhis	= 1 Din (Day)
7 Dins	= 1 Saptâha
2 Saptâhas	= 1 Paksha = 15 Days
2 Pakshas	= 1 Mahina (Month)
12 Mahinas	= 1 (Year) Barsha = 365 Days

Measures of Grain

$2\frac{1}{2}$ Muthis [2]	= 1 Chowthâi
4 Chowthâis	= 1 Mânâ [3]
2 Mânâs	= 1 Kuruwâ
4 Kuruwâs	= 1 Pâthi
20 Pâthis	= 1 Muri

[1] 1 Muri is sometimes known as 1 Jawâ. [2] 1 Muthi = 1 fistful.
[3] A mânâ is approximately equal to a pint, and has now been standardized.

PAPER

10 Tâo . . = 1 Dhep
20 Dheps . . = 1 Kori

APPENDIX VII

CENSUS RETURNS

THE CENSUS FIGURES OF NEPAL FOR 1920

DISTRICT	HOUSES	POPULATION
Central		
(*a*) Inside the Valley . . .	64,440	306,909
(*b*) Outside the Valley. . .	10,361	60,101
	74,801	367,010
Western		
No. 1	38,397	165,251
No. 2	14,597	79,203
No. 3	14,976	82,160
No. 4	29,523	183,417
Palpa and Gulmi	63,615	376,900
Piuthana	21,345	122,063
Salyana	36,531	214,329
Doti	24,332	153,229
Baitadi	9,116	77,895
Dahilekha	11,789	84,173
Jumla	14,296	89,022
	278,517	1,627,642
Kaski-Lamjang		
Kaski-Lamjang	23,775	139,565
Falawang	790	4,530
Jajarkot	12,137	73,874
Bajhang	5,821	43,043
Bajura	2,483	20,220
	45,006	281,232
Totals of Western and Kaski-Lamjang Districts . . .	323,523	1,908,874

[1] A tâo is a sheet of any size.

DISTRICT	HOUSES	POPULATION
Eastern		
No. 1	39,669	213,703
No. 2	31,785	177,072
No. 3	20,699	108,106
No. 4	49,958	269,668
Dhankuta	58,784	353,062
Ilam	14,970	87,475
	215,865	1,209,086
Birganj, Bara, Parsa, Ruthat	77,065	414,657
Mahutari and Sarlahi	71,279	471,292
Suptari	62,766	377,855
Udaipur	9,032	48,913
Morang (Birat, Nagar, and Jhapa)	36,257	211,308
Khajahani and Sivaraj	19,156	122,283
Palhi Majkhand	28,644	184,581
Banki, Bardia	17,405	104,466
Kailali, Kanchanpur	4,777	46,816
Makwanpur	10,106	56,516
Kandrang	1,425	9,559
Chitawan	2,088	20,520
Sunar	351	2,728
Surkheta	3,069	17,327
	343,420	2,088,821
Total for the whole Kingdom of Nepal	957,609	5,573,791

N.B.—The figures relating to houses, given in the census of 1920, are taken from the census of 1910, as the figures of 1920 seem to be wrong.

Population of the three Great Towns

	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
Katmandu	53,313	55,492	108,805
Patan	53,621	51,307	104,928
Bhatgaon	47,308	45,868	93,176

Population according to Altitude

	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
The Hills . . .	1,553,948	1,477,934	3,031,882
The Valley . .	185,035	181,975	367,010
The Tarai . . .	1,061,059	1,114,805	2,175,864
For the whole Kingdom . .	2,800,042	2,774,714	5,574,756

N.B.—It will be noticed that the total population of Nepal thus divided into areas of altitude differs slightly from that given above, although it professes to be taken from the same census—1920.

APPENDIX VIII

RESIDENTS, ENVOYS, AND RESIDENCY AND LEGATION SURGEONS

List of Residents in Nepal

1.	Captain Knox	1802-03
2.	Lieutenant Boileau (officiating)	1816
3.	Hon. E. Gardner, E.I.C.S.	1816-29
4.	B. H. Hodgson, E.I.C.S. (officiating)	1829-31
5.	Sir H. Maddock, E.I.C.S.	1831-33
6.	B. H. Hodgson, E I.C.S.	1833-43
7.	Major H. Lawrence C.B.	1843-46
8.	Lieutenant-Colonel C. Thoresby	1846-50
9.	Hon. J. C. Erskine, I.C.S	1850-52
9a.	Dr. Oldfield (nominated Hon. Assistant to Resident)	1857-58
10.	Lieutenant-Colonel G. Ramsay	1852-67
11.	Lieutenant-Colonel R. C. Lawrence, C.B.	1865-72
12.	C. E. R. Girdlestone, I.C.S.	1872-88
13.	F. Henvey, I.C.S.	1877-78
14.	Lieutenant-Colonel E. C. Impey	1878
15.	Major F. A. Wilson	1883
16.	Colonel I. C. Berkeley	1885-86
17.	Major E. L. Durand	1888-91
18.	Major-General H. Wylie, C.S.I.	1891-99
19.	Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. C. Wyllie, C.I.E.	1898
20.	Lieutenant-Colonel A. M. Muir	1899
21.	Lieutenant-Colonel W. Loch	1899-1901
22.	Lieutenant-Colonel T. C. Pears	1901-02
23.	Lieutenant-Colonel C. W. Ravenshaw	1902-05

24.	Lieutenant-Colonel J. Manners Smith, V.C., C.V.O., C.I.E.	1905-16
25.	Lieutenant-Colonel F. W. P. Macdonald	1908-09
26.	Lieutenant-Colonel H. L. Showers, C.S.I., C.I.E.	1912-13
27.	Lieutenant-Colonel S. F. Bayley	1916-18
28.	Lieutenant-Colonel W. F. T. O'Connor, C.I.E.	1918-20

List of British Envoys at the Court of Nepal

1.	Lieutenant-Colonel R. L. Kennion, C.I.E.	1920-21
2.	Lieutenant-Colonel W. F. T. O'Connor, C.S.I., C.I.E., C.V.O.	1921-24
3.	W. H. J. Wilkinson, C.I.E., I.C.S. (officiating)	1924
4.	Lieutenant-Colonel W. F. T. O'Connor, C.S.I., C.I.E., C.V.O.	1924-25
5	W. H. J. Wilkinson, C.I.E., I.C.S.	1925 —

List of Residency Surgeons in Nepal

Dr. Oldfield	1850
Surgeon-Major Wright	1863
Surgeon-Major H. W. Bellew, C.S.I.	1876
Surgeon John Scully	1876
Surgeon Alfred J. Wall, M.D.	1878
Surgeon-Major H. Whitwell	1879
Brigade-Surgeon James Brown, M.D.	1882
Surgeon G. H. D. Gimlette, M.D.	1883
Surgeon R. Shore, M.D.	1888
Surgeon George H. Baker	1888
Surgeon R. Shore, M.D.	1890
Major P. A. Weir, M.B.	1891
Captain W. E. A. Armstrong	1894
Captain J. W. Grant, M.B.	1898
Captain W. E. A. Armstrong	1898
Captain J. M. MacLeod, M.B.	1900
Captain W. E. A. Armstrong	1901
Captain J. H. Hugo, M.B., I.M.S., D.S.O.	1902
Captain P. P. Kilkelly, M.B.	1903
Major P. Carr-White, M.B.	1904
Major H. Burden, M.B.	1907
Lieutenant-Colonel H. E. Drake Brockman	1917
Major E. Owen Thurston	1917

N.B.—Lieutenant-Colonel J. W. Grant, I.M.S., and then Major F. D. S. Fayrer, I.M.S., were posted to Nepal, but were transferred elsewhere before taking charge.

LIST OF RESIDENCY SURGEONS IN NEPAL—*continued*

After Major Thurston, the next Residency Surgeon to take charge was:	
Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel T. S. B. Williams, I.M.S.	1919
Lieutenant-Colonel R. E. Molesworth, R.A.M.C.	1920

LIST OF LEGATION SURGEONS IN NEPAL

Lieutenant-Colonel J. B. Dalzell Hunter, O.B.E., I.M.S.	1922

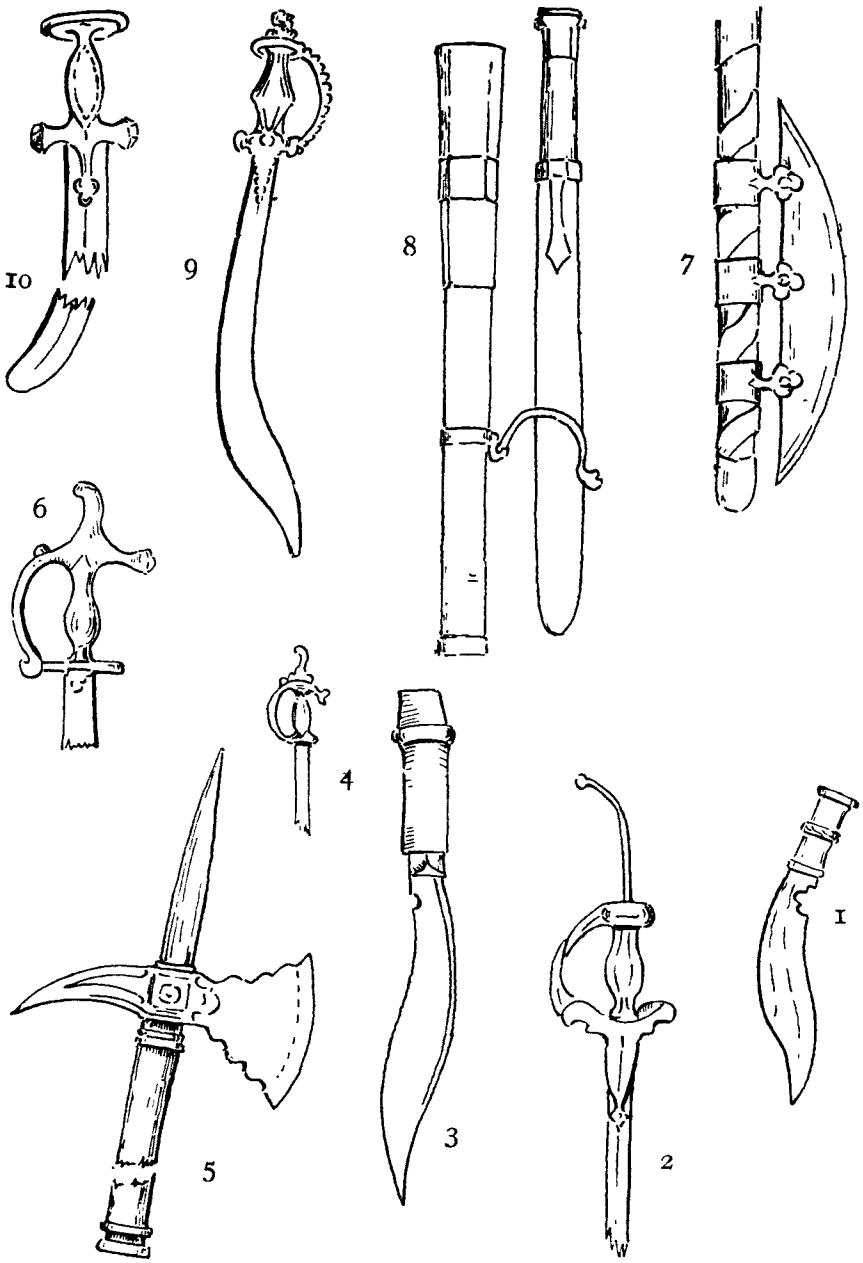
APPENDIX IX

THE ARSENAL MUSEUM

THE Museum of the Arsenal in Katmandu well repays careful study. In general it is, of course, not unlike the ornamental and historical armouries of any other country. Stars and other designs are carried out on the walls by means of swords or bayonets; the whole length of the rooms provides show cases for the display of out-of-date muskets and rifles. A room at the top, which has less of a military aspect than the others, is worth examining, if only because it indicates the intercommunication between Nepal and the royal families of Europe. Many of the things in it to-day would not satisfy the fastidious eye of a modern artist, but, one and all, they represent the taste, either of the royal donor or perhaps, in some cases, the preference of Jang Bahadur in a world of art that was wholly unknown until he made his famous visit to England in 1850.

But among these more conventional exhibits there are many that deserve very careful attention. It is interesting, for example, to note the original form of the famous Nepalese kukhri. This has a blade 10½ inches in length, and an ivory handle a shade under 5 inches (No. 3). The blade suggests clearly enough the present shape of the Nepalese kukhri, and is reputed to have been among those taken by Prithwi Narayan at his capture of Katmandu in 1769. It would be interesting to be able to decide the question whether the characteristic weapon of the Gurkhas was adapted from this Malla knife. Near by is another kukhri of exactly the modern shape. The blade is 24 inches in length, and the handle about 5 inches.

The 5 foot sword of Prithwi Narayan is also shown in the same room, together with a most curious halberd (No. 5). In ordinary use this does not differ greatly from any other halberd, though the axe is exquisitely damascened. The originality of this weapon lies in the fact that the first



EXHIBITS IN THE ARSENAL MUSEUM, KATMANDU

stroke releases three separate blades which spring instantly from the axe-head and serve as a kind of complicated bayonet. Not far off is the sword of Damodar Panre. Impressive as this is with its 4 feet 9½ inches of blade and 10¼ inches of hilt, it can scarcely have been as effective as a less pretentious weapon (No. 2). A baffling instrument stands near it. It is a sword of leaf shape with an ivory handle set round an octagonal steel mount. There is nothing in the sword itself to excite much interest, but the scabbard, which is set beside it, possesses an extraordinary appendage which may best be seen in the accompanying illustration (No. 8). It has been suggested that the curved bracket was intended to support the arm when weary with fighting. But this is hardly a sufficient explanation of a mechanism which would probably impede a swordsman more than anything else that could by any possibility be contrived. I leave it to my readers to solve the problem.

We now come to the immensely weighty chopper—it can hardly be called anything else—of Mathabar Singh, and the exquisitely tempered sword of Rana Bahadur Sah. The guardian of the Museum explained its quality by bending it clean round his own slim waist until point and hilt overlapped in front. Another sword of this date was shown to me and its excellence exhibited by the deep curve and exactly corresponding re-entrant curve which the blade at once assumed. Not far off was the heading-axe that was used in Katmandu until a comparatively late date. This is a weapon of great weight and strength, as the illustration (No. 7) will show. A curious exhibit in this Museum was that of a whale's rib 17 feet 1 inch in length.

Two relics of Jang Bahadur are kept here. One is an elephant gun made for him, as the inscription shows, by Purday, 304½ Oxford Street. It is over 6 feet long, and the bore ¾ of an inch. Near it is lying a three-barrelled rifle that had also belonged to the famous Maharaja.

Two fine Italian blades are contained in this Museum, and their presence is only to be explained by the Rajput descent of the royal family. The inscriptions upon them—with the exception of the word " patifero "—are almost illegible. One sword (No. 4) is 33⅞ inches in length and 1 inch in width. The other blade (No. 6) is 34⅛ inches in length and 1 inch in width. The beauty of the handles will be noted.

Mathabar Singh secured, while in exile in Lahore, a curious sword, apparently of Persian workmanship. The whole length of the steel—which is black in colour—is damascened in gold with figures of fifteen animals. Of Prithwi Narayan, besides the 4 foot ceremonial sword, there are in the Arsenal two interesting relics in the shape of a forward-bending sword—it can hardly be called a kukhri—of which the blade is 25 inches in length. The handle is of elaborately wrought steel (No. 9). Another treasure of the Museum is the same king's kukhri, which has overlapping waves of steel upon the blade, apparently intended to add to the weight of it (No. 1).

An interesting relic of other days, that it would perhaps be impossible to parallel elsewhere, consists of two leather guns (p. 263). It has for

long been a subject of discussion whether, as a matter of fact, the ascription of leather guns to the Tibetans was not due to some mistake of an interpreter or translator. But here in the Katmandu Museum are two specimens that must have been taken from the Tibetans in 1856. The larger is 44 inches long and 20 inches in diameter at the narrowest part. The calibre is 5 inches, and the thickness of the leather $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the muzzle. The



LEATHER GUNS

second is 32.3 inches in length and 18 inches in diameter. The calibre is $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches and the thickness of the leather at the muzzle is $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. It is commonly said of these weapons that they only survive four discharges, but it is probable that a thin tube of iron took off at least some of the force of the explosion, and it would seem unlikely that the Saddlers' Company of Tibet would have taken the trouble to fashion such cumbrous pieces for so brief a use. There, however, are the guns and, as will be seen, they have been provided with most of the extraordinary appearance of gun-metal or steel weapons. It is to be hoped, however, that the Maharaja
38 will give orders for the display of such unique and interesting relics inside

the Museum itself, and not in the little open court where they now lie exposed to sun and wind and rain. At the Arsenal are also preserved two guns captured in 1815 from the English when Captain Sibley's force was cut up at Parsah.

The oldest piece in the armoury is the sword which belonged, in 1550, to Drabya Sah, the original leader of the Gurkhas into their Nepalese fastness (No. 10). I made a careful attempt to copy, both by eye and by rubbing, the inscription upon this historic blade, which is 32 inches in length. I cannot pretend that the result is satisfactory, as time had eaten so seriously into the metal and I could find no one who was able to reconstruct the original lettering.

But the relics and treasures of the Museum are not exhausted even so. An Englishman will probably receive a start when he is shown into a long narrow room, along the centre of which are ranged seven regimental colours, all of which are those of regiments belonging to the forces of the East India Company. It may be said at once that these represent—though in 1815 the successes of the Gurkhas might well have led to the capture of two or three British flags—only the victories of the Nepalese troops against the rebel regiments of 1857. It will be remembered that, as soon as the forces of Nana Sahib and the half-imbecile Emperor at Delhi realized that the day was lost, thousands of them attempted to escape to the nearest neutral territory, which was Nepal. The Nepalese, now thoroughly stirred by the stories of the brutalities committed by Nana Sahib, set themselves to prevent, by all means in their power, these fugitives from reaching their own frontier, and the flags in the Katmandu Arsenal are a tribute to the thoroughness with which they cut off and annihilated the flying rebel regiments.

It is perhaps a curious thing that the mutinous battalions should have wished to preserve the colours which stood for nothing except loyalty to the Queen. But, whatever the reason, it is certain that, even in their fights against our own forces they still exhibited these symbols of their forgotten loyalty. Those that were captured by the Nepalese show every sign of having been kept with scrupulous care, though in one instance (No. 7) an extensive restoration has been made.

The following valuable notes may help to explain the rough sketches that I was able to make. I am indebted for them to Lieutenant-General Sir John S. M. Shea, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., Adjutant-General in India, and to Colonel J. Loch.

Taking them in the order in which they are displayed in the Museum the colours are as follows:

(1) *8th Oude Irregular Force.*

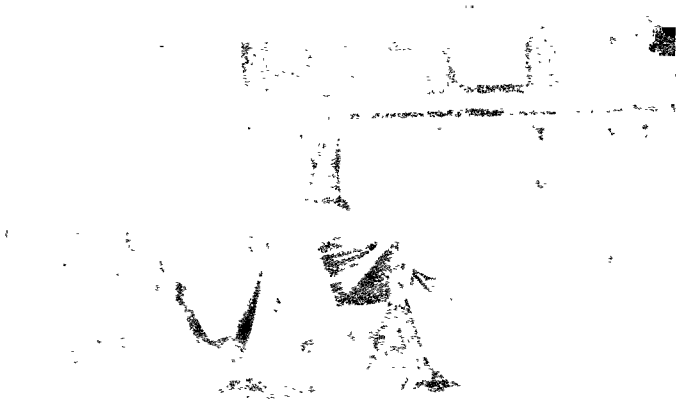
This is a white flag—like other colours of British origin—of rectangular shape. In the upper left-hand corner there is a canton of the Union Jack. In the centre of the flag is a wreath enclosing the arms of the Honourable East India Company. Within the wreath are the words, " Oude Irregular Infantry," and above the wreath the number " VIIIth."

" The battalion was formed in 1856 after the annexation of Oudh. It mutinied at Sultanpur in 1857 " (*Bengal Army List*, 1857, pp. 198 (c) and 313).

(2). *3rd Regiment of Native Infantry.*

This is a yellow flag with the Union Jack cantoned as before. The arms of the Honourable East India Company are encircled by a wreath, above which are the words, " Buxar Reg. Native Inf." Below are the honours: " Guzerat, Punjaub," given " For services performed in the West of India."

" The only battalion traceable with all three honours. Buxar, Guzerat,



COLOURS CAPTURED FROM MUTINEERS 1857-8

Punjaub, is the 3rd Regiment of Native Infantry. Formed in 1763 from independent companies, and called the 10th Regiment. The number was afterwards changed to 1st Battn. 6th Infantry. In 1824 this battalion was given the number 3rd Native Infantry. The 3rd Native Infantry mutinied in Phillour and Ludhiana in 1857 " (*The Services of the Bengal Native Army*, pp. 18 and 143: *Bengal Army List*, 1857, pp. 113 and 313).

(3 and 4). *Scindia's 5th Regiment of Infantry.*

No. 3 is a white flag cantoned with the Union Jack. In the middle is a wreath containing the words, " Regiment V Infantry." Above the wreath is the word, " Scindia's," and below the wreath is the word " Contingent."

No. 4 is the most curious of all the flags shown here. Heraldically it could be blazoned thus: Per saltire gules azure gules and argent; a saltire

of the last fimbriated sable. Over all on a canton of pretence of the third, the words " Regiment V Infantry " within a wreath or between. In chief, the word " Scindia's," and in base the word " Contingent." Whether this is intended to represent the Union Jack or not must be left to the reader's decision, but it forms as curious an aberration of regimental heraldry as exists to-day.

" No. 3 is probably the colour granted when taken over for the Honourable East India Company's service.

" No. 4 is probably the colour granted by Scindia when in his service.

" They mutinied at Augur in 1857." (*Bengal Army List*, 1857, pp. 201, 202, and 313.)

(5 and 6). *48th Regiment of Native Infantry.*

No. 5 is a square or nearly square Union Jack, bearing in the centre a square plaque with the words:

1803	Ghuznee	XLVIII
Afghanistan	Moodkee	Alliwal
	Ferozeshuhur.	

(*The Queen's Colour.*)

No. 6 is a yellow flag cantoned with the Union Jack; within a wreath the same wording as that of the previous flag.

(*The Regimental Colour.*)

" This regiment was raised in 1804 from levies, under the name of the 2/24 N.I.; re-numbered the 48th Native Infantry in 1824. Mutinied at Lucknow in 1857 " (*Bengal Army List*, 1857, pp. 158 and 313; *The Services of the Bengal Native Army*, p. 93).

(7).

This is a plain green flag, cantoned with the Union Jack. It is clear that in this case, though no doubt the green colour has been maintained, the silk itself has been restored by the captors. The colour is not that used by regiments with green facings, nor is the quality of the silk the same as that used by the Regular and Irregular forces of the East India Company. It is impossible now to make sure of the original honours of the flag, as there is no wording of any kind upon it.

" This colour is not traceable from the information given.

" Twenty battalions of the old Bengal Army had green facings, and therefore green colours; viz :

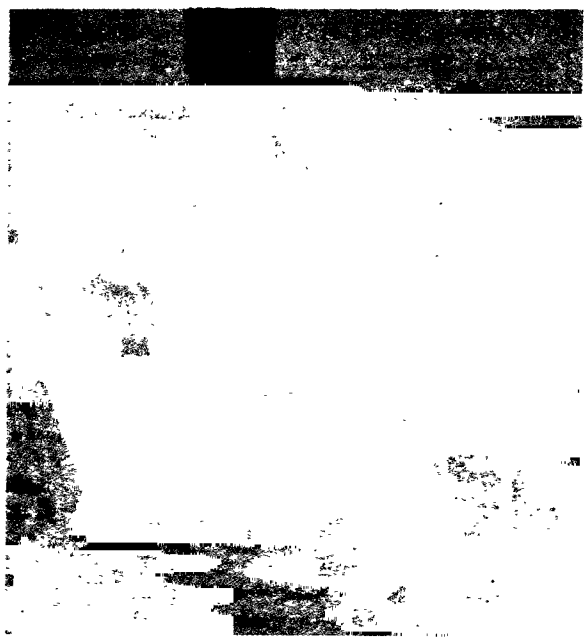
" 6th, 7th, 10th, 13th, 23rd, 28th, 29th, 38th, 39th, 45th, 46th, 51st, 52nd, 9th Mhairwarrah battalion, 3rd Hill Rangers, and the Regiment of Ludhiana Sikhs, all dark green.

" 43rd and 44th N.I., pea green.

" 59th and 60th N.I., Saxon green.

" Of these there is no record of the 9th Mhairwarrah battalion or the 3rd Hill Rangers mutinying or being disbanded. The 39th, 43rd, 44th, and

59th N.I. were disarmed and did not mutiny; it is unlikely therefore that the colours belonged to any of these units. The remaining units mutinied in the places given below. It seems probable that the colours belonged to one of those that mutinied not far from the Nepalese border.



THE EARLIEST FLAG OF NEPAL

6th N.I.	Allahabad and Futtehpur
7th ,, ...	Dinapore
10th ,, ...	Futtehgurh
13th ,, ...	Lucknow
23rd ,, ...	Mhow
28th ,, ...	Shahjehanpore
29th ,, ...	Moradabad
38th ,, ...	Delhi
45th ,, ...	Ferozepore
46th ,, ...	Sialkote
51st ,, ...	Peshawar
52nd ,, ...	Jubbulpore
60th ,, ...	Rohtuck
Ludhiana Sikhs	Benares and Juanpore."

(*Bengal Army List*, 1857, p. 313.)

the next room are three trophies of a different kind. One is a dragon

flag, probably taken from a Chinese regiment in 1789. The second has two rose-coloured triangles with an indented circle which may serve to represent either the sun or the moon. The third is the original flag borne by Nepal (see p. 267). On a yellow ground a representation of Hanuman is displayed.

APPENDIX X

PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS IN NEPAL

THE pillar at Rummindei, the situation and discovery of which has already been described, bears the following inscription of which, by the courtesy of the Oxford University Press, I am able to reproduce not only the facsimile on page 270, but a translation.

THE RUMMINDEI PILLAR

1 (A) देवानपियेन पियदसिन लाजिन वीसतिवसाभिसितेन
2 अतन आगाच महीयिते हिद बुधे जाते सक्यमुनी ति
3 (B) सिला विगडभी चा कालापित सिलाथभे च उसपापिते
4 हिद भगवं जाते ति (C) लुंमिनिगामे उबलिके कटे
5 अठभागिये च

1 (A) Devāna[pi]yena Piyadasina lājina vīsati-vasābhisitena
2 atana āgācha mahīyite hida Budhe jāte Sakyamunī ti
3 (B) silā vigadabhī chā kālāpita silā-thabhe cha usapāpite
4 hida Bhagavaṁ jāte ti (C) Lummini-gāme ubalike kaṭe
5 atha-bhāgiye cha

Translation

(A) When king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed twenty years, he came himself and worshipped [this spot], because the Buddha Sākyamuni was born here.

(B) [He] both caused to be made a stone bearing a horse [?] and caused a stone pillar to be set up (in order to show) that the Blessed one was born here.

(C) [He] made the village of Lummini free of taxes, and paying [only] an eighth share [of the produce].

No less an authority than the late Mr. Vincent A. Smith gives a slightly different translation, of which the important variation is that he regards the words " sila vigadabhi cha " as indicating " a great railing of stone."

To anyone who has a personal acquaintance with the site, the absence of this railing is not conclusive against this rendering.

The Oxford interpretation admits that the translation of " bearing a horse " still needs some definite proof that " vigada " meant a horse. It may be said that the division of the two last quoted words is the point over which discussion still centres. Charpentier divides them in the form which has been given, and it is clear that in that form one has to seek for some almost certainly animal interpretation of " vigada." The pillars of Asoka were crowned by representations of animals. Of those that remain the most famous are: The four-lion capital at Sarnath; the four-lion capital at Sanchi; the single-lion capital at Lauriya; the lion capital at Rampurwa; the bull pillar at the same place. It would be interesting to discover the much battered stone which I saw in the courtyard of the shrine in 1908 in close proximity to the Persian capital, as this might decide once for all whether Asoka's pillar here was or was not surmounted by a horse.

Another difference is that Mr. Smith interprets the grant with which this inscription closes as " free of religious cesses and declared entitled to the eighth share [of the produce claimed by the Crown]." The Oxford editor agrees with Thomas (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1914, pp. 391 f.) in believing that " bhagiya " must mean " pay a share " and not, as Smith and Fleet thought, " entitled to a share." It is impossible to guess what Asoka himself actually intended, and the author of the Oxford book satirically remarks that in the case of the village of Lummini, bureaucracy prevailed against charity.

Nagali Sagar Inscription

This, the only other known inscription set up by Asoka in Nepal, also reproduced on page 270, is as follows:

The Nagali Sagar Pillar

1 (A) देवानंपियेन पियदसिन लाजिन चोदसवसाभिसितेन
2 बुधस कोनाकमनस थुबे दुतियं वढिते
3 (B) साभिसितेन च अतन आगाच महीयिते
4 पापिते

1 (A) Devānaṁpiyena Piyadasina lājina chodasa-vasā[bh]i[si]t[e]n[a]
2 Budhasa Konākamanasa thube dutiyaṁ vadhite
3 (B) sābhisitena cha atana āgācha mahīyite
4 pāpite

Translation

(A) When king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed fourteen years, he enlarged the *Stūpa* of the Buddha Kōnāgamana to the double [of its original size].

RUMMINDEI

NAGALI SAGAR

(B) And when he had been anointed [twenty] years, he came himself and worshipped (this spot) [and] caused [a stone pillar to be set up].

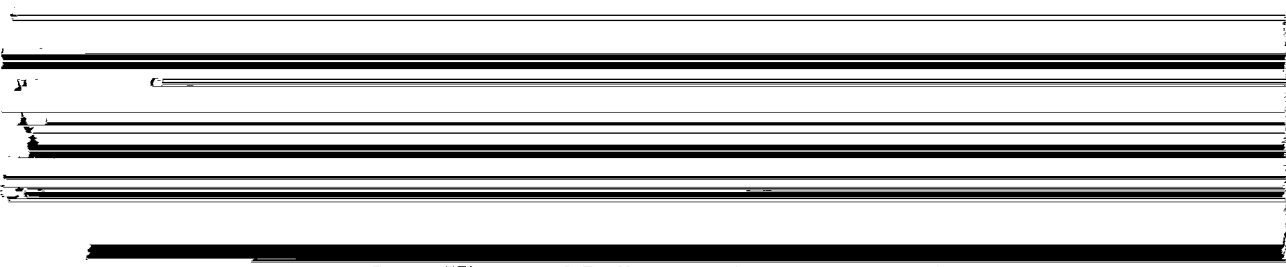
Here again Mr. Smith is in slight disagreement with the Oxford translation. In his opinion " dutiyam " meant that Asoka, six years before the erection of the pillar, enlarged " for the second time " the stupa of Buddha Konakamana. The Oxford interpretation seems unquestionably superior in view of similar expressions in the inscription at Sahasram.

These are the only two inscriptions by Asoka in the present limits of Nepal, but it is extremely probable that careful research, carried out by qualified archaeological experts, may discover several more. The more likely places are at the hitherto unidentified stupa of the Buddha Kasyapa. Mr. Smith makes the sensible note that the probable reason why Hsüan Tsang ignores the many inscriptions of Asoka that were scattered through the present territories of India and Nepal, was that nine centuries after the execution of the inscriptions, nobody could read them.

APPENDIX XI

SOME OF THE MORE IMPORTANT BOOKS AND ARTICLES ON NEPAL (IN ORDER OF DATE)

KIRKPATRICK (W. J.). Account of the Kingdom of Nepal. 1811.
HAMILTON (F.). Account of the Kingdom of Nepal. 1819.
FRASER (J. B.). Journal of a tour through part of the snowy range of the Himalaya Mountains. 1820.
HODGSON (B. H.). On the administration of Justice in Nepal (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xx, part 1, 1836).
HODGSON (B. H.). Comparative Vocabulary of the languages of the tribes of Nepal in his *Miscellaneous Essays on Indian Subjects.*
HODGSON (B. H.). Some account of the systems of law and police as recognized in Nepal (*Miscellaneous Essays on Indian Subjects*).
EGERTON (F.). Journal of a winter's tour in India with a visit to the Court of Nepal. 1852, 2 vols.
Nepal in *Blackwood's Magazine*, vol. lxxii (1852).
HODGSON (B. H.). Essays on the languages of Nepal and Tibet. 1874.



WHEELER (J. T.). Short History of India and of the other frontier states of Afghanestan, Nepal, and Burma. 1880.
OLDFIELD (H. A.). Sketches from Nipal historical and descriptive, with anecdotes of Court Life, and Wild Sports of the country . . . to which is added an essay on Nipalese Buddhism. 1880, 2 vols.

HUNTER (SIR W. W.). Life of B. H. Hodgson, British Resident at the Court of Nepal. London, 1896.
QUIN (E. W.). Sport in Nepal (*Nineteenth Century*, vol. xxvi, 1899, p. 60).
BALLANTINE (H.). On India's frontier or Nepal. The Gurkhas' Mysterious Land. 1896.
UDDHAVA SIMHA The Gurkha Conquest of Arki. Punjab Printing Works, Lahore, 1903.
LEVI (S.). Le Népal, Étude Historique, 1905, Paris Musée Guimet Annales. Bibliothèque d'Études.
LANDOR (A. H. S.). Tibet and Nepal painted and described. London, 1905.
VANSITTART (E.). Gurkhas. Government Printing Office, 1906.
BROWN (P.). Picturesque Nepal. A. and C. Black, 1912.
MASSIEU (I.). Nepal et Pays himalayens. 1914.

APPENDIX XII

CATALOGUE OF PAPERS BY B. H. HODGSON ON MAMMALS AND BIRDS

Taken from the Royal Society Catalogue of Scientific papers

1. Account of the Chiru, or Unicorn of the Himalaya Mountains (Pantholops Hodgsoni). Tilloch, *Phil. Mag.*, vol. lxviii (1826), pp. 232-234. *Edinb. Journ. Sci.*, vol. vii (1827), pp. 163, 164. Ferussac, *Bull. Sci. Nat.*, vol. xv (1828), p. 141. Froriep, *Notizen*, vol. xv (1826), pp. 274-276.
2. Sur la Portée du Rhinoceros. Ferussac, *Bull. Sci. Nat.*, vol. vii (1826), pp. 436, 437. Froriep, *Notizen*, vol. xiv (1826), col. 55, 56.
3. On the Growth and Habits of a Young Rhinoceros. *Edinb. Journ. Sci.*, vol. vii (1827), pp. 165, 166.
4. On a New Species of Buceros (B. Nepalensis). *Gleanings in Science* vol. i (1829), pp. 249-252.
5. On the Chiru, or Antilope Hodgsonii, Abel. *Gleanings in Science*, vol. ii (1830), pp. 348-351.
6. On the Bubaline Antelope (Antilope Thar). *Gleanings in Science*, vol. iii (1831), pp. 122, 123, 327.
7. Some Account of a New Species of Felis (F. Moormensis). *Gleanings in Science*, vol. iii (1831), pp. 177, 178.
8. On some of the Scolopacidae of Nepal. *Gleanings in Science*, vol. iii (1831), pp. 233-243.
9. Contributions in Natural History (the Musk Deer and Cervus jarai). *Gleanings in Science*, vol. iii (1831), pp. 320-324.
10. Description and Characters of the Chiru Antelope (Antilope Hodgsonii, Abel). *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, vol. i (1831), pp. 52-54.

11. Note relative to the Account of the Jarai. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. i (1832), pp. 66, 67.
12. Further Illustrations of the Antilope Hodgsonii, Abel. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. i (1832), pp. 59-63; *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, vol. i (1833), pp. 110, 111.
13. On the Mammalia of Nepal. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. i (1832), pp. 335-348.
14. Characters and Descriptions of New Species of Mammalia and Birds from Nepal (Felis Moormensis, Antilope bubalina, Buceros Nepalensis). *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, vol. ii (1832), pp. 10-16; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xviii (1833), pp. 178-186.
15. On a New Species of Buceros (B. Nepalensis), Dhanesa, Ind. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xviii (1833), pp. 178-186.
16. On a Species of Aquila (circaetus) and Dicrurus. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xviii (1833), pt. 2, pp. 13-26.
17. On the Migration of the Natatores and Grallatores, as observed at Katmandu. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xviii (1838), pt. 2, pp. 122-128.
18. The Wild Goat (Capra Jharai) and the Wild Sheep (Ovis Nayaur) of Nepal. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xviii (1833), pt. 2, pp. 129-138.
19. On the Ratwa Deer of Nepal (Cervus Ratwa). *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xviii (1833), pt. 2, pp. 139-149.
20. Description of the Buceros Homrai of the Himalaya; with Anatomical Observations by Dr. M. T. Bramley. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xviii (1833), pt. 2, pp. 168-188.
21. Characters of a New Species of Perdix (P. Lerwa). *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, vol. i (1833), p. 107.
22. Description of the Wild Dog of the Himalaya (Canis primaevus). *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xviii (1833), pt. 2, pp. 221-237.
23. Description and Characters of the Wild Dog of Nepal (Canis primaevus). *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, vol. i (1833), pp. 111, 112.
24. Note on the Chiru Antelope (Gazella Hodgsoni, Abel). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. i, pp. 59, 66; vol. iii, p. 138.
25. Letter on the Distinction between the Ghoral (Antilope goral, Hardw.) and Thar (Antilope Thar, Hodgs.). *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, vol. ii (1834), pp. 85-87. Oken, *Isis*, 1835, col. 1039.
26. On the Mammalia of Nepal. *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, vol. ii (1834), pp. 95-99.
27. On the Characters of the Jharal (Capra Jharal, Hodgs.), and of the Nahoor (Ovis Nahoor, Hodgs.), with Observations on the Distinction between the Genera Capra and Ovis. *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, vol. ii (1834), pp. 106-110. Froriep, *Notizen*, vol. xliv (1835), col 129-134. *L'Institut*, vol. iii (1835), pp. 121-123.
28. Description of the Bearded Vulture of the Himalaya (Gypaetos [Vultur] barbatus). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. iv (1835), pp. 454-457. *Bibl. Univ.*, vol. viii (1837), p. 212.
29. Red-billed Erolia. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. iv (1835), pp. 458-461.
30. Synopsis of the Thar and Ghoral Antelopes. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. iv (1835), pp. 487-489.

31. On the Wild Goat and Wild Sheep of the Himalaya, with Remarks on the Genera Capra and Ovis. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. iv (1835), pp. 490-494, 710. *Ann. Sci. Nat.*, vol. v (Zool.) (1836), pp. 299, 300.
32 Specific Description of a New Species of Cervus (C. elephoides). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. iv (1835), pp. 648, 649; vol. v (1836), pp. 240-242.
33. Synopsis of the Vespertilionidae of Nepal. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. iv (1835), pp. 699, 700.
34. Note on the Red-billed Erolia, or Clorhynchus strophiatus. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. iv (1835), p. 701.
35. Description of the Little Musteline Animal (Putorices Kathiah) denominated Kathiah Nyul in the Catalogue of the Nepalese Mammalia. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. iv (1835), pp. 702, 703. With Postscript to the Account of the Wild Goat of Nepal. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. iv (1835), p. 710.
36 Indication of a New Genus of the Carnivora (Ursitaxus inauritus), with Description of the Species on which it is founded. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xix (1836), pp. 60-69
37. Description of the Three New Species of Paradoxurus (P. hirsutus, P. Nepalensis, P. lanigerus). *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xix (1836), pp. 72-87.
38. Notices of the Ornithology of Nepal. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xix (1836), pp. 143-192.
39. Description of a New Species of Columba (C. Nepalensis). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. v (1836), pp. 122, 123.
40. Summary Description of some New Species of Falconidae. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. v (1836), pp. 227-230.
41. Synoptical Description of Sundry New Animals enumerated in the Catalogue of Nepalese Mammals. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. v (1836), pp. 231-238.
42. Notes on the Cervus Duvaucelii, Cuvier, or C. elaphoides and Bahraiya, Hodgs. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. v (1836), pp. 240-242. *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, vol. iv (1836), pp. 46, 47.
43. Description of Two New Species belonging to a New Form of the Meruline Group of Birds, with Indication of their Generic Character (Cochoa purpurea, C. viridis). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. v (1836), pp. 358, 359.
44. On a New Genus and Species of the Meropidae (Bucia Nepalensis). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. v (1836), pp. 360, 361.
45. On a New Piscatory Genus of the Strigine Family (Cultrungus flavipes). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. v (1836), pp. 363, 364.
46. Postscript to the Account of Ursitaxus (Meles Labradorius) printed in the xixth vol. of the *Asiatic Researches*. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. v (1836), p. 671.
47. Note on Zoological Nomenclature. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. v (1836), pp. 751, 752.

48. Additions to the Ornithology of Nepal. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. v (1836), pp. 770-774.
49. On some of the Scolopacidae of Nepal. *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, vol. iv (1836), pp. 7, 8
50. On the Lachrymal Sinus in Antilope Thar and Cervus Aristotelis. *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, vol. iv (1836), pp. 39, 40.
51. On Seven New Species of Vespertilionidae observed in the Central Region of Nepal. *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, vol. iv (1836), p. 46.
52. On Three New Genera or Sub-genera of Long-legged Thrushes (Tesia, *nobis*, Larvivora, Paludicola), with Descriptions of their Species. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. vi (1837), pp. 101-103.
53. Description of Three New Species of Woodpecker (Picus aultaneus, Vivia Nepalensis, Picus pyrrhotis) and of Malacolophus melanochrysos. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. vi (1837), pp. 104-109.
54. Indication of a New Genus of Insessorial Birds (Cutia). *Journ. Asiat Soc. Beng.*, vol. vi (1837), pp. 110-112.
55. On a New Genus of the Sylviadae, with Description of Three New Species (Yuhina gularis, Y. occipitalis, Y. flavicollis). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. vi (1837), pp. 230-232.
56. On some New Genera of Raptores, with Remarks on the Old Genera. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. vi (1837), pp. 361-373.
57. New Species of Scolopacidae (Indian Snipes). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. vi (1837), p. 489.
58. Description of the Gauri Gau of the Nepal Forest (Bibos subhemachalus). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. vi (1837), p. 499 Wiegmann, *Archiv*, vol. vi (1840), pp. 263-267.
59. On a New Genus of the Plantigrades (Urva cancrivora), with an Appendix by A. Campbell. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. vi (1837), pp. 560-565.
60. On the Bibos, Gauri Gau, or Gaurika Gau of the Indian Forests (Bibos cavifrons, B. classicus, B. Aristotelis). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. vi (1837), pp. 745-749.
61. Indication of a New Genus belonging to the Strigine Family, with Description of the New Species and Type. *Madras Journ.*, vol. v (1837), pp. 23-26.
62. On Two New Genera of Rasorial Birds (Lerva, Arborophila). *Madras Journ.*, vol. v (1837), pp. 300-306.
63. On the Structure and Habits of the Elanus melanopterus. *Madras Journ.*, vol. vi (1837), pp. 75-78.
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APPENDIX XIII

FAUNA OF NEPAL

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INTRODUCTION

No account of the natural history of Nepal would be complete which did not mention Brian Houghton Hodgson, to whose labours we are indebted for almost all that is known, even to the present day, of the natural history of this wonderful country.

Hodgson was appointed Assistant Resident in Nepal in 1822; in 1833 he succeeded Sir Herbert Maddock as Resident and continued as such till 1843. After a year of retirement he returned to India in 1845. It was his intention to return to Nepal, but as the necessary permission for his residence in the State in a private capacity was not forthcoming, he lived at Darjiling in the neighbouring province of Sikkim, a country closely resembling Nepal in its climate, physical character, and its animal and plant life. After fifteen years' residence in Darjiling, Hodgson left India for good in 1858 and passed away on the 23rd May 1894 in his ninety-fifth year.

Hodgson's vast collections of specimens, his drawings and manuscripts, have been distributed among the great libraries and museums of England and the Continent. In addition to the specimens which he presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Museum of the East India Company, and other public institutions between the years 1827 and 1843, he made two magnificent donations to the British Museum. The two collections placed at the disposal of the Museum, from which it made its selections, included 9,512 specimens of birds, 903 of mammals, and 84 reptiles.

The available literature on the mammalia of Nepal is indeed comprised mainly of Hodgson's writings. His observations on the mammals of this country and of the neighbouring province of Sikkim laid the foundation of
40 Himalayan mammology. Between the years 1830 and 1843 Hodgson

contributed no less than eighty papers on mammals to scientific bodies, mainly to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; these observations include descriptions of thirty-nine new genera and species discovered by him. But though Hodgson's researches and collections are described as having "laid the foundations of Himalayan Mammology," the proper



L. Stave-Canziani] [*Nat. Portrait Gallery*

SIR BRIAN HOUGHTON HODGSON, F.R.S.

study of this material has been handicapped from the imperfect labelling of his specimens, so that a modern collection from the State of Nepal remained for many years a great desideratum.

The Bombay Natural History Society had between the years 1912 and 1924 conducted a survey of the mammals of India, Burma, and Ceylon, and although collections had been obtained from the neighbouring provinces

of Kumaon and Sikkim, the much desired opportunity of making a collection within the State of Nepal was not forthcoming until, in 1921, thanks to the kindness of the Prime Minister of Nepal, permission was accorded to the Society to send Mr. N. A. Baptista, a trained Indian collector, into Nepal for the purpose of making a systematic collection of mammals from within the borders of the State. Baptista collected in Nepal during 1921-22 and again between 1922 and 1923. The entire material thus obtained was forwarded to the British Museum, and as a result a complete list of the mammals of Nepal, which includes species recorded by Hodgson, was published by Messrs. M. A. C. Hinton and T. B. Fry in the Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society (vol. xxix, p. 399), while a supplementary report by Mr. Fry appeared in a subsequent issue (vol. xxx, no. 3).

Hodgson's greatest contribution to zoology is to be found, however, not in the department of mammals, but rather in the domain of bird life. During his residence at Katmandu he was able to record the occurrence of no less than 563 different species of birds in the State of Nepal; of these quite 150 species were new to the avifauna of the Indian Empire.

Hodgson at one time contemplated publishing a work on the vertebrate fauna of Nepal, but this did not materialize, and the drawings, prepared by native artists under his supervision, were presented to the British Museum and the Zoological Society of London. The originals, consisting of 1,241 illustrations of birds and 567 of mammals, went to the Zoological Society, while 2,000 folio sheets, mostly copies, he handed over to the British Museum.

Subsequent to Hodgson further contributions to the ornithology of the State were made by John Scully, whose writings on the fauna of Nepal include a list of birds observed by him in Nepal during his two years of residence in the State (*Stray Feathers*, vol. viii, 1879). His notes have been a great assistance in compiling the present list of Nepalese birds. Mr. Herbert Stevens' Notes on the Birds of the Sikkim Himalayas, published in the Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society (vols. xxix and xxx), were also instrumental in supplying information on the occurrence and altitudinal distribution of species which occur in the eastern limits of Nepal. Finally the collection of birds made in Nepal by Col. R. L. Kennion, C.I.E., F.Z.S., and the Society's collector, Baptista, in Nepal, during the years 1920 and 1921, which were examined and identified at the British Museum, were of value in confirming the status and distribution of a large number of species.

The catalogue of the Hodgson collection published by the British Museum in 1863 (second edition) mentions thirty-three species of reptiles. The species recorded as occurring within the State must form a very small proportion of the reptiles which actually occur, and in the present list we have indicated the species which, from their general geographical distribution, are likely to inhabit the country.

It should be noted, however, that, at the time when the catalogues of Hodgson's Nepal collections were compiled, insufficient attention was paid to the recording of the locality from which a specimen was obtained, and,

as a result, a certain number of mammals, birds, and reptiles, obtained by Hodgson in Bihar and Sikkim, were included in the catalogues of his collections from Nepal.

Further it should be noted that these lists of specimens collected in Nepal and also subsequent collections refer mainly to the Valley of Katmandu, Eastern Nepal and the Tarai, and practically nothing is known of the zoology of Central and Western Nepal.

To the naturalist Nepal, with its wonderful variety of climate and vegetation, is one of the most interesting countries in the world, for not only does its fauna vary with the wide range of altitude of its mountains, but it also varies strikingly as one proceeds from East to West.

The central position of Nepal in the Great Himalayan Chain makes it the meeting-ground of East and West Himalayan races, so that, without actual examination and comparison, it is impossible to assign correctly the race to which a given species belongs; in the accompanying list the racial status of the various species has been omitted except in instances where these have been verified.

In treating of its natural productions Hodgson found it convenient to divide the country into three zones or regions:

1. The Lower region includes the plains, the Tarai, and the forest-clad slopes of the lower hills up to an altitude of 4,000 feet.
2. The Central region comprises the high-lying valleys and central ranges of mountains from 4,000 to 10,000 feet.
3. The Northern or Alpine region contains the main Himalayan Chain towering from 10,000 to 29,000 feet.

These three zones support in general a fauna which is characteristic of three distinct zoo-geographical regions—the lowest is Cis-gangetic or Indian, the central is Trans-Gangetic or Himalayan, while the northern is mainly Palaearctic.

Hodgson's " lower region " consists of a strip of land some twenty to thirty miles wide forming the southern boundary of the State. It is composed partly of open flat country and partly of forest-covered hills and valleys. The richly cultivated plains of Nepal, which extend from the southern frontier of the State for about ten miles inland, are succeeded by a strip of low-lying land, which borders the forest and the foothills. This strip is the true Tarai, which, particularly in the Eastern portions of the State, is composed of swampy tracts, overrun with tall grass and rank vegetation. Beyond the Tarai the forest—the " *Jhari* " or " *Bhavar* " of the Nepalese—rises abruptly and stretches from east to west. It is composed mainly of Sal trees (*Shorea robusta*) intermingled with *Simal* (Silk Cotton, *Bombax malabaricum*) with a comparatively slight undergrowth of grass and scrub. This forest covers the slopes of the Siwaliks—the sandstone range bordering the northern margin of the Tarai—and clothes the great sub-Himalayan valleys—the " duns," which lie beyond. Its climate is similar to that of the Indian plains with some increase of heat and a great excess of moisture. The fauna and flora it supports is similar in

character to that which is to be found in the main Indian region. The Mammals which inhabit it are practically the same as those found in Bengal. Among the larger animals Elephant, Rhinoceros, and Sambhar are characteristic. With these occur Buffalo, Chital, Hog Deer and Swamp Deer; in the hills the Indian Bison or Gaur replaces the Buffalo, and the characteristic swamp-living animals of the Tarai are of course absent.

The Bird life of this region is much the same as that found in the more humid forests of the Malabar Coast and Assam. It is rich in characteristic forms such as Hornbills, Barbets, Fruit Pigeons, Bulbuls, and Woodpeckers. In the cultivated area and on the edge of the forest some of the more common birds of the Indian plains are to be found, whilst many wading birds and water fowl spend the winter amongst its streams and marshes. A favourite haunt of these birds is a small but deep lake within the forest two or three miles west of Bichako, which Scully found tenanted during winter by great numbers of swimming birds. The cold season also occasions the migration to the lower region of many species which breed in the mountains and descend to the lower hills and plains for the winter.

The Reptiles include several species of lizards and snakes which are common in the main peninsula.

The central region is described as a "clusterous succession of mountains varying in elevation from 4,000-10,000 feet with a temperature from 10-20 degrees lower than the plains." It includes the Mahabharat range which rises to 8,000 feet to form a continuous barrier stretching across the country from east to west. At intervals this mountain wall is pierced by the gorges of transverse rivers. Between the Mahabharat range and the main Himalayan chain lies the great populous valley in which Katmandu, the capital of Nepal, is situated. The Valley is the best known part of the State. The fauna of the central zone is characteristically Himalayan. Many of the species occurring in this region, if not peculiar to Nepal, are at least peculiar to the State and neighbouring Himalayan provinces. The fauna is marked by the absence of characteristically Indian animals and by the presence of such forms as Ferrets, Badgers, Racoons, Crestless Porcupines, etc., which do not occur in the Indian peninsula, while whole genera of birds, such as *Yuhina*, *Siva*, *Minla*, *Ixulus*, etc., are nearly, if not quite, restricted to this region. During migration many of the wading and swimming birds remain in the central Valley for short periods during their passage to and from the Indian plains. The majority of reptiles occurring in this zone are of purely Himalayan species.

Hodgson's northern region commences on the inner hills at about 11,000 feet and has nothing tropical about it except perhaps the succession of seasons. Within the zone the forest is principally composed of Coniferae, Scrubby Rhododendrons, etc., and it is not until we get above the tree level —about 12,000-13,000 feet—that any open country is found. In this region the fauna gradually changes, the oriental forms disappearing and being replaced by Palaearctic types. Among the characteristic larger animals are the Yak, Bharal, Ibex, and Tahr. The pine forests contain many species of Warblers, Tits, and Finches which breed here, but the

various species of Laughing Thrushes which form so marked a feature of the bird life of the lower regions are conspicuous by their absence. In Eastern Nepal, however, the Black-faced Laughing Thrush (*T. affinis*) is found right up to the snow line. Above the tree limit birds become scarce. The kinds more commonly met with are Accentors, Ravens, Dippers, Wall-creepers and, that most beautiful of Alpine birds, Hodgson's Grandala (*G. coelicolor*). The little Nepalese Wren (*T. nepalensis*) is found among the rocky cracks above 12,000 feet and flocks of Snow Pigeon (*C. leuconota*) are not uncommon. Monals, Tragopans, Blood and Cheer Pheasants, and Snow Cock occur within the zone.[1]

MAMMALS

PRIMATES

Three species of monkeys occur in Nepal. The Rhesus (*Macaca mulata*), the Assam Maccac (*Macaca assamensis*), and the Himalayan Langur (*Semnopithecus schistaccus*). The Rhesus is the common monkey of the Tarai and the lower hills and occurs also in the central Valley. Large flocks of them are seen in the neighbourhood of cultivation and on the banks of streams. The Assam Maccac, a much larger monkey with huge canine teeth, inhabits, according to Hodgson, the northern region. Its general colouring is bluish grey—sometimes tawny or quite black on the shoulders. Unlike the Rhesus the Assam Maccac is essentially a forest monkey. The distribution of the Himalayan Langur in Nepal is peculiar, usually inhabiting high elevations in the Himalayas (7,000-12,000 feet). This Langur has been observed not only in the northern and central regions, but is also common in the cultivated plains and in the forested slopes of the lower hills. It is a very handsome long-furred monkey—the silvery-white colouring of its head serving to distinguish it from the common Langur of the Indian plains.

CHIROPTERA (Bats)

The large fruit-eating bats (*Megachiroptera*) which occur in the Nepal Valley appear to be found there more commonly in the autumn when they come up from the plains and the lower valleys in large numbers to plunder the fruit-gardens and orchards. Among these Leschenault's Fruit Bat (*Rousettus leschenhaulti*) is considered "a perfect pest." A race of the common Flying Fox (*Pteropus giganteus leucocephalus*) is common in the Tarai but apparently rare in the hills. The Malay Short-Nosed Fruit Bat

[1] In stating the altitudinal range of the various species in the accompanying records we have, where more exp icit information was not available, indicated their general altitudinal distribution as recorded in the volumes in the "Fauna of British India" series. The altitudinal range of the species inhabiting this northern region of Nepal must, however, vary greatly in different parts of the mountains, and it will require a great deal more observation to determine the exact range of a great many species.

(*Cynopterus brachyotis angulatus*), a species which ranges through Assam, Upper Burma, and the Malay countries, has been obtained by Scully in Nepal. The Southern Short-Nosed Fruit Bat (*C. sphinx*), a species generally distributed in the Indian Peninsula, occurs up to 12,000 feet. The flesh of the Bat and of the Flying Fox is eaten by certain tribes in Nepal.

The Insectivorous or Insect-feeding Bats (*Microchiroptera*) are represented by four families. The *Rhinolophidae* (Horse-shoe Bats), *Megadermatidae* (Indian Vampires), *Vespertilionidae* and the *Emballonuridae* (Sheath-tailed Bats). The family *Rhinolophidae* is represented by two genera, *Rhinolophus* (Horse-shoe Bats) and *Hipposideros* (Leaf-nosed Bats). Both genera are distinguished by a well developed nose leaf—but in the Horse-shoe Bats the anterior portion of the nose leaf has a deep incision in front. The commonest member of the first named genus in Nepal is Hodgson's Horse-shoe Bat (*Rhinolophus ferrum-equinum tragatus*), a race of the European Horse-shoe Bat, from which it is distinguished by the three distinct wrinkles on its lower lips. These bats commonly roost by day in outhouses and come out at dusk in small groups " to skim over the surface of the standing crops and glide between and around shady trees in search of insects." The Himalayan Horse-shoe Bat (*Rhinolophus luctus perniger*), a dark woolly furred bat, dwells solitarily in the caves and dense mountain forests—specimens have been secured at 3,000 feet. The Large-eared Horse-shoe Bat (*Rhinolophus macrotis*) and Pearson's Horse-shoe Bat (*Rhinolophus pearsoni*) occur in the central Valley of Nepal. The Himalayan race of the allied Horse-shoe Bat (*R. affinis himalayanus*) inhabits both the northern and the central region—it is a small bat with very variable colouring which ranges from dark brown to bright ferruginous. The Rufous Horse-shoe Bat (*R. rouxi*) has been taken in Nepal at elevations between 6,000 and 8,000 feet—it occurs also in South India and Ceylon, where it is believed to be an immigrant from the Himalayan region. The Little Horse-shoe Bat (*R. subbadius*) was recorded by Hodgson from the central region. Of the Leaf-nosed Bats (*Hipposideros*) the commonest is the Himalayan Leaf-nosed Bat (*Hipposideros armiger*). Its usual roosting place is in outhouses, lofts, and in caves. It flies early, the flight is low, and in the regular beat of the wings resembles that of the Flying Fox. Its favourite hunting grounds are gardens, orchards, avenues, and open glades in woods. The two other leaf-nosed bats are the Bi-coloured Leaf-nosed Bat (*H. gentilis gentilis*), so called from the fact that its fur is dark above and whitish on the belly, and the Little Leaf-nosed Bat (*H. cinerascens*), both recorded from the central Valley of Nepal.

The *Megadermatidae* or Vampire bats are represented by a single species (*Lyroderma lyra*), which is generally distributed over India. It is readily recognized by its large ears, which are joined together above the head, its truncated nose-leaf, and grey woolly fur. In Nepal the species is probably restricted to the plains.

The *Vespertilionidae*, the largest family of bats, are distinguished from all other Insect-eating Bats (*Microchiroptera*) by the presence of a tragus or additional membrane within the ear, by the absence of all trace of a

nose-leaf, and by the tail being practically enclosed within the membrane which connects the hind legs. The following genera and species have been recorded.

The Indian Noctule (*Nyctalus labiatus*) occurs in the central zone. The Noctule has a strong flight, soars high in the air, and is early on the wing. It has a short blunt muzzle, the breadth of which is increased by glandular swellings on each side. This bat is stated to be present in Nepal at all seasons.

Three species of Pipistrelle Bats have been recorded. The commonest is the Coromandel Pipistrelle (*Pipistrellus coromandra*), which is common in the plains and according to Scully is found at all seasons in the Nepal Valley actively hunting in gardens and woods. It commonly roosts in houses and is widely distributed in India. The Southern Dwarf Pipistrelle (*Pipistrellus mimus*) is very similar in appearance to *coromandra*, but it is more slatey than brown and lacks the warm reddish tone seen on the under surface of that species. It is probably as widely distributed as *coromandra*, but is more a bat of the jungle and in Nepal has only, so far, been taken in the Tarai. The Babu Pipistrelle (*P. babu*) occurs in the central Valley.

The common Yellow Bat (*Scotophilus khuli*), which is widely distributed in the Indian peninsula, probably occurs in the Tarai.

The genus *Myotis* is represented by four species, all recorded from the central region. *Myotis formosus*, Hodgson's Bat, a beautiful species with golden brown fur and bright orange wings marked with triangular black patches is, according to Hodgson, found throughout the year in the Nepal Valley, though it does not appear to be common.

Myotis siligorensis, the Darjiling Bat, is one of the commonest species in the Nepal Valley, where it may be seen all the year round.

Myotis nipalensis, the Nepal Bat—distinguished by its pure white under parts—is only known from a single specimen obtained at Katmandu by a collector from the Indian Museum in 1871.

Two other species recorded from the central region are the Wall Bat (*Myotis muricola*) and the Sikkim Myotis (*M. sicarius*).

The genus *Miniopterus* is represented by a single species, Hodgson's Long-winged Bat (*Miniopterus fuliginosus*). On the wing it is one of the swiftest bats, its flight is likened to a swallow's. It is said to be found in Nepal all the year round.

INSECTIVORA

The only reference to the occurrence of a Hedgehog in Nepal is the record made by Hodgson. He described three forms from Nepal, all of which are referable to Hardwicke's Hedgehog (*Paraechinus collaris*). But no material is available either in the Hodgson or the Society's collection.

The Short-tailed Mole (*Talpa micrura*) was obtained by Hodgson in the central region and northern region. The animal closely resembles the European Mole, but has a very short tail. The species will probably

be most in evidence during the rainy season, when their shallow tunnels are to be seen across the pathways. The Nepal Brown-toothed Shrew (*Soriculus nigrescens centralis*), with deep glossy brown fur, is a larger and darker animal than the race from Sikkim, and has been taken in the damp nullahs at 12,000 feet. Hodgson's Brown-toothed Shrew (*Soriculus caudatus*) is common at the same altitude, while the Indian Pigmy Shrew (*Pachyura perrotteti*) occurs at lower altitudes but is apparently rare, though it may have been overlooked owing to its small size and shyness of traps. It is one of the smallest mammals in the world. Anderson's Assam Shrew (*Crocidura rubricosa*) was taken at Katmandu.

A large number of Musk Shrews (*Pachyura*) were obtained in Nepal by the Society's collector from elevations between 3,000 and 12,000 feet. They display considerable variation in colouring, etc., according to elevation, and it will probably eventually be found that several distinct species occur within the State, but until all the material obtained in Nepal and elsewhere in India has been studied no definite statement can be made.

CARNIVORA

FELIDAE

Of the larger cats both the Tiger (*Felis tigris*) and the Panther (*F. pardus*) are, according to Hodgson, generally distributed over Nepal. The tiger is common in the Tarai and the lower region, less common in the central and northern regions. Panthers are very common in the central region, where they are, however, said to be held in less dread than the bears. The beautiful Clouded Leopard (*F. nebulosa*), one of the most handsomely marked of all the cat tribe, is found, according to Hodgson, in the central region of Nepal. Of the smaller cats—the common wild cat of the swamps and marshy thickets of the Tarai is the Fishing Cat (*F. viverrina*), a medium-sized earthy-grey cat marked with elongated spots of varying size. It feeds principally on fishes and molluscs. The Golden Cat (*F. temmincki*), of which two colour varieties are known—one a rich golden red with a dark spinal stripe, the other dark brown—occurs in the central region. The Leopard Cat (*F. bengalensis*), whose general colour and markings give it the appearance of a miniature leopard, lives in the forests of the central region. It is essentially a forest animal, where, owing to its predilection for dense cover, it is seldom seen. The common Jungle Cat (*F. affinis*) is generally distributed over the State. Its long limbs give it a very distinctive appearance—the colouring is yellowish to sand grey with faint cross-bars on the limbs and tail.

VIVERRIDAE (Civets)

The large Indian Civet (*Viverra zibetha*), recognized by its dorsal crest of black hair, is generally distributed and is very common in the Tarai,
41 particularly in the neighbourhood of villages.

The small Indian Civet (*V. malaccensis*), which is found all over India, is restricted, in Nepal, to the Tarai, while the beautiful Tiger Civet (*Prionodon pardicolor*) inhabits the central and northern regions. Its soft yellowish fur is strikingly marked with large black spots. It is a forest animal, living and breeding in the holes of decayed trunks.

The northern Manoori (*Paradoxurus crossi*) is, like the small Indian Civet, restricted to the lower region. It is a long-haired blackish-grey civet without any distinct markings and is found all over northern and central India.

The Himalayan Civet (*Paguma grayi*) inhabits the forests of the central region.

Four species of Mongoose have been recorded from Nepal. The common Indian Mongoose is restricted to the Tarai. Two small species of Mongoose occur in the central and northern regions—the small Indian Mongoose (*Herpestes auropunctatus*) with short yellowish grizzled fur and the Nepal Mongoose (*H. nipalensis*), distinguished from the former by its darker colour and finer grizzling. The largest Mongoose found in Nepal is the Crab-eating Mongoose (*H. urva*), a large heavily built animal, with a coat of long iron-grey and white hair, supplemented with dense whitish under-fur. It inhabits the lower and central hilly regions.

CANIDAE (Dogs, Foxes, and Jackals)

The Jackal (*Canis indicus*), according to Hodgson, is rare in the hills but common in the great populous Valley of Nepal. Examples have been taken at elevations from 150 to 12,000 feet. The Wild Dog (*Cuon dukhunensis*) is distributed over the northern, central, and lower hilly regions. Two species of Foxes occur. The small Indian Fox (*Vulpes bengalensis*), which is apparently very common in the Tarai, is a small animal with slender limbs, comparatively small brush, and in colour reddish grey minutely speckled with white. The Mountain Fox (*V. montana*)—a large richly coloured fox with long fur of a chestnut to dull rufous colour and a superb brush—inhabits the central and northern regions.

MUSTELIDAE (Weasels and Martens, etc.)

The North Indian Marten (*Charronia flavigula*) occurs in the northern and central regions. In size and shape it resembles the European Marten, from which it is distinguishable at a glance by its black head, hind quarters, and tail. The Himalayan Weasel (*Mustela subhemachalana*), a small brownish-red weasel with a white chin and bushy tail, is found in the central region but is more common in the northern region. The White-nosed Weasel (*Mustela canigula*), distinguished by its white muzzle, chin, and throat, is provisionally included by Mr. Hinton among the list of Nepal mammals, as Hodgson's records appear to indicate its presence in the Kachar. The Yellow-bellied Weasel (*Mustela kathia*) was also obtained

by Hodgson in the Kachar. It is about the size of the common European Weasel, its dorsal fur is black, the ventral deep yellow.

The sub-family of the *Mustelidae*, known as the *Melinae*, comprising the badgers and their allies, is represented in Nepal by the Brown Ferret Badger (*Melogale nipalensis*) and the Indian Ratel (*Melivora indica*). No true badgers occur in India, though one is found in Tibet. The Ferret Badger is a small dark brown animal with a prolonged muzzle terminating in a naked blunt snout. Hodgson gives its habitat as " the lower region of the mountains of Nepal." The Indian Ratel, popularly known as the " Honey Badger," inhabits the lower region and the approximate part of the central tract.

The Otters (*Lutrinae*) form the third sub-division of the *Mustelidae*. Three species are recorded from Nepal—the Common Indian Otter (*Lutra lutra nair*), the Smooth Indian Otter (*Lutra barang taravensis*), and the Clawless Otter (*Amblonyx cinerea*). The Smooth Otter was believed by Hodgson to be restricted to the Tarai, and he considered the hill forms to be quite distinct from those of the plains. He recognized seven normal forms occurring within the State, but, in the absence of more material in the shape of skins and skulls it is quite impossible to arrive at any decision in regard to the status of the otters inhabiting the country.

PROCYONIDAE (Racoons)

This family is represented in the oriental region by a single genus, *Ailurus*, which is confined to the Himalayan sub-region. The Racoon or Cat Bear (*Ailurus fulgens*)—the only species—has a rounded head, broad white face, long bushy tail, and black limbs, and occurs in the northern and central zones. The dorsal surface and the tail are a bright rusty red, the ventral surface is dark brown. The Cat Bear is thoroughly nocturnal and usually roosts by day on the topmost branches of the trees.

URSIDAE (Bears)

The Bears are represented by the Indian Brown Bear (*Ursus isabellinus*), restricted to the Kachar and the Himalayan Black Bear (*Selenarctos thibetanus*), which frequents both the central and northern zones.

RODENTIA

SCIURIDAE (Squirrels and Marmots)

Flying Squirrels (*Petaurista*) inhabit the northern and central regions but are rare at lower altitudes. The Himalayan Flying Squirrel (*Petaurista magnificus*) occurs in the northern and central hilly regions. It is a very handsome squirrel with deep chestnut fur and a long rufous black-typed tail. The fur is somewhat grizzled in appearance owing to the white tips

to some of the hairs. Hodgson's Flying Squirrel (*P. nobilis*), found in the same area, is very similar to the foregoing but is distinguished by a median yellow dorsal area—it was at first believed to be a seasonal form of *magnificus*, but the characters have been found to be constant and suffice to distinguish one from the other. A rufous brown Squirrel with an ashy grey head is the Grey-headed Flying Squirrel (*P. caniceps*). It occurs in the central zone, while *Petaurista albiventer*, a handsome flying squirrel with bay-coloured fur intermixed with white hairs, inhabits both the central and northern zones. The head and back are uniform in colour but the cheeks are grey. A smaller type of Flying Squirrel (*Pteromys* (*Hylopetes*) *alboniger*) is found in the northern and central regions. The colouring is greyish brown, much mixed with black, and the lower surface is white. These little flying squirrels migrate from higher to lower elevation according to the supply of food available. They build a nest of grass in holes in trees.

A single species of Giant Squirrel (*Ratufa gigantea*) is generally distributed over the hilly region of Nepal, but is more plentiful in the low deep valleys bordering the Tarai. It is a large black squirrel with buff-coloured under parts. The Orange-bellied Himalayan Squirrel (*Dremomys lokriah lokriah*) is common throughout the forests from 6,000 to 12,000 feet. The species is recognizable by its long narrow snout and short tail—its ventral surface is bright orange, the dorsal area olive-brown grizzled with black. The Hoary-bellied Squirrel (*Tomeutes lokroides*), a small squirrel with speckled olive-brown fur, pale rufous abdomen, and red thigh patches—occurs in the hilly range. The common five-striped squirrel (*F. pennanti*) which, in North India, replaces the common Palm Squirrel (*F. palmarum*) of the peninsular area, is common in the plains. The Tibet Marmot (*Marmota himalayana*) is recorded from the high altitudes of the northern region.

Muridae

The rats occurring in the Nepal Tarai are all species which occur in the main Indian region. The Indian Gerbille (*Tatera indica*), the Bengal Mole Rat (*Gunomys bengalensis*), the largest of Indian Mole Rats, and the Soft-furred Field Rat (*Millardia meltada*) are all common in the cultivated portions of the Tarai, where the common Indian House Rat (*Rattus r. rufescens*) and the Bengal Tree Rat (*Rattus r. arboreus*), a coarse-furred tawny coloured rat with a creamy belly also occur.

Two species of House Rats occur in the central elevated Valley of Nepal —the White-bellied House Rat (*Rattus rattus brunneusculus*) and the Nepal Rat (*Rattus rattus brunneus*); the former also occurs in the lower region; the latter, a very large rat with a dusky belly, appears to be confined to the central region. Other species inhabiting the region are the Nepal Hill Rat (*Rattus r. rattoides*), a very dark coloured species; a bright fawn-coloured rat, the Chestnut Rat (*Rattus fulvescens*); the Nepal Shiny Rat (*Rattus nitidus*); and *Rattus niviventer*—a greyish-brown rat with a bi-coloured tail—the last species occurs in the central and northern regions. The Spectacled Rat (*Rattus elia*), a species recently discovered in Sikkim, has

also been taken in Nepal at an elevation of 12,000 feet. It can be readily recognized by the black rings of hair round the eye. Hodgson's Tree Mouse (*Vandeluria dumeticola*), a bright chestnut mouse, with a white belly, occurs in the northern and central regions. Two species of House Mice are recorded—the Nepal House Mouse (*Mus homourus*) and the Indian House Mouse (*Mus urbanus*); the former occurs in the central and northern zones, the latter is commoner in the lower region. Two species of Field Mice have been obtained—the Nepal Field Mice (*Leggada cervicolor*), recorded from the central region, and the Indian Field Mice (*Leggada booduga*) from the plains—to these must be added the Indian Bush Rat (*Golunda ellioti*), recorded by Hodgson as inhabiting " wooded country."

The Nepal Vole (*Apodemus* (*Neomys*) *gurkha*), a vole with smoky bluish-grey fur and white feet, inhabits the higher elevations. A single specimen of the Flower Mouse (*Neodon sikkimensis*) was taken at an elevation of 12,000 feet. The Flower Mouse is one of a small group of Asiatic Voles to which the name *Neodon*, applied originally by Hodgson to the Flower Mouse of Sikkim, has been given. According to Hodgson the Sikkim Flower Mouse inhabits forests and breeds in the hollows of decayed trees, making a nest of grass.

SPALACIDAE (Bamboo Rats)

A single species of Bamboo Rat is recorded from the lower and central region of Nepal—this is the Bay Bamboo Rat (*Canomys badius*), which is not uncommon on the edge of cultivation. Bamboo Rats are heavily built, the eyes are small, and their soft dense fur completely hides their small ears. The large orange-coloured incisor teeth are a striking feature.

HYSTRICIDAE (Porcupines)

The Indian Porcupine (*Acanthion leucurus*) and the Crestless Himalayan Porcupine (*Acanthion hodgsoni*) both occur in Nepal. In the latter the dorsal crest of long bristle-like hairs is wanting.

LEPORIDAE AND OCHOTONIDAE (Hares and Mouse Hares)

Two species of hares are found in Nepal—the common Indian Hare (*Lepus ruficaudatus*), which is generally distributed, and the Woolly Hare (*Lepus oiostolus*), confined to the northern region. The Himalayan Mouse Hare (*Ochotona roylei nipalensis*) inhabits the higher parts of the northern and central regions. The Mouse Hares resemble guinea-pigs in form and habit—three varieties occur in the Himalayas, of which the Nepalese race is distinguished by its dark colouring.

UNGULATES

Elephants and Rhinoceros—(*Elephantidae and Rhinocerotidae*) The Elephant (*E. maximus*) is still plentiful in the dense jungles of the Tarai,

where they roam in herds of from eighty to ninety. During the rains they visit the cultivated areas, being thus a source of considerable damage to the crops. Numbers of Wild Elephants are captured annually in Nepal. The Great One-horned Rhinoceros (*R. unicornis*) is still plentiful in the Nepal Tarai, especially so in the Chitawan district and along the Rapti river. Though many are shot every year no appreciable diminution in their numbers has yet been made. Though the Rhinoceros prefers swamps and high grass, it is also found in wooded jungles and up the ravines and low hills in the Tarai. Many legends and beliefs are attached to the rhino in Nepal. H.H. General Kaiser Sham Sher Jang Bahadur has contributed a very interesting note on these animals to the Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society. He writes: "The flesh and the blood of the rhino is considered pure and highly acceptable to the *Manes*, to whom high-caste Hindus and most Gurkhas offer libation of its blood after entering its disembowelled body. On ordinary *Sradh* days the libation of water and milk is poured from a cup carved from its horn. The urine is considered antiseptic, it is hung in a vessel at the principal door as a charm against ghosts, evil spirits, and disease." Like the elephant, the rhinoceros wanders into the cultivated part of the Tarai during the rainy season to feed upon the rice crops.

Bovidae (Gaur, Sheep, Goats, etc)

The Gaur or Indian Bison (*Bos gaurus*) is restricted to the Tarai, where it adheres to the most solitary parts of the sal forest, close to and between the salient spurs of the hills, never encroaching into open country.

The Yak (*Poephagus gruniens*), according to Hodgson, inhabits the northern region as well as Tibet, but only in the immediate vicinity of the snows. The tribes of the Kachar are said to rear large herds and cross-breed them with domestic cattle.

The Wild Buffalo (*Bubalis bubalis macroceros*) is confined to the Tarai, where its haunts are the margins, rather than the interior, of the principal forests—they never ascend the mountains and prefer the most swampy parts of the district they frequent. The Wild Buffaloes frequently interbreed with domesticated animals, herds of which are driven into areas inhabited by wild buffaloes, remaining there in a semi-wild state for three or four months at a time.

Wild Sheep and Goats

The Argali (*Ovis ammon hodgsoni*), the Bharal or blue sheep—the *Nahoor* of the Nepalese—the Himalayan Ibex (*Capra sibirica*) are all found on the snow-capped mountains of the northern region—a habitat they share with the Tahr (*Hemitragus jemlaicus*), known in Nepal as the "Jharal." According to Hodgson the Jharal inhabits the inaccessible bare crags close to the snows above tree level, feeding below such crags at early morning

and evening and retiring during the day to their fastnesses. The Jharals are said by Hodgson to inter-breed with the domestic goats.

The Himalayan Serow (*Capricornis sumatrensis thar*)—the *Thar* of the Nepalese—occurs both in the northern and central regions. The Nepalese Serow is distinguished from other races by the dark, almost black colour of the upper parts and the dirty or rufous white of the underside—the lower portion of the legs is white. Like the Serow, the Brown Himalayan Goral (*Nemorhaedus hodgsoni*) is found both in the northern and central zones.

Antelopes

Three species of Antelope occur in Nepal—but only in the Tarai. These are the Four-horned Antelope (*Tetracerus quadricornis*), inhabiting the jungles, the Black Buck (*Antilope cervicapra*), and Chinkara (*Gazella bennetti*), confined to the plains.

Cervidae (Deer)

With the exception of the Shou (*Cervus wallichi*), which is said to inhabit the northern region of Nepal, the various species of deer inhabiting the country are confined to the Tarai. The commonest deer of that region is the beautiful Spotted Deer (*Axis axis*), of which Hodgson believed there was a large and small form.

The Sambhar (*Rusa unicolor*), the largest of the Indian Deer, is frequent in the Tarai, but is also found on the slopes of the adjoining hills. The Swamp Deer or Bara Singha (*Rucervus duvaucelli*) is confined to the reeds and swampy portions of the Tarai and the skirts of the forest. The Hog Deer (*Hyelaphus porcinus*) is very common. The Rib-faced Deer (*Muntiacus vaginalis*) occurs both in the jungles of the Tarai and in the central region, but is seldom seen above 8,000 feet, while the diminutive and slender-limbed Chevrotain (*Moschiola memina*) is not uncommon.

The Musk Deer (*Moschus moschiferus*) inhabits the northern region of Nepal, where Hodgson was of opinion that there were three species of the genus. The musk pod, the contents of the abdominal gland, is only obtained during the rutting season, which is during the winter.

Manidae

The Eastern Pangolin (*Manis pentadactyla*) is, according to Hodgson, generally distributed over Nepal.

BIRDS

Order Passeres

Family Corvidae (Ravens, Crows, Magpies, etc.)

The Tibetan Raven (*Corvus corax tibetanus*) probably occurs on the Tibetan frontier of Nepal, though I can find no record of its actual occurrence within Nepalese limits. It is a bird of the loftiest regions and during

the Mount Everest expedition was observed at 21,000 feet: it is said not to descend below 9,000 feet even in winter. The Himalayan Jungle Crow (*Corvus coronoides intermedius*) is, according to Scully, common on the mountains round the Valley of Nepal at elevations from 6,000 to 9,000 feet; Stevens describes it as a resident species along the Nepal-Sikkim frontier, where he observed it at elevations of 10,000 to 11 000 feet. Eggs of this bird were taken in this area in April and May. The Jungle Crow of the Tarai and the lower hills is a form intermediate between the hill species and the common Jungle Crow (*Corvus coronoides levaillanti*) of the Indian plains. The ubiquitous Indian House Crow (*Corvus splendens splendens*) is extremely common in the central Valley, where it breeds, and in the lower regions of Nepal. The beautiful Red-billed Magpie (*Urocissa melanocephala occipitalis*), a number of examples of which were obtained by Colonel Kennion between 7,000 and 8,000 feet, and the Yellow-billed Magpie (*Urocissa flavirostris flavirostris*) both occur in Nepal. These birds may be readily recognized by their blue plumage and long white-tipped tails. The former species is common in the woods and forests of the Nepal Valley throughout the year at elevations from 4,500 to 7,000 feet—the Yellow-billed Magpie possibly occupies a slightly higher zone, above 6,000 feet. Stevens found it resident on the Nepal-Sikkim frontier at 11,000 feet in winter. A third species of magpie—the Green Magpie (*Cissa chinensis chinensis*)—inhabits low level evergreen forests and bamboo jungle and is not common above 2,500 feet. Those sociable birds, the Tree Pies, whose clear metallic notes ring pleasantly in the jungles are represented by three species: the Himalayan Tree Pie (*Dendrocitta sinensis himalayensis*), quite a common species in the Valley of Nepal, the lower hills, and the plains of the Tarai; the Bengal Tree Pie (*Dendrocitta rufa vagabunda*) which, according to Scully, is common in the lower forests and plains in winter; and the Black-browed Tree Pie (*Dendrocitta frontalis*), inhabiting heavy evergreen forest between 4,000 and 7,000 feet in Eastern Nepal.

Two species of Jay occur in Nepal: the Himalayan Jay (*Garrulus bispecularis bispecularis*)—a fawn-coloured bird with bright blue markings on the wings. In Eastern Nepal this form is replaced by the East Himalayan race, the Sikkim Jay (*G. bispecularis interstinctus*) and the Black-throated Jay (*Garrulus lanceolatus*), a handsome bird with a black crest and a black throat striated with white. They are noisy birds moving about the forests in small flocks. The Himalayan Nutcracker (*Nucifraga caryocatactes hemispila*), described as a race of the European Nutcracker, but considered by some as a distinct species, inhabits the pine forests between 3,000 and 12,000 feet; in size it is slightly larger than a crow and its chocolate-brown plumage is streaked and spotted with white. The Red-billed Chough (*Pyrrhocorax pyrrhocorax*) and the Yellow-billed Chough (*P. graculus*) occur in the high alpine zone and the yellow-billed species has been observed in Eastern Nepal at 11,850 feet. During the Mount Everest expedition both species were seen at 20,000 feet.

PARIDAE (Tits)

The genus Parus, of which the Great Tit of England is the type, is represented in Nepal by two species—the Indian Grey Tit (*Parus major cinereus*), common in the lower hills and plains, and the Green-backed Tit (*Parus monticolus lepcharum*), a bird with a black head, greenish back, and bright yellow plumage, which frequents the hills round the Nepal Valley at elevations between 5,000 and 8,000 feet. A very common and familiar tit in the Nepal Valley throughout the year is the Northern Yellow-cheeked Tit (*Maclolophus xanthogenys xanthogenys*); in appearance it is much like the Green-backed Tit, but its cheeks are bright yellow and its black crest is tipped with the same colour. A second representative of this genus occurs within the same area; this is the Northern Black-spotted Tit (*M. spilonotus spilonotus*); it can be readily distinguished from its congener by its bright yellow forehead. The beautiful Sultan Tit (*Melanochlora sultanea sultanea*), a large Tit with a brilliant yellow crest and deep metallic black upper plumage, is confined to the lower valleys—the species occurs usually at " 2,000 feet, though they are found at times as high as 4,000 feet."

The forests of the higher elevations well above 6,000 feet afford shelter to a number of species of tits. Among these are the Himalayan Cole Tit (*Lophophanes ater aemodius*), the Sikkim Black Tit (*L. rufonuchalis beavani*), observed at 10,000 feet in Eastern Nepal, the Rufous-bellied Crested Tit (*L. rubidiventris*), and the Brown-crested Tit (*L. dichrous dichrous*). To these must be added the Yellow-browed Tit (*Sylviparus modestus modestus*), observed by Stevens on the Nepal-Sikkim frontier at 9,500 feet, and two species of pigmy long-tailed Titmice—the Red-headed Titmouse (*Aegithaliscus concinnus iredali*), recorded as common in East Nepal between 6,000 and 7,000 feet (Col. Kennion obtained it at the latter elevation at Godavari), and the Rufous-fronted Tit (*A. ioschistus*), occurring between 9,000 and 10,000 feet.

PARADOXORNITHIDAE (Parrot Bills, etc.)

The Great Parrot Bill (*Conostoma aemodium*) is a bird of high elevation " between 10,000 and 12,000 feet, descending in winter to about 4,000." Gould's Parrot Bill (*Paradoxornis flavirostris*) ranges from the foothills to about 5,000 feet. Both species move in small flocks among reeds and high grass. A third species, the Red-headed Parrot Bill (*Psittiparus ruficeps ruficeps*) is also recorded. The genus *Suthora* is represented by four species: the Brown Suthora (*Suthora unicolor*) inhabiting the higher regions of Nepal and Sikkim; the Ashy-eared Suthora (*S. nipalensis*), which is confined to Nepal; the Fulvous-fronted Suthora (*S. fulvifrons*); and the Black-fronted Suthora (*S. poliotis humiae*), recorded at an elevation
42 of 7,500 feet from the Mai (Khola) Valley, East Nepal.

SITTIDAE (Nuthatches)

The Nuthatches are a well-defined group of short-tailed birds which, in the non-breeding season, are to be found in small parties running up and down the trunks and branches of trees in search of insects; they feed also on nuts, seeds, and fruit. The common Nuthatch of the hills above the Nepal Valley is the White-tailed Nuthatch (*Sitta himalayensis*), a slaty-blue bird with a black forehead and a broad black line on each side of its head and neck. This Nuthatch has been observed in Eastern Nepal at an elevation of from 8,000 to 9,000 feet. The common Nuthatch of the Valley proper is the Cinnamon-bellied Nuthatch (*Sitta castaneiventris cinnamomeoventris*); while a third species, the Velvet-fronted Nuthatch (*Sitta frontalis frontalis*), with uniform purplish-blue upper plumage and a velvety black forehead, occurs in the forests of the Tarai and the lower hills.

TIMALIIDAE

The family which contains a large number of birds nearly all tropical or sub-tropical is very well represented in Nepal. The various genera represented in this family are divided into three groups or sub-families—*Timaliinae, Sibinae,* and *Lotrichinae.*

TIMALIINAE (Laughing Thrushes)

The genus *Dryonastes,* which contains the Laughing Thrushes whose nostrils are almost completely hidden by bristle, is represented by two species: the Rufous-necked Laughing Thrush (*Dryonastes ruficollis*), a noisy bird which haunts scrub jungle and bamboo growth in the foothills and plains of Eastern Nepal, and the Grey-sided Laughing Thrush (*D. cœrulatus cœrulatus*), a bird of higher altitude, found principally " between 3,000 and 5,000 feet." The Himalayan White-crested Laughing Thrush (*Garrulax leucolophus leucolophus*), an olive-brown bird with a white head and breast, black cheek stripe, and a striking crest of ashy-grey feathers, is common in the foothills and moves up in large flocks into the Valley in summer. Col. Kennion obtained specimens at 8,000 feet. The Indian Black-gorgeted Laughing Thrush (*G. pectoralis pectoralis*) and the Indian Necklaced Laughing Thrush (*G. moniliger moniliger*) are also birds of low elevation; their breeding range is usually below " 2,500 though they may be found up to 4,500." Neither of these birds carries a crest, but the former has a black cheek stripe which is wanting in the latter. The Laughing Thrush, permanently resident in the forest-clad hills round the Nepal Valley, is the White-throated Laughing Thrush (*G. albogularis*), a rich olive-brown bird with a white throat, white tipped tail, and bright ferruginous lower plumage. They are birds of high elevation and do not occur " below 3,000 feet." The genus *Ianthocincla,* which includes those Laughing Thrushes which have no bristles but in which the nostrils are overhung by a few long hairs, is represented by two species—the White-spotted

Laughing Thrush (*Ianthocincla ocellata ocellata*) and the Rufous-chinned Laughing Thrush (*Ianthocincla rufogularis rufogularis*); both birds have a black crown and nape, but in the former the upper plumage is spotted with white and in the latter it is barred with black. The White-spotted Laughing Thrush is a bird of high elevation, from 6,000 feet upwards; they were observed to occupy a range between 9,000 and 10,000 feet. The Rufous-chinned Laughing Thrush is found as low as 2,500 feet, but its habitual range is between 4,000 and 6,000 feet.

The genus *Trochalopterum*, distinguished from the preceding genera in having the base of the bill devoid of all bristles and hairs, is represented in the State by seven species. The Red-headed Laughing Thrush (*Trochalopterum erythrocephalum erythrocephalum*), whose distribution is given as "Chamba to Nepal," is represented in Eastern Nepal by the Sikkim race (*T. erythrocephalum nigrimentum*), where its occurrence in the Eastern limit of the State is recorded at an elevation of 10,500 feet in winter. The Assam Crimson-winged Laughing Thrush (*T. phoeniceum phoeniceum*) occurs from Nepal to the extreme east of Assam. It is a forest species found at elevations between 3,000 and 6,000 feet, descending lower in winter. The Plain-coloured Laughing Thrush (*T. subunicolor subunicolor*), a bird with bright yellow wings and olive-brown upper plumage, is found at high elevations in Eastern Nepal, where it occupies a range between 6,000 and 7,000 feet, but wanders as high as 11,000 feet. The Black-faced Laughing Thrush (*Trochalopterum affinis affinis*) is found from Eastern Nepal to Bhutan; it is a common bird in Sikkim where it is found between "8,000 and 13,000," haunting rhododendron, fir, and mixed forest right up to the snow line. Other species recorded are the Eastern Variegated Laughing Thrush (*T. variegatum*), the Blue-winged Laughing Thrush (*T. squamatum*), and the Nepalese Laughing Thrush (*T. lineatum setafer*). The last is a permanent resident in the hills round the Nepal Valley and is fairly common between 5,000 and 7,000 feet. Examples were obtained by Col. Kennion at 7,000 and 11,000 feet. The Striated Laughing Thrush, which occurs in Nepal, is a form intermediate between the Western race (*Grammatoptila striata striata*) and the East Himalayan race (*G. striata sikkimensis*). It is a true Laughing Thrush and may be recognized by its "stout deep short bill, striated plumage, and the long frontal hairs reaching over its nostril."

The Bengal Jungle Babblers (*Turdoides terricolor terricolor*), noisy, untidy, gregarious birds known commonly as the Seven Sisters, occur in the Tarai and are common in the duns in winter. Other species occurring in the cultivated areas, grass lands, and marshy submontane tracts of the Tarai are the Striated Babbler (*Argya earlii*), Common Babbler (*A. caudata caudata*), and the Slender-billed Babbler (*A. longirostris*).

The Nepal Spiny Babbler (*Acanthoptila nepalensis*), which is confined to Nepal, is a remarkable bird whose upper plumage and breast feathers have stiff shafts which become spinous when they are worn. According to Hodgson this babbler is "solitary and tenants low bushes."

Four species of Scimitar Babbler occur within the State. The birds

are immediately distinguished by their slender compressed and down-curved bill. The commonest species in the hills round the Nepal Valley is the Rusty-cheeked Scimitar Babbler (*Pomatorhinus erythrogenys erythrogenys*); this species has been recorded as breeding in E. Nepal in March. The example obtained by Col. Kennion is intermediate between the typical race and *P. erythrogenys haringtoni*. A second species tolerably common in the same area is the Rufous-necked Scimitar Babbler (*P. ruficollis ruficollis*); it is said to frequent elevations between 3,000 and 6,000 feet, but it has been observed in the eastern limits of Nepal as high as 10,000 feet in winter. Two other species known to occur are the Slaty-headed Scimitar Babbler (*P. schisticeps schisticeps*), found from the foothills to about 5,000 feet, and the Coral-billed Scimitar Babbler (*P. ferruginosus ferruginosus*), which has a range from " 4,000 to 6,000 feet."

The Slender-billed Scimitar Babbler (*Xiphorhamphus superciliaris*), which differs from the true Scimitar Babblers in having a much larger, more slender, and still more curved bill, has been recorded from Eastern Nepal at elevations from 8,000 to 10,000 feet. The Bengal Red-capped Babbler (*Timalia pileata bengalensis*) ranges through the lower hills and submontane tracts from Nepal to Eastern Assam. Another Babbler which occurs in the plains and foothills is Abbott's Babbler (*Malacocincla sepiaria abbotti*). Mandelli's Spotted Babbler (*Pellorneum ruficeps mandellii*), the only representative of its genus occurring in the State, occupies a range slightly above the last-named species; its favourite breeding elevation being between two and three thousand feet.

The genus *Stachyrhis* is represented by four species—the Black-throated Babbler (*Stachyrhis nigriceps nigriceps*), a bird described as having a wide range from the foothills to 10,000 feet; the Nepal Golden-headed Babbler (*Stachyrhis chrysaea chrysaea*), and the Red-headed Babbler (*S. ruficeps ruficeps*)—an Eastern Himalayan species recorded as breeding in the Eastern limits of Nepal. The Red-billed Babbler (*Stachyrhidopsis pyrrhops*), a West Himalayan species, has a breeding range from 3,000 to 6,000 feet. The Nepal Babbler (*Alcippe nepalensis nepalensis*), a small babbler with a conspicuous ring of white feathers round the eye—frequents all kinds of cover at the foot of the hills round the Nepal Valley all the year round. Equally common in this area during summer is the Chestnut-headed Babbler (*Pseudominla castaneiceps castaneiceps*), while a second representative of the same genus (*P. cinerea*) has a Himalayan breeding range from " 2,500 to 6,000 feet." Two species of Fulvetta occur in the State—Hodgson's Fulvetta (*Fulvetta vinipecta vinipecta*), breeding in the Himalayas " between 6,000 and 10,000 feet " and the Golden-breasted Fulvetta (*Lioparus chrysotis*), observed in the Eastern limits of Nepal at elevations from 8,000 to 10,000 feet.

Sub-family Sibiinae

A second group of Timaline birds forms the sub-family *Sibiinae*: the birds are characterized by their longer wings and weaker tarsi and feet.

Many of them are brightly coloured species of strictly arboreal habits, rarely if ever feeding on the ground. The genus *Sibia* contains a single species—the Long-tailed Sibia (*Sibia picaoides picaoides*), a slaty-brown bird with a white-tipped tail. It has an altitudinal range " from 3,000 to 8,000 feet," and is one of the birds which frequent the silk-cotton tree when in bloom. Flocks of Black-headed Sibias (*Leioptila capistrata capistrata*), sprightly birds with a loud, melodious whistle, are very common in the hills round the Valley of Nepal between 6,000 and 8,000 feet. An example in Col. Kennion's collection was obtained at 11,000 feet. The Nepal Bar-wing (*Actinodura egertoni egertoni*) and the Hoary Bar-wing (*Ixops nepalensis*) both occur. The latter species was observed in Eastern Nepal at a winter elevation of 10,000 feet. The Stripe-throated Siva (*Siva strigula strigula*) is a permanent resident in the hills around the Nepal Valley. These birds move in small parties, frequenting moderate-sized trees and bushes; in Eastern Nepal they were observed at an elevation of 10,000 feet. A second member of the genus, the Blue-winged Siva (*Siva cyanuroptera cyanuroptera*), occurs, but is less common; it was obtained by Col. Kennion at 7,000 feet.

The genus *Yuhina* contains four species, two of which have been observed in Nepal—the Stripe-throated Yuhina (*Yuhina gularis gularis*), a permanent resident in the hills round the Nepal Valley, and the Slaty-headed Yuhina (*Yuhina occipitalis occipitalis*), which is also resident and equally common but occupies, according to Scully, a slightly higher zone. Both species keep up a continual twitter as they feed in small parties among the bushes and lower branches of trees. A third species common and permanently resident in the hills above the Nepal Valley is the Yellow-headed Ixulus (*Ixulus flavicollis flavicollis*). Scully states that it does not occur above 5,000 feet in winter, but is common from 7,000 to 8,000 feet during summer. The White-bellied Herpornis (*Erpornis xantholeuca xantholeuca*) inhabits the low hot valleys below 3,000 feet.

Sub-family Liothrichinae

The Indian Red-billed Liothrix (*Liothrix lutea callipyga*), a cheery songster, occupies a range between 3,000 and 8,000 feet. The Nepal Cutia (*Cutia nepalensis*), a very handsome bird distinguished by its long upper tail coverts which reach almost to the tip of the tail, frequents the higher trees of the forest above 6,000 feet during summer, descending lower in winter.

Three species of Shrike-babblers occur; their external appearance is very shrike-like, but they are quite unlike shrikes in habit and, also unlike the shrikes, the males and females are distinct in colour. These species are: the Red-winged Shrike-babbler (*Pteruthius erythropterus*), observed by Scully at 7,000 feet in summer; the Chestnut-throated Shrike-babbler (*P. melanotis melanotis*), and the Green Shrike-babbler (*P. xanthochloris xanthochloris*). The first-named species has the feathers of its crown black, the second greenish yellow, the third dark grey. Stuart Baker is inclined to believe that in Western Nepal the Green Shrike-babbler is represented by

the West Himalayan race (*P. xanthochloris occidentalis*), which is distinguished by its pale ashy crown. The Rufous-bellied Shrike-babbler (*Hilarocichla rufiventer*) is a bird of high elevation of which little is known.

The common Iora (*Aegithina tiphia tiphia*), distributed over the greater part of India, is restricted, in Nepal, to the plains and lower hills and is seldom found above 2,000 feet. The Fire-tailed Myzornis (*Myzornis pyrrhoura*), a bird of brilliant green plumage, is an inhabitant of the high-level forests in the Himalayas from 6,000 feet upwards. Stevens observed it on the Nepal-Sikkim frontier at 10,000 feet in March and April. Two species of Chloropsis occur within the State—the Gold-fronted Chloropsis (*Chloropsis aurifrons aurifrons*) and the Orange-bellied Chloropsis (*C. hardwickii*). In both species the plumage is bright green but the former bird has a rich orange-yellow forehead which, in the latter, is greenish yellow. Scully found both species common in the duns in winter; they move higher up in summer but neither species occurs above 6,000 feet. The Silver-eared Mesia (*Mesia argentauris argentauris*) is described as plentiful in the duns during the cold weather; the birds frequented the bushes by the roadside in active lively flocks. The last number of the family to be recorded is the Red-tailed Minla (*M. ignitincta*); Scully found it fairly common in summer in the Sheopuri forest at an elevation of 6,000 feet and was certain that it was breeding there.

PYCNONOTIDAE (Bulbuls)

The Bulbuls form a very numerous group of birds. Many of them are among the commonest and most familiar of Indian birds; others are purely forest-dwelling species. The two best-known species, the Bengal Red-vented Bulbul (*Molpastes haemorrhous bengalensis*) and the Bengal Red-whiskered Bulbul (*O. emeria emeria*), both occur in Nepal. The former species is very common in the Nepal Valley, where it breeds—and in the lower region and the plains. Col. Kennion obtained it at 7,000 feet. The latter, though it is said to ascend elsewhere in the Himalayas to nearly 8,000 feet, was believed by Scully to be confined in Nepal exclusively to the lower regions. The Black-crested Yellow Bulbul (*O. flaviventris flaviventris*) also occurs. The White-cheeked Bulbul (*Molpastes leucogenys leucogenys*) is resident and very common in suitable localities on all the hills round the Valley of Nepal throughout the year but, unlike the Red-vented Bulbul, it does not descend into the central part of the Valley. Scully also found it common in the lower valleys during winter on bushes growing by the roadside which, he adds, were its only resort in Nepal and in which it was found to breed between May and June at elevations from 5,000 to 6,000 feet. The White-throated Bulbul (*Criniger tephrogenys flaveolus*) tenants the valleys between 1,000 and 3,000 feet: it has a range up to 6,000 feet. The Himalayan Black Bulbul (*Microscelis psaroides psaroides*), a black bird with a red bill and a long forked tail, is abundant in the Nepal Valley, where it is a permanent resident. It has been observed at an elevation of 10,000 feet on the Nepal-Sikkim frontier in winter. The

Rufous-bellied Bulbul (*Hemixus maclellandi maclellandi*) is common throughout the year on the hills round the Nepal Valley, where it occupies bushes and low trees but avoids high tree forests. It breeds in this area between May and June. Another species of the same genus—the Brown-eared Bulbul (*Hemixus flavala flavala*) has a breeding range in the Himalayas between " 2,000 and 6,000 feet " and descends well into the plains in winter. The Striated Green Bulbul (*Alcurus striatus*) has a normal range of " 4,000 to 9,000 feet, occasionally ascending in summer to some 10,000 feet."

CERTHIIDAE

Tree-Creepers are small wren-like birds with slender curved bills and tails composed of stiff-pointed feathers. Four species are recorded from Nepal. The Himalayan Tree-Creeper (*Certhia himalayana himalayana*), readily distinguished from other Tree-Creepers by its cross-barred tail, has a range from 5,000 to 9,000 feet, ascending up to 10,000 feet or even higher in summer. The Nepal Tree-Creeper (*Certhia familiaris nepalensis*) is found principally between 7,000 and 10,000 feet. It ascends as high as 13,000 feet in summer and has been observed in East Nepal at a winter elevation of 10,000 feet. The third species, the Sikkim Tree-Creeper (*Certhia discolor discolor*) has an altitudinal distribution " between 6,000 and 10,000 feet." It is described as a shy, secretive bird, keeping, unlike other tree-creepers, much to the interior of the forests. Col. Kennion obtained a specimen at Partapur. Stoliczka's Tree-Creeper (*Certhia stoliczkæ*) was observed to be common in the eastern limits of Nepal from 9,000 to 10,000 feet between January and May, when several were observed along the forest roads. The Wall-Creeper (*Tichodroma muraria*) is a handsome bird with a long slender bill and ash-grey plumage splashed on the wings with vermilion; it is usually found haunting the faces of steep cliffs and rocks at an altitude between 14,000 and 16,000 feet. Stevens observed it on the Nepal-Sikkim frontier at an elevation of 11,800 feet; while Scully states that it was common among the rocks and boulders overhanging the stream in the low Nayakot Valley during the same season. It doubtless breeds in the highest zone.

TROGLODYTIDAE (Wrens)

The Nepal Wren (*Troglodytes troglodytes nipalensis*) is a bird of high elevations above 10,000 feet. The Scaly-breasted Wren (*Pnoepyga squamata squamata*) and the Brown Wren (*P. pusilla*) are both quaint little tailless birds inhabiting evergreen forests between 3,000 and 7,000 feet. The Slaty-bellied Wren (*Tesia cyaniventer*) and the Chestnut-headed Wren (*T. castaneocoronata castaneocoronata*) both cover an extensive range of altitude—the last-named bird is recorded from Sikkim from the low valleys up to 11,000 feet.

CINCLIDAE (Dippers)

The Dippers are aquatic birds found usually on the banks of mountain streams. Two species occur within the State. The White-breasted Asiatic Dipper (*Cinclus cinclus kashmiriensis*) is a bird of very high elevation, and during the Mount Everest expedition was observed between 12,000 and 17,000 feet. The Indian Brown Dipper (*Cinclus pallasii tenuirostris*) normally keeps to lower elevations between 5,000 and 6,000 feet. In East Nepal it was obtained at an elevation of 7,500 feet, while Scully observed it in the Nayakot Valley in November and in the Markhu Valley in December.

TURDIDAE

The family is divided into six groups or sub-families: 1, *Brachypteryginae* (Shortwings); 2, *Saxicolinae* (Chats); 3, *Enicurinae* (Forktails); 4, *Phoenicurinae* (Redstarts); 5, *Turdinae* (Thrushes); 6, *Prunellinae* (Accentors).

Four species of Shortwing occur. Gould's Shortwing (*Heteroxenicus stellatus*), previously recorded only from Sikkim, has been obtained in the eastern limits of Nepal at an approximate elevation of 7,000 feet. Blanford obtained it in Sikkim between 12,000 and 13,000 feet. The Nepal Shortwing (*H. nipalensis nipalensis*) has a breeding range between 3,000 and 6,000 feet; the White-browed Shortwing (*H. curalis*) is said to breed from 5,000 to at least 10,000 feet. The fourth species is Hodgson's Shortwing (*Hodgsonius phoenicuroides*), which differs from the others in its comparatively long tail. Shortwings are inveterate skulkers, keeping entirely to the ground or to low thick cover. The Indian Blue Chat (*Larvivora brunnea*), included in this sub-family, frequents cool shady forest. Eggs of this bird were obtained in East Nepal in April at 7,000 feet. Its usual breeding range is from 5,000 feet upwards but it descends lower than this in Nepal during the winter.

SAXICOLINAE (Bush Chats)

The second sub-family, the *Saxicolinae* or Chats, forms a natural section of the Thrushes. The Indian Bush Chat (*Saxicola torquata indica*) is very common in the Nepal Valley throughout the year and is said to be abundant the whole way from the Valley to the plains in winter. It breeds in the Valley in June, and it has been observed breeding in Eastern Nepal at an elevation of 7,000 feet. This Chat is a hill breeder in distinction to the White-tailed Bush Chat (*Saxicola torquata leucura*) which breeds in the plains and is common in the Tarai. The Turkestan Chat (*Saxicola torquata prezwalskii*) was obtained by Col. Kennion early in December 1920; the Northern Indian Bush Chat (*Saxicola caprata bicolor*) was also taken by him. The Dark-grey Bush Chat (*Oreicola ferrea ferrea*) is fairly common in the Nepal Valley throughout the year. It is always found about the foothills, and ascends to an elevation of about 6,000 feet. Eggs of this species were taken in the Valley in June.

ENICURINAE (Forktails)

The Forktails, included in the sub-family *Enicurinae*, are Wagtail-like black and white birds with long, deeply forked tails, found usually in the vicinity of streams. Four species occur in Nepal. Scully found the Western Spotted Forktail (*Enicurus maculatus maculatus*) fairly common in the streams of the Chitlong and Markhu valleys in winter, and observed it also as low down as the Hetaura duns, while in Eastern Nepal it was observed to be plentiful at 7,000 feet and lower during winter. The Slaty-backed Forktail (*Enicurus schistaceus*) is a permanent resident in the Nepal Valley but is, according to Scully, less common there than the Spotted Forktail. The Little Forktail (*Microcichla scouleri scouleri*) is also common in the Nepal Valley and in the Nayakot district.

PHOENICURINAE (Redstarts)

Four species of Redstarts (*Phoenicurus*) occur in Nepal, all of which breed in the higher ranges above 10,000 feet. The Blue-fronted Redstart (*Phoenicurus frontalis*) is a winter visitor to the Nepal Valley, but confines itself to the hills at elevations from 5,000 to 8,000 feet; it was observed at a winter elevation of 10,000 to 11,000 feet. The White-throated Redstart (*Phoenicurus schisticeps*), a handsome bird with a blue crown, black back, chestnut tail, and a large white throat patch, was also observed in the same area at the same time. Hodgson's Redstart (*Phoenicurus hodgsoni*) is common in winter in the Nepal Valley, where, Scully states, it appears towards the end of September, migrating northwards before the middle of April. Col. Kennion secured a specimen at 7,000 feet in November. The Eastern Indian Redstart (*Phoenicurus ochrurus rufiventris*) is said to occur very rarely in Nepal and Sikkim. The beautiful White-capped Redstart (*Chaimarrornis leucocephala*), like the Forktail, is a persistent haunter of mountain streams. It is quite common in the Nepal Valley in winter and in the lower hills; it doubtless breeds during summer in the higher zones. The Plumbeous Redstart (*Rhyacornis fuliginosa fuliginosa*), a bird of uniform dull blue-grey plumage, has a breeding range from " 4,000 to 12,000 feet "; but Scully states that it is only found in the Nepal Valley in winter and is also common at that season in the lower valleys and the duns; he observed it nearly always in company with White-capped Redstarts.

Other species of this sub-family recorded from Nepal are the Chinese Red-spotted Blue Throat (*Cyanecula svecica robusta*) and the Himalayan Ruby Throat (*Calliope pectoralis pectoralis*); both species visit the Nepal Valley in small numbers during the cold weather. Col. Kennion's collection includes an example of the common Ruby Throat (*Calliope calliope*) obtained early in December.

Hodgson's Grandala (*Grandala coelicolor*) is a bird of the highest
43 altitudes; it breeds above 16,000 feet only and certainly wanders up to

20,000 feet, and even in winter these birds are rarely found below 10,000 feet.

The Golden Bush Robin (*Tarsiger chrysaeus chrysaeus*), the dominating note of whose colouring is bright orange in the male and olive-green in the female, is a shy bird which keeps mostly to thick jungle. It has been observed at elevations between 7,000 and 8,000 feet in Eastern Nepal, at which altitude the Red-flanked Bush Robin (*Ianthia cyanura rufilata*) was also common in March. Other species observed in the eastern limits of Nepal are the White-browed Bush Robin (*Ianthia indica indica*) and the handsome Rufous-bellied Bush Robin (*Ianthia hyperythra*), obtained at an elevation of 11,000 feet.

Two other species recorded from within the State are the Blue-headed Robin (*Adelura caeruleocephala*) and the White-tailed Bush Robin (*Notodela leucura*). Both were obtained in East Nepal in winter, the former at 11,500 feet, the latter at 8,000 feet. The Magpie Robin (*Copsychus saularis*) is a permanent resident in the Nepal Valley, where it is one of the commonest and most familiar birds. The Shama (*Kittocincla macroura indica*) inhabits the more open country of the Tarai and the lower hills.

TURDIDAE (Thrushes)

The sub-family *Turdidae* comprises the true thrushes; birds of larger size which move about in flocks feeding both on insects and fruit. The Grey-winged Thrush (*Turdus boulboul*) is common and resident round the Valley of Nepal throughout the year. The birds confine themselves to the hills at elevations from 7,000 to 8,000 feet and only descend into the Valley proper in winter. Tickell's Thrush (*Turdus unicolor*) was observed by Scully in small numbers in the Nepal Valley; in summer this thrush, according to Stuart Baker, is found principally between 6,000 and 8,000 feet, but wanders higher and lower than this for breeding purposes. Other species observed are the White-collared Thrush (*Turdus albocincta*), which breeds in the higher altitudes, and the Grey-headed Thrush (*Turdus castaneus castaneus*) which breeds in West Nepal above 6,000 feet. Stevens obtained this thrush on the Nepal-Sikkim frontier at 10,000 feet in May. The Red-throated Thrush (*Turdus ruficollis*) and the Black-throated Thrush (*Turdus atrogularis*) were observed in the eastern limits of Nepal at 11,000 feet in March. The last-named is known as the "Cachar" in Nepal; it arrives in the Nepal Valley about the end of November and leaves at the end of April. During these months it is very common in gardens and woods and is often seen feeding on grassy slopes, pathways, and even ploughed fields (Scully). The Dark Thrush (*Turdus obscurus*) is described as an uncommon winter visitor to Nepal. Scully states that he observed it once in the Sheopuri Forest in May at an elevation of about 7,000 feet.

Two species of Ground Thrushes occur. The Pied Ground Thrush (*Geocichla wardi*), a very handsome thrush, ranging between 4,000 and 7,000 feet, and the Orange-headed Ground Thrush (*G. citrina citrina*). The latter is a favourite cage-bird with the Nepalese; it is found in summer in

the hills round the Nepal Valley, just above 5,000 feet, going down to the foothills and adjacent plains in winter. Baptista secured a specimen in the Tarai in March. The Himalayan Missel Thrush (*Arceuthornis viscivorus bonapartei*) is a bird of high elevation from 6,000 to 10,000 feet, remaining within these limits throughout the year. The Small-billed Mountain Thrush (*Oreocincla dauma dauma*) and the Plain-backed Mountain Thrush (*O. mollissima mollissima*) are recorded. Baptista obtained an example of the former in the Tarai during March.

The latter species was obtained in the eastern limits of Nepal at elevations from 7,000 to 10,000 feet in March and April. The Large Brown Thrush (*Zoothera monticola*), recognizable by its long powerful bill, which is strongly curved near the tip, has a breeding range in the Himalayas "between 4,000 and 9,000 feet, descending to some 2,000 to 3,000 in winter."

Four species of Rock Thrushes are recorded from Nepal. The Chestnut-bellied Rock Thrush (*Monticola rufiventer*) is common in the hills round the Nepal Valley, where it breeds, and in the open forest between 6,000 and 8,000 feet. The Blue-headed Rock Thrush (*Monticola cinclorhyncha*) is found in the Valley of Nepal on the hillsides only, where, according to Scully, it frequents for preference the little dry nullahs overgrown with bushes and small trees. It breeds in the valley and is often caged. The Indian Blue Rock Thrush (*Monticola solitaria pandoo*), a solitary thrush frequently seen perching on rocks and boulders, is a winter visitor to the Nepal Valley between October and March. The Himalayan Whistling Thrush (*Myiophoneus temminckii temminckii*), a large thrush with black plumage glossed over with blue, and a loud, human-like whistle, is a permanent resident in the hills round the Nepal Valley, where it is common about the streams. Col. Kennion obtained an example at 11,000 feet. Two other beautiful thrushes recorded are the Purple Thrush (*Cochoa purpurea*) and the Green Thrush (*Cochoa viridis*).

The Accentors (*Prunellinae*), connections of the Thrushes (*Turdidae*), make up the last sub-family of the *Turdidae*. The following species are recorded from Nepal: Eastern Alpine Accentor (*Laiscopus collaris nipalensis*), observed at an elevation of 21,000 feet during the first Mount Everest expedition; Altai Accentor (*L. himalayanus*); Maroon-backed Accentor (*Prunella immaculatus*); the Black-throated Accentor (*P. atrogularis*); and the Rufous-breasted Accentor (*P. strophiata strophiata*), all species inhabiting the northern region descending to the central zone in winter.

MUSCICAPIDAE (Flycatchers)

The Flycatchers are all birds of small size with weak tarsi and feet and with numerous hairs stretching from the forehead over the nostrils.

The Sooty Flycatcher (*Hemichelidon sibirica cacabata*) and the Ferruginous Flycatcher (*Hemichelidon cinereiceps*) are both resident species in the Himalayas—the former between 6,000 and 14,000 feet, the latter

between 4,000 and 6,000 feet. Both species are said to descend to the foothills and adjacent plains in winter. The Orange-gorgeted Flycatcher (*Siphia strophiata strophiata*) is not common in the Nepal Valley. Scully observed it in March in the Residency grounds and again at the end of May on the Sheopuri ridge at 7,000 feet. The Eastern Red-breasted Flycatcher (*S. parva albicilla*) was found by him to be tolerably common in the central woods of the Nepal Valley from October to about the middle of April.

The genus *Cyornis*, which contains a large number of species closely resembling one another, is represented in Nepal by eight species. The Rufous-breasted Blue Flycatcher (*Cyornis hyperythra hyperythra*), breeding between 4,000 and 8,000 feet, and obtained in Eastern Nepal at 7,000 feet in May; the Slaty-blue Flycatcher (*C. tricolor tricolor*), resident between 8,000 and 12,000 feet; and the Eastern White-browed Blue Flycatcher (*C. superciliaris astigma*), which is said to breed at rather lower elevations. All these species occur in the foothills and adjacent plains in winter. The Sapphire-headed Flycatcher (*C. sapphira*) has also been obtained in Eastern Nepal at an approximate elevation of 7,000 feet. Other species recorded are the Indian Little Pied Flycatcher (*C. melanoleuca melanoleuca*), occurring between 3,000 and 8,000 feet in summer; the Blue-throated Flycatcher (*C. rubeculoides rubeculoides*), a seasonal visitor to the Nepal Valley, and Tickell's Blue Flycatcher (*Cyornis tickelliae tickelliae*). The last is a widely distributed species in India and occurs in the Himalayas up to 5,000 feet. The Pigmy Blue Flycatcher (*Nitidula hodgsoni*) occurs in the eastern limit of Nepal. The beautiful Verditer Flycatcher (*Stoparola melanops melanops*) is tolerably common in the forests at the foot of the hills surrounding the Nepal Valley, ascending the hills to about 8,000 feet in the breeding season (Scully). The Indian Brown Flycatcher (*A. latirostris poonensis*) is common in the central Valley from April to September, descending to the foothills and plains in winter. The Grey-headed Flycatcher (*Culicicapa ceylonensis ceylonensis*) is exceedingly common in the woods of the central Valley throughout the year and is abundant in the lower hills and plains in winter. Hodgson's White-gorgeted Flycatcher (*Anthipes moniliger moniliger*) has been obtained in the Mai (Khola) Valley in East Nepal.

The Niltavas are characterized by the brilliant plumage of the males, and both sexes are distinguished by a bright blue spot on either side of the neck. Three species are recorded: the Large Niltava (*Niltava grandis grandis*), the Indian Rufous-bellied Niltava (*N. sundara sundara*), and the Small Niltava (*N. macgrigoriae*). The last named is said by Scully to be rare in the Nepal Valley but to be more common in the foothills in winter in dense jungle, generally close to streams. Oates records this Niltava as breeding in Nepal and Sikkim from April to June at elevations from 3,000 to 5,000 feet. The North Indian Black-naped Flycatcher (*H. azurea styani*) occurs in the lower hills. The Yellow-bellied Flycatcher (*Chelidorhynx hypoxanthum*), resident in the higher ranges, is common in the lower valleys in winter. Col. Kennion took an example at 7,000 feet in November Two species of Fantail Flycatcher occur. These are the White-browed

Fantail Flycatcher (*Rhipidura aureola aureola*) and the White-throated Fantail Flycatcher (*R. albicollis albicollis*). Both are cheery little birds, immediately recognizable by their habit of continually spreading their fan-like tails. The former occurs from the plains to about 5,000 feet, the latter up to 7,000 feet. The beautiful Paradise Flycatcher (*Terpsiphone paradisi paradisi*) is very common in the Nepal Valley from the beginning of April to the end of September where, according to Scully, it frequents the central woods, gardens, and hedges, but does not ascend the surrounding hills. It breeds in the Valley in May and June.

LANIDAE (Shrikes)

The Black-headed Shrike (*L. nigriceps nigriceps*) is common in the Nepal Valley from March to September and migrates during the winter to the foothills and plains. A specimen was secured by Col. Kennion at 11,000 feet in September. The only shrike commonly found in the Nepal Valley in winter is the Grey-backed Shrike (*L. tephronotus*). This species arrives in September and leaves in March, migrating to its breeding ground in the higher plateaus of Tibet. Baptista obtained a specimen in the Tarai in March. The Brown Shrike (*L. cristatus cristatus*), a winter visitor to North India, is also recorded from Nepal, where Col. Kennion obtained it in December; as well as a specimen of the Rufous-backed Shrike (*Lanius erythronotus*). The Brown-backed Shrike (*Hemipus picatus capitalis*) is uncommon according to Scully. Two species of Wood Shrike occur, the Nepal Wood Shrike (*Tephrodornis pelvica pelvica*) and the Indian Common Wood Shrike (*T. pondiceriana pondiceriana*); the latter, a widely distributed species in India, is common in the plains.

CAMPOPHAGIDAE (Minivets and Cuckoo Shrikes)

The Minivets are birds of brilliant plumage in which red in the male and yellow in the female is the predominant colour. They are closely allied to the Shrikes. The commonest species in the Nepal Valley is the Indian Small-billed Minivet (*Pericrocotus brevirostris brevirostris*). The species is resident throughout the year and is also abundant in the lower hills during winter. The Eastern race, the Assam Short-billed Minivet (*P. brevirostris affinis*), was observed on the Nepal-Sikkim frontier at 11,000 feet. The Indian Scarlet Minivet (*P. speciosus speciosus*) is also described as being tolerably common; in the Valley it ascends the hills up to 6,000 feet and is common in the lower regions and the plains. Three examples of the Burmese Scarlet Minivet (*Pericrocotus fraterculus*) were obtained by Col. Kennion at elevations between 7,000 and 8,000 feet. Other species recorded are the Rosy Minivet (*P. roseus*), breeding throughout the Himalayas between 1,000 and 6,000 feet; the Small Minivet (*P. peregrinus peregrinus*), a plains species recorded from the lower hills of Nepal; and the Yellow-throated Minivet (*P. solaris solaris*), a bird of high elevation in summer, which descends to the lower levels in winter. The Cuckoo Shrikes, the

predominant note in whose plumage is grey, are represented by two species —the Dark Grey Cuckoo Shrike (*Lalage melaschista melaschista*) and the Large Indian Cuckoo Shrike (*Graucalus macei nipalensis*). The former species is said to be common in the Valley of Nepal between April and September, descending to the plains in winter. The latter is a bird of the lower hills below 4,000 feet and rarely occurring in the central Valley.

ARTAMIDAE (Swallow Shrikes)

The Ashy Swallow Shrike (*Artamus fuscus*) occurs in the plains and the foothills. The swallow shrikes, which are quite shrike-like in general appearance, are distinguished by their long powerful wings and very short tarsi. They are included in a separate family, the *Artamidae.*

DICRURIDAE (Drongos)

The Drongos are easily recognized by their black plumage and long forked tails. The Himalayan Black Drongo (*Dicrurus macrocercus albirictus*), the northern representative of the common and familiar King Crow of the Indian plains, is abundant in the Nepal Valley throughout the year and also on the foothills and adjacent plains in winter (Scully). The Crow-billed Drongo (*Dicrurus annectens*) is confined to the foothills, where it breeds. The Himalayan Grey Drongo (*Dicrurus leucophaeus stevensi*), distinguished by its pale grey plumage, occurs in the Nepal Valley between March and September, retiring to the lower region during winter. Scully did not observe the White-bellied Drongo (*D. coerulescens coerulescens*) in the Nepal Valley, but he states that it is common in the duns in winter. This species was obtained by Col. Kennion. The Northern Bronze Drongo (*Chaptia aenea aenea*) is abundant in the lower hills in winter and occurs in the central Valley during summer. The Indian Hair-crested Drongo (*Chibia hottentotta hottentotta*), a glossy black bird whose crown is ornamented with long hair like feathers, is abundant in the lower hills in winter, particularly when the cotton trees (*Bombax*) are in bloom. Two species of Racket-tailed Drongos occur: the Indian Lesser Racket-tailed Drongo (*Bhringa remifer tectirostris*), inhabiting Eastern Nepal, and the Assam Large Racket-tailed Drongo (*Dissemurus paradiseus grandis*). This species does not occur in the central Valley, but is common in the foothills and the plains.

SYLVIIDAE (Warblers)

The Warblers (*Sylviidae*) are mainly small-sized birds with plain plumage. Many are migratory, others are resident. The Indian Great Reed Warbler (*Acrocephalus stentoreus brunnescens*), which breeds in the Himalayas above 6,000 feet and is a winter visitor to the plains from the base of the Himalayas southward, is recorded from Nepal; a race of this species (*Acrocephalus stentoreus amyae*), which is darker and less rufous, breeds in the sub-Himalayan plains and the Tarai. Two other species, Blyth's Reed

Warbler (*A. dumetorum*) and the Paddy-field Warbler (*A. agricolus*), have also been obtained in the State. Both birds breed in the Himalayas and migrate to the plains in winter. The Spotted Bush Warbler (*Tribura thoracica*) and the Brown Bush Warbler (*T. luteoventris*) have been obtained in Nepal; the latter species usually occupies a zone between 5,000 and 7,000 feet and descends to the foothills and plains in winter. The Burmese Tailor Bird (*Orthotomus sutorius patia*) is very common in the Nepal Valley, where it breeds freely, occurring also in the foothills and plains. The Streaked Fantail Warbler (*Cisticola juncidis cursitans*) occurs both in the plains and the hills up to 6,000 feet. Other species recorded are Franklin's Wren Warbler (*Franklinia gracilis*), Hodgson's Wren Warbler (*Franklinia cinereocapilla*), the Large Grass Warbler (*Graminicola bengalensis bengalensis*), and the thick-billed Warbler (*Phragamaticola aedon*). The two last-named species occur in the grass jungles of the Tarai; the former is resident, the latter a winter visitor. The Willow Warblers (*Phylloscopus*) are represented by nine species. Tickell's Willow Warbler (*P. affinis*) was obtained by Scully in the Nepal Valley in October and from the middle of March to the middle of May, when it was tolerably common in the pine trees of the Residency grounds. The Brown Willow Warbler (*P. collybita tristis*) is a winter visitor and is included in Col. Kennion's collection; the Smoky Willow Warbler (*P. fuliginiventer*) and the Grey-faced Willow Warbler (*P. maculipennis*) are resident species. The former breeds in the high ranges of the Himalayas above 12,000 feet; the latter is resident between 5,000 and 9,000 feet. A series of skins of this warbler were obtained in the eastern limits of Nepal at 9,000 feet in April. The Nepal Orange-barred Willow Warbler (*P. pulcher pulcher*) is a winter visitor to the hills round the Nepal Valley between 6,000 and 7,000 feet; in East Nepal it was found to be common at elevations between 6,000 and 7,000 feet in March and April. Pallas' Willow Warbler (*P. proregulus newtoni*) is fairly common in the Nepal Valley in winter, when Scully found this species frequenting the pine trees in the Residency grounds. Hume's Willow Warbler (*P. humii*) is very common in the Valley of Nepal " from October to nearly the end of April." Scully states that it is far the most abundant species found in this Valley, where it frequents the central woods and forests at the foot of the hills. Other species mentioned are the Green Willow Warbler (*Acanthopneuste nitidus nitidus*), which passes through Nepal on its way to and from its winter quarters in the plains; the Greenish Willow Warbler (*A. nitidus viridanus*), which Scully found fairly common in the Nepal Valley in winter; and Blyth's Crowned Willow Warbler (*A. trochiloides trochiloides*), which he observed in the Sheopuri Forest in May at an elevation of 6,500 feet. The two last-named species breed in the Himalayas. The Dull-green Willow Warbler (*A. lugubris*) is also recorded. Stevens observed these birds on the Nepal-Sikkim frontier at 10,000 feet in March. The Black-browed Flycatcher Warbler (*Seicercus burkii burkii*); the Grey-headed Warbler (*Seicercus xanthoschistus jerdoni*), a resident and very common species in the Valley and the surrounding hills; the Grey-cheeked Flycatcher Warbler (*Seicercus poliogenys*), observed

in the eastern limits of Nepal at 10,000 feet in April and May; the Chestnut-headed Flycatcher Warbler (*Seicercus castaneiceps*), recorded from the Sheopuri Forest in May and June; the Black-faced Flycatcher Warbler (*Abrornis schisticeps schisticeps*); and the White-throated Flycatcher Warbler (*A. albogularis albogularis*) have all been obtained in Nepal. The Aberrant Warbler. (*Neornis f. flavolivaceus*) and Hume's Bush Warbler (*Horornis acanthizoides brunnescens*) are both high elevation species; and both were observed at 10,000 feet in East Nepal. Other species recorded from the State are the Strong-footed Warbler (*H. fortipes*); the Large Bush Warbler (*H. major*); the Rufous-capped Bush Warbler (*Horeites brunnifrons brunnifrons*), observed breeding at an elevation of 10,000 feet in East Nepal; the Brown Hill Warbler (*Suya crinigera crinigera*), common in the hills round the Valley of Nepal (5,000 to 6,000 feet), where it breeds between May and July; the Black-throated Hill Warbler (*Suya atrogularis*), known previously only from Sikkim but found also to be common in the Mai Valley, East Nepal, at 7,000 feet; the Yellow-bellied Wren Warbler (*Prinia flaviventris flaviventris*), which occurs in the Nepal Tarai; Stewart's Ashy Wren Warbler (*P socialis stewarti*), and the Indian Wren Warbler (*P. inornata inornata*). The Gold-Crests and Tit Warblers are included in a separate family, the *Regulidae*. Two species are recorded—the Himalayan Gold Crest (*Regulus regulus sikkimensis*), observed at 10,000 feet on the Nepal-Sikkim frontier in January, and the Fire-capped Tit Warbler (*Cephalophrys flammiceps flammiceps*).

Family Oriolidae

The Orioles comprise a number of arboreal species, the predominating colour of which, except in a single species, is yellow—four species are recorded as occurring in Nepal. The Burmese Black-naped Oriole (*Oriolus indicus tenuirostris*) is described by Scully as a winter visitor to the central Valley, where it is seen between October and March. The Indian Oriole (*Oriolus kundoo*) arrives in the Valley in April and leaves in August. The Indian Black-headed Oriole (*Oriolus xanthornus xanthornus*) is common in the plains and the foothills. The Maroon Oriole (*Oriolus trailii*), whose name describes its colour, was observed by Scully in the lower hills in winter in Sikkim; this Oriole is generally distributed at all elevations from the base of the hills up to 7,500 feet.

Family Eulabetidae (Grackles, Mynas, and Starlings)

The Indian Grackle (*Eulabes intermedia intermedia*) is common in the duns and the Tarai, but does not occur in the hills; it is a favourite cage bird in Nepal. The Spotted-winged Stare (*Psaroglossa spiloptera*) occurs in the State and is represented by two examples in the Hodgson collection at the British Museum. Two species of Starlings are recorded: the Rose-coloured Starling (*Pastor roseus*), a winter visitor to the Indian plains, which has also been obtained by Hodgson in Nepal, and the Himalayan

Starling (*Sturnus vulgaris humii*), a resident species; it was observed by Scully in small numbers in the plains in winter. The Grey-headed Starling (*Spodiopsar malabarica*), a widely distributed Indian species, is common in the central Valley between April and September and occurs also in the lower region and the Tarai. The common Indian Myna (*Acridotheres tristis*), one of the most familiar of Indian birds, is exceedingly common in the plains and both in the lower and central regions up to about 6,000 feet. Three other species occur: the Bank Myna (*Acridotheres ginginianus*); the Jungle Myna (*A. fuscus fuscus*), a common and permanent resident in the Valley; and the Pied Myna (*Sturnopastor contra capensis*), which is common in the foothills and more common in the plains.

Family Ploceidae (Weaver Birds and Munias)

The *Ploceidae* include the Conical-billed Grain-eating species such as Weaver Birds and their connections the Munias. A race of the Baya Bird (*Ploceus philippinus*) breeds in the Nepal Valley and is common between April and September. The Eastern Baya Bird (*P. passerinus philippinus*) occurs in the Tarai.

The Munias are included in the sub-family *Viduinae*. The Northern Chestnut-headed Munia (*Munia atricapilla rubroniger*) and the Spotted Munia (*Uroloncha punctulata punctulata*) are both quite common in the Valley between May and October; the latter species, according to Scully, arrives early in May, the former not till the close of the month. Hodgson's Munia (*Munia striata acuticauda*) was taken in the Valley by Scully in February. The Indian Red Munia (*Amandava amandava amandava*) occurs in the lower region.

Family Fringillidae (Grosbeaks, Finches, etc.)

Four species of Grosbeaks are recorded: the Black and Yellow Grosbeak (*Perrisospiza icteroides*), a west Himalayan species; the Allied Grosbeak (*P. affinis*), observed at an altitude of 9,000 feet on the Nepal-Sikkim frontier; the White-winged Grosbeak (*P. carnipes carnipes*); and the Spotted-winged Grosbeak (*Mycerobas melanoxanthus*).

Hodgson records three species of Bull-Finch: the Red-headed Bull-Finch (*Pyrrhula erythrocephala*), the Gold-headed Bull-Finch (*P. epauletta*), and the Brown Bull-Finch (*P. nipalensis nipalensis*). According to Scully, the last-named species descends into the hills round the Valley of Nepal in winter. Stevens observed it on the Nepal-Sikkim frontier at 10,160 feet early in May. The Himalayan Crossbill (*Loxia curvirostra himalayana*) also occurs; it has been obtained in the eastern limits of Nepal at 11,500 feet in March. The Scarlet Finch (*Haematospiza sipahi*) inhabits forest and bushy ground in Nepal and Sikkim at various elevations.

Several Rose-Finches occur. Those recorded are the Red-headed Rose-Finch (*Propyrrhula subhimalchus*), observed on the Nepal-Sikkim
44 frontier at 10,000 feet; the Red-breasted Rose-Finch (*Pyrrhospiza punicea*

punicea), a bird of high elevation obtained during the Everest Expedition at 17,500 feet; the White-browed Rose-Finch (*Propasser thurus thurus*), recorded as common on the Nepal-Sikkim frontier between 10,000 and 11,000 feet in March; the Beautiful Rose-Finch (*P. pulcherrimus pulcherrimus*) obtained during the Everest expedition at 14,800 feet; the Pink-browed Rose-Finch (*P. rhodochrous*); the Spotted-winged Rose-Finch (*P. rhodopeplus rhodopeplus*); and Hodgson's Rose-Finch (*Carpodacus erythrinus roseatus*), which merely passes through the Valley on its migrations. The last species is often caged by the Nepalese. Edwards' Eastern Rose-Finch (*Carpodacus edwardsi saturatus*) has been obtained in the Mai (Knola) Valley in East Nepal at 8,000 feet. The Dark Rose-Finch (*Procarduelis nipalensis nipalensis*) is common in the hills round the Valley of Nepal in winter only between 6,000 and 8,000 feet; it was observed at an elevation of 8,000 feet in East Nepal in March. Blanford's Rose-Finch (*Procarduelis rubescens*) occurs in Eastern Nepal and Sikkim. The Himalayan Green-Finch (*Hypacanthis spinoides*) is a very common and permanent resident in the Nepal Valley; during the Mount Everest expedition it was obtained at 12,000 feet; Col. Kennion obtained several examples at 11,000 feet in September. Of the Sparrows, the Tree Sparrow (*Passer montanus saturatus*) is the common sparrow of the Nepal Valley, where it is a permanent resident, breeding from March to July. A race of the common Indian Sparrow (*Passer domesticus*), intermediate between *P. d. confusicus* and *P. d. parkini*, is also common and resident, but is confined to the neighbourhood of towns and villages. Two other species recorded are the Yellow-throated Sparrow (*Gymnoris xanthosterna xanthosterna*), a plains species, and the Cinnamon Sparrow (*P. rutilans cinnamomeus*).

A single species of Mountain Finch, *i.e.*, Hodgson's Mountain Finch (*Fringilauda nemoricola nemoricola*) has been recorded from within the borders of the State. The species breeds in the high altitudes of the Himalayas from Nepal to Tibet. Adam's Mountain-Finch (*Montifringilla nivalis adamsi*) has been obtained on the Nepal-Sikkim frontier at an elevation of over 11,000 feet in summer.

Hodgson has recorded four species of Bunting. The Indian Grey-headed Bunting (*Emberiza fucata arcuata*), a resident species, the Little Bunting (*E. pusilla*), the Yellow-breasted Bunting (*E. aureola*), and the Black-faced Bunting (*E. spodocephala melanops*), winter visitors to Nepal. The Crested Bunting (*Melophus melanicterus*) is described as a permanent resident in the Valley of Nepal and in the cultivated portions of the surrounding hills.

HIRUNDINIDAE (Swallows and Martins)

The commonest swallow in the Nepal Valley is apparently Hodgson's Striated Swallow (*Hirundo daurica nipalensis*). It is the one seen most commonly about houses. It leaves the Valley for lower levels during the winter. The Eastern Swallow (*Hirundo rustica gutturalis*) is very common. It arrives in February and migrates to the plains in September—both species breed in the Valley.

The Crag Martin (*Ptyonoprogne rupestris*) occurs throughout the Himalayas, breeding at high altitudes. Scully describes it as rare in the central Valley, but common in the lower valleys in winter. A race of the Sand Martin (*Riparia riparia*) is found in the central Valley throughout the year where, according to Scully, its presence is particularly noticeable in winter when other swifts and swallows have migrated to lower levels. It breeds on the banks of rivers and in the side of alluvial cliffs so common in the main Valley of Nepal.

Hodgson's Martin (*Delichon nipalensis*) occurs throughout the year. It is said to ascend the Himalayas up to 8,000 feet and was observed at that elevation in East Nepal in March.

MOTACILLIDAE (Wagtails and Pipits)

The Large Pied Wagtail (*Motacilla maderaspatensis*), which breeds in the plains and in the Himalayas up to 3,000 feet, was observed by Hodgson in Nepal. Other species of wagtails recorded from the State are the White-faced Wagtail (*Motacilla alba leucopsis*), Hodgson's Wagtail (*M. a. hodgsoni*), and the Grey Wagtail (*M. cinerea caspica*); all three are common in the central Valley and the lower ranges between September and April. A single example of the Streak-eyed Wagtail (*M. a. ocularis*) was taken by Scully in the Nepal Valley in May—he presumed that the bird was in passage to its breeding grounds. Other species are the Indian White Wagtail (*M. alba dukhunensis*), a winter visitor to the whole of India; the Yellow-headed Wagtails (*M. citreola calcaratus* and *M. citreola citreola*), large series of which were obtained by Hodgson; and the Grey-faced Wagtail (*M. flava thunbergi*). Hodgson's Pied Wagtail (*M. a. alboides*) as a breeding species is found " from Kashmir along the Himalaya to Tibet."

The Indian Tree Pipit (*Anthus hodgsoni*) is very common in the Valley of Nepal and in the lower hills in winter—arriving, according to Scully, in October and leaving about the end of April; the species breeds in the higher parts of the Himalayas from 7,000 to 12,000 feet and visits the greater part of India during the cold weather. The Indian Pipit (*Anthus richardi rufulus*) is exceedingly common in the Valley of Nepal throughout the year; it is also common in the lower valleys in winter. Blyth's Pipit (*A. richardi striolatus*) was obtained by Hodgson. Hodgson's Pipit (*Anthus roseatus*) is common in the Nepal and Chitlong Valleys between October and March; in summer it occupies an elevation above 12,000 feet. The Upland Pipit (*Oreocorys sylvanus*) is described as a permanent resident round the Nepal Valley, where it keeps to the grassy slopes of the hills at an elevation of about 6,000 feet and does not appear to descend to the bed of the valley (Scully).

ALAUDIDAE (Larks)

The Tibet Skylark (*Alauda arvensis leiopus*) is, according to Scully, tolerably common in the Nepal Valley during winter, retiring about the

end of March. During winter he also observed a race of the Indian Skylark (*Alauda gulgula* var.) in the Valley and found the Crested Lark (*Galerida cristata* var.) common in the Tarai. Other species recorded from Nepal are the Ganges Sand Lark (*Alauda raytal raytal*), pretty common in the plains in December, the Short-toed Lark (*Calandrella brachydactyla dukhunensis*), observed during migration in October, the Bengal Bush Lark (*Mirafra assamica*) and the Ashy-crowned Finch-Lark (*Pyrrhulauda grisea grisea*). The Long-billed Calandra Lark (*Melanocorypha maxima*) is "confined to the country between Kansu and the northern borders of Nepal and Sikkim." During the first Mount Everest expedition it was observed on the open plains at 14,000 to 15,000 feet:

Zosteropidae (White Eyes)

The Indian White Eye (*Z. palpebrosa palpebrosa*) of the Indian Plains—is exceedingly common in the Valley of Nepal throughout the year. Col. Kennion obtained examples at 7,000 feet.

Nectarinidae (Sunbirds)

The Himalayan Yellow-backed Sunbird (*Aethopyga siparaja seheriae*) and Hodgson's Yellow-backed Sunbird (*A. s. miles*) both occur—the former is said to breed in the foothills of the Himalayas; Stevens observes, however, that this statement does not hold good for Western Sikkim, where the species is confined to low elevations only and is entirely absent from the foothills; the latter is said to breed apparently above the breeding range of the former. Other species recorded are the Fire-tailed Yellow-backed Sunbird (*A. ignicauda ignicauda*), Mrs. Gould's Sunbird (*Aethopyga gouldiae*), both species observed at an elevation of over 10,000 feet on the Nepal-Sikkim frontier in March, and the Black-breasted Sunbird (*Aethopyga saturata*). Scully writes that the Nepal Sunbird (*Aethopyga nipalensis nipalensis*) is very common in the forest-covered hills around the Nepal Valley from 7,000 to 8,000 feet, and in the foothills in winter; it was, however, found to be common in the eastern limits of Nepal between 7,000 and 10,000 feet in March. The Purple Sunbird (*Cyrtostomus asiaticus asiaticus*), found practically throughout India, is a summer visitor to the Nepal Valley, where it is common in gardens and hedges between May and September. The Fire-breasted Flower-pecker (*Dicaeum ignipectum*) is tolerably common in the Valley of Nepal and is apparently a permanent resident, while the Thick-billed Flower-pecker (*Piprisoma squalidum*) is described as a summer visitor to the central part of the great Valley where it is common. Other species of this family recorded as occurring within the State are the larger Streaked Spider-hunter (*Arachnothera magna magna*), the Scarlet-backed Flower-pecker (*Dicaeum cruentatum cruentatum*), the Plain-coloured Flower-pecker (*Dicaeum minullum olivaceum*), Tickell's Flower-pecker (*Dicaeum erythrorhynchum*), the Thick-billed Flower-pecker (*Piprisoma squalidum*

squalidum), not uncommon, according to Scully, in the central part of the Nepal Valley from May to September, and the Yellow-bellied Flowerpecker (*Pachyglossa melanoxantha*).

Family Pittidae (Pittas or Ant-Thrushes)

The Pittas are a compact group of birds with long legs and short tails, which live habitually on the ground in the jungles; they are represented in Nepal by the Blue-naped Pitta (*Pitta nipalensis*), the Green-breasted Pitta (*P. cucullata cucullata*), both Himalayan species, and the Indian Pitta (*P. brachyura*), which is widely distributed all over India.

Order Eurylaimi

Eurylaimidae (Broadbills)

The Broadbills (*Eurylaimidae*) are birds in which the bill is abnormally broad and flat; they are all strikingly coloured. Two species occur: Hodgson's Broadbill (*Serilophus lunatus rubropygius*) is an East Himalayan species which extends into Nepal; the Long-tailed Broadbill (*Psarisomus dalhousiae*) is a beautiful grass-green bird with a green bill and black crown, ornamented with a central blue patch; it occurs throughout the Himalayas up to 6,000 feet. The former is known as the "*Rairo-suga*" and the latter as the "*Rai-i*" in Nepal.

Order Pici

Family Picidae (Woodpeckers, etc.)

The Scaly-bellied Green Woodpecker (*Picus squamatus squamatus*) occurs in Western Nepal. The little Scaly-bellied Green Woodpecker (*P. striolatus*) is common in the sal forests of the lower region and in the Tarai; it is usually seen feeding on the ground in the tall grass. The Indian Black-naped Woodpecker (*P. canus occipitalis*) is not uncommon and breeds in the forests surrounding the Nepal Valley. The Small Himalayan Woodpecker (*P. chlorolophus chlorolophus*) also breeds in the Valley and is usually found in tree forests at the foot of the hills; Scully found it equally common in the lower hills and the duns during winter and Baptista obtained it in the Tarai in February. The Large Yellow-naped Woodpecker (*Chrysophlegma flavinucha flavinucha*) and the Northern Pale Woodpecker (*Gecinulus grantia grantia*) are recorded. The Darjiling Pied Woodpecker (*Dryobates darjeelensis*) is common in the hills round the Valley of Nepal in large tree forests; it was found to be common in East Nepal at an elevation of 10,000 feet in winter. The Lesser Pied Woodpecker (*D. cathpariius cathpariius*) occurs in Eastern Nepal between 4,000 and 7,000 feet. Other

species of this genus which have been recorded are the Fulvous-breasted Pied Woodpecker (*D. macei macei*), obtained by Col. Kennion; the Rufous-bellied Pied Woodpecker (*D. hyperythrus hyperythrus*), observed on the Nepal-Sikkim frontier between 10,000 and 12,000 feet during June and August; and the Brown-fronted Pied Woodpecker (*D. auriceps*), a West Himalayan species observed once by Scully in the Valley of Nepal and also obtained by Hodgson and Mandelli. Scully found the Himalayan Pigmy Woodpecker (*Iyngipicus pygmaeus*) tolerably common in the sal forests of the duns; while Col. Kennion's collection of Nepal birds includes two examples of a Pigmy Woodpecker (*I. semicoronatus mitchellii*) which he obtained at Bhuguwada. The Red-eared Bay Woodpecker (*Blythipicus pyrrhotis pyrrhotis*) is found in Eastern Nepal at 7,000 feet or even higher. It is practically a ground feeding species. Other Woodpeckers found in Nepal are the Northern Rufous Woodpecker (*Micropternus brachyurus phaioceps*), which Scully considered rare; the Northern Golden-backed Woodpecker (*B. aurantius aurantius*); the Himalayan Golden-backed Three-toed Woodpecker (*Tiga shorei*), obtained by Col. Kennion; Hodgson's Golden-backed Woodpecker (*Chrysocolaptes gutticristatus sultaneus*), and Hesse's Great Slaty Woodpecker (*Alophonerpes pulverulentus harterti*), all confined to the Tarai and the lower hills.

The little group of small Short-tailed Birds, known as the Piculets (*Picumniae*), is represented in Nepal by the Himalayan Speckled Piculet (*Picumnus innominatus innominatus*) and the Indian Rufous Piculet (*Sasia ochracea ochracea*). The former is common in the central woods of the Nepal Valley and at the foot of the surrounding hills; the latter occurs at still higher elevations. The Kashmir Wryneck (*Iynx torquilla japonica*) occurs during migration; it is represented in the Hodgson collection at the British Museum by two examples, while two other specimens obtained within the State were presented by him to the Indian Museum.

CAPITONIDAE (Barbets)

Among the Barbets which, unlike the Woodpeckers, are mainly frugivorous, the Great Himalayan Barbet (*Megalaema virens marshallorum*) is common in the central Valley throughout the year, ascending in summer to above 7,000 feet, and descending to the foothills in winter. The Assam Lineated Barbet (*Thereiceryx lineatus hodgsoni*) is common and is limited to the forests below 2,000 feet—it is one of the birds commonly seen on the silk cotton trees when in flower. The beautiful Blue-throated Barbet (*Cyanops asiatica asiatica*) is exceedingly common in the central Valley and in the lower forests throughout the year. The Golden-throated Barbet (*C. franklinii franklinii*) is not common in the central Valley; it is found in the surrounding hills at elevations from 5,000 to 8,000 feet. The Indian Crimson-throated Barbet (*Xantholaema haemacephala indica*) is not common in the central Valley; it occurs only in the "central woods," where it breeds. It is common, however, in the lower hills and plains.

Order Anisodactyli

Coraciidae (Rollers)

The Rollers are represented by two species—the North Indian Roller (*Coracias benghalensis benghalensis*) and the Broad-billed Roller (*Eurystomus orientalis orientalis*). The former is common in the Tarai and the lower valleys throughout the year and appears in the central Valley only as a rare straggler. The specimens obtained in the Tarai by Col. Kennion and by Baptista were found to be intermediate between *C. benghalensis benghalensis* and the Burmese race (*C. benghalensis affinis*). The Broad-billed Roller (*E. o. orientalis*) inhabits the lower slopes of the Himalayas up to 3,000 feet.

Sub-Order Meropes

Meropidae (Bee-Eaters)

Hodgson's list includes four species of Bee-eaters as occurring within the State. Of these the Common Bee-eater (*Merops orientalis orientalis*) is common in the Tarai and the duns, particularly in winter and occurs in the central Valley as a rare straggler; the Blue-tailed Bee-eater (*Merops superciliosus javanicus*) occurs in the Tarai. The Chestnut headed Bee-eater (*Melittophagus erythrocephalus erythrocephalus*) and the Blue-beard Bee-eater (*Bucia athertoni*) both inhabit the lower Himalayas and have both been obtained in Nepal.

Sub-Order Halcyones

Family Alcedinidae (Kingfishers)

The common Indian Kingfisher (*Alcedo atthis bengalensis*) is recorded by Scully as being common in the central Valley of Nepal and in the lower valleys and plains. The Indian Pied Kingfisher (*Ceryle rudis leucomelanura*) is presumably rare and has only been observed by Scully in the Nayakot District; it does not occur in the Himalayas above a very moderate elevation. The Himalayan Pied Kingfisher (*Ceryle lugubris guttulata*) is found throughout the Himalayas up to 7,000 feet. Hodgson's list includes the Ruddy Kingfisher (*Entomothera coramanda coramanda*) inhabiting in Eastern Nepal up to 5,000 feet; the Brown-headed Stork-billed Kingfisher (*Ramphalcyon capensis gurial*), restricted to the base of the hills; the Three-toed Kingfisher (*Ceyx tridactylus tridactylus*); and the Indian White-breasted Kingfisher (*Halcyon smyrnensis fusca*), stated by Scully to be common in the Valley of Nepal.

Sub-Order Bucerotes

Bucerotidae (Hornbills)

Hodgson records four species of Hornbills as occurring within the State. The Great Indian Hornbill or Homrai (*Dichoceros bicornis*); the Large

Indian Pied Hornbill (*Anthracoceros coronatus affinis*); the Rufous-necked Hornbill (*Aceros nepalensis*); and the common Grey Hornbill (*Lophoceros birostris*). With the exception of the Rufous-necked Hornbill, which ascends the Himalayas up to 6,000 feet, these hornbills occur in the forests of the lower hills commonly below 2,000 or 3,000 feet.

Sub-Order Upupiae

Upupidae (Hoopoes)

Two examples of the Tibetan Hoopoe (*Upupa epops saturata*) were obtained by Col. Kennion at Nayakot. The Hodgson collection at the British Museum includes a specimen of the Indian Hoopoe (*Upupa epops orientalis*). During the Mount Everest expedition this Hoopoe was observed " flying over a glacier at 21,000 feet."

Order Macrochires

Sub-Order

Apidae (Swifts)

The common Indian House Swift (*Apus affinis affinis*) is, according to Scully, abundant in the Nepal Valley for eight months of the year, but migrates southwards during winter, returning about the first week in March. Two other species recorded by Hodgson are the White-necked Spinetail (*Hirundinapus caudacuta nudipes*), recognized by the rigid shafts of its tail-feathers which project for some distance beyond the tip, and the Himalayan Swiftlet (*Collocalia fuciphaga brevirostris*), which occurs throughout the Himalayas up to considerable elevations (12,000 feet) and is, according to Scully, common on the hills round the Nepal Valley from 6,000 feet upwards.

Sub-Order Caprimulgi

Caprimulgidae (Nightjars)

The Himalayan Jungle Nightjar (*Caprimulgus indicus jotaka*) is said by Scully to be uncommon in the Nepal Valley, but to occur more usually in the foothills; it has been recorded, however, as breeding in Eastern Nepal between 7,000 and 8,000 feet. The Nepal Long-tailed Nightjar (*Caprimulgus macrurus nipalensis*) occurs more commonly in the plains than in the hills. A specimen was obtained by Baptista in the Tarai.

Order Trogones

Trogonidae (Trogons)

The Red-headed Trogon (*Pyrotrogon erythrocephalus erythrocephalus*) has been recorded from Eastern Nepal and is found up to about 5,000 feet. Like all trogons it is purely a forest species.

Order Coccyges

Cuculidae (Cuckoos)

The Asiatic Cuckoo (*Cuculus canorus telephonus*) is extremely common in the central woods of the Valley of Nepal and the surrounding hill forests up to about 6,000 feet between April and October; it has been obtained up to 9,000 feet in the eastern limits of Nepal, and several examples were secured in the Tarai in March. The Himalayan Cuckoo (*Cuculus optatus*) is less common in the central Valley. It arrives in May and leaves in September, when Scully was inclined to believe that it descended to the lower valleys for the winter. The Small Cuckoo (*Cuculus intermedius intermedius*) and the Indian Cuckoo (*Cuculus micropterus micropterus*) both occur throughout the Himalayas; the former species was taken at 7,000 feet in East Nepal in April. The Large Hawk-Cuckoo (*Hierococcyx sparveroides*) is a seasonal visitant to the central Valley, arriving in April and descending to the lower levels in September. The common Hawk Cuckoo (*H. varius*) and Hodgson's Hawk Cuckoo (*H. fugax nisicolor*) are both recorded; the former visits the Valley in small numbers where, according to Scully, it arrives much earlier than other cuckoos, he having obtained specimens in February. Other cuckoos occurring in Nepal are the Emerald Cuckoo (*Chalcococcyx maculatus*); the Indian Plaintive Cuckoo (*Cacomantis merulinus passerinus*); the Indian Drongo Cuckoo (*Surniculus lugubris dicruroides*), obtained by Baptista in the Tarai; the Pied Crested Cuckoo (*Clamator jacobinus*) obtained during the Mount Everest expedition at 14,000 feet; and the Red-winged Crested Cuckoo (*Clamator coromandus*). The Indian Koel (*Eudynamis scolopaceus scolopaceus*) arrives in the central Valley at the end of March, where it frequents gardens and groves near houses and villages during April, May, and June, and its cry can continuously be heard. The Large Green-billed Malkoha (*Rhopodytes tristis tristis*) visits the Valley in small numbers between April and September. During the latter month Col. Kennion obtained an example at 11,000 feet; in winter it is common in the Tarai, where several specimens were secured by Baptista. The Hill Sirkeer Cuckoo (*Taccocua sirkee infuscata*) is common in the valleys of the lower region during winter, but does not ascend to the higher valleys. The Chinese Crow Pheasant (*Centropus sinensis sinensis*) and the Indian Lesser Crow Pheasant (*C. bengalensis bengalensis*) occur in the foothills and the plains.

Order Psittaci

Psittacidae (Parrots)

Five species of paroquets occur in Nepal. The vertical distribution of these birds is given by Scully as follows: The species occurring at the highest elevation is the Slaty-headed Paroquet (*Psittacula schisticeps*
45 *schisticeps*); it is very common in the Valley of Nepal in winter and is

found up to 8,000 feet. Next in order comes the Indian Red-breasted Paroquet (*Psittacula alexandri fasciata*); this species is very common in the central Valley between August and October. The Blossom-Headed Paroquet (*P. cyanocephala cyanocephala*) is common in the forests of the lower valleys and the duns, but does not occur in the central Valley except as a straggler. The Eastern Blossom-headed Paroquet (*Psittacula cyanocephala bengalensis*), according to Hume, occurs in the Tarai in the extreme east of Nepal. The Large Indian Paroquet (*P. nepalensis*) is very common in the dense sal forests of the foothills and occurs also in the Tarai; whilst the common species of the plains is the ubiquitous Rose-ringed Paroquet (*Psittacula krameri*).

Order Striges

Strigidae (Owls)

The Indian Barn Owl (*Tyto alba javanica*) is a permanent resident in the Nepal Valley and is usually seen at dusk about woods, groves, and gardens. The Bay Owl (*Photodilus badius badius*) occurs at low elevations; it is a very nocturnal bird, living in dense forest. Both the Long-eared Owl (*Asio otus otus*) and the Short-eared Owl (*Asio flammeus flammeus*) are recorded. They are both winter migrants; the former is said to breed in the higher Himalayan forests, the latter is commonly found during winter in grass in plains. The Himalayan Wood Owl (*Strix aluco nivicolor*) occurs at elevations between 6,000 and 14,000 feet; Nepalese species are said to be more fulvous and rufescent, those from farther west being greyish. The Himalayan Brown Wood Owl (*Strix indranee newarensis*) is reported by Scully as being tolerably common in the Nepal Valley throughout the year, where it inhabits the interior of the woods and forests. The Brown Fish Owl (*Ketupa zeylonensis zeylonensis*) and the Tawny Fish Owl (*Ketupa flavipes*) both occur. The former is rare; Baptista obtained an example in the Tarai; the latter is common below 5,000 feet. Both haunt the banks of rivers and streams. The Indian Great Horned Owl (*Bubo bubo bengalensis*) and the Dusky Rock Horned Owl (*Bubo coramandus coramandus*) occur in the Tarai. The Beautiful Forest Eagle Owl (*Huhua nipalensis*) has been observed in the central Valley. It is a shy forest species which is seldom seen and has been recorded as breeding in East Nepal during March.

Four species of Scops Owl are included in Mr. Hodgson's list—the Himalayan Scops Owl (*Otus sunia rufipennis*); the Indian Scops Owl (*Otus sunia sunia*), a bird of the plains; the Nepal Scops Owl (*Otus bakkamœna lettia*), occurring from the plains up to 5,000 feet; and the Himalayan Spotted Scops Owl (*Otus spilocephalus*)—the last species is found throughout the Himalayas at elevations between 3,000 and 6,000 feet.

The Indian Spotted Owlet (*Carine noctua indica*) is common in the plains and the foothills—in the central region it is supplanted by the Large Barred Owlet (*Glaucidium cuculoides cuculoides*). Other species recorded are the Jungle Owlet (*Glaucidium radiatum radiatum*), obtained by Col.

Kennion at 7,000 feet; the Collared Pigmy Owlet (*Glaucidium brodiei*), which occurs throughout the Himalayas; and the Brown Hawk Owl (*Ninox scutulata lugubris*). The almost entire absence of the facial disc and ruff gives the birds of the last-named genus a very hawk-like appearance.

Order Accipitres (Birds of Prey)

Pandionidae (Osprey)

The Osprey (*Pandion haliäetus haliäetus*) is included in Hodgson's list of Nepal Birds. The Nepalese name is "Macharang." It is a migratory species which visits India in the cold weather.

Family Gypidae (Vultures)

Six species of vulture occur in Nepal. Of these the commonest is the White-backed Vulture (*Pseudogyps bengalensis*), which is exceedingly common in the Nepal Valley, where it breeds and lives throughout the year. Stevens records the occurrence of this vulture at over 8,000 feet in East Nepal. The next most common species is the Black Vulture (*Torgos calvus*), distinguished by the brilliant red colouring of its head and feet and the snow-white patch on its breast. The species is a permanent resident in the Valley and is also frequent in the Tarai and the sal forests. The Himalayan Long-billed Vulture (*Gyps tenuirostris*), very similar in appearance to the Indian Long-billed Vulture but differing from it in its completely naked head and slender bill, is fairly common in the Nepal Valley, where it is found in frequent association with White-backed Vultures. The Griffon Vulture (*Gyps fulvus fulvus*) and the Himalayan Griffon Vulture (*Gyps himalayensis*) have both been observed by Scully in the Nepal Valley during the winter months. Both are huge vultures with heads densely covered with hair-like white feathers. The former has narrow shaft stripes on its lower plumage; in the latter these are very broad. Dr. Wollaston observed the Himalayan Griffon Vulture during the Mount Everest expedition in the gorges up to 14,000 feet. The Cinereous Vulture (*Gyps monachus*) is seldom seen and is the least common of the six species recorded from Nepal. To these we must add the Smaller White Scavenger Vulture (*Neophron percnopterus ginginianus*) which has been obtained by Hodgson.

Family Falconidae (Eagles, etc.)

The Lammergyer (*Gypaetus barbatus hemachalanus*) is rare in the central Valley of Nepal; the birds usually keep to rocky hills and precipitous mountains. Wollaston records seeing one flying at 24,000 feet. It can be recognized at a great elevation by its pointed wings and wedge-shaped tail.

Eleven different species of eagles are recorded as occurring in the State. The following are included in Mr. Hodgson's collections: the Himalayan

Golden Eagle (*Aquila chrysaëtos daphanea*); the Imperial Eagle (*Aquila heliaca*), a winter visitor; the Small Indian Spotted Eagle (*Aquila hastata*); the Greater Spotted Eagle (*Aquila clanga*); and the Eastern Steppe Eagle (*Aquila nipalensis*), a winter migrant often seen in the Valley of Nepal. Bonelli's Eagle (*Hieraëtus fasciatus*) is not very common in the Nepal Valley. There are two specimens of this bird in the British Museum collection obtained within the State. Other species recorded are the Booted Eagle (*Hieraëtus pennatus*); the Changeable Hawk Eagle (*Hieraëtus fasciatus*); Hodgson's Hawk Eagle (*Spizaëtus nipalensis nipalensis*); the Changeable Hawk Eagle (*S. cirrhatus limnaëtus*); and the Short-toed Eagle (*Circaëtus gallicus*). The Indian Crested Serpent Eagle (*Spilornis cheela cheela*) is tolerably common about the Nepal Valley at all seasons and in the lower region during winter. The last of the species is the Black Eagle (*Ictinaëtus malayensis perniger*), a bird seen usually on the wing, soaring over forests with a steady, graceful harrier-like flight. It is a shy bird which adheres generally to the wild and mountainous tracts of the central and northern regions. The White-eyed Buzzard (*Butastur teesa*), a common species throughout the greater part of India in open plains and cultivated countries, occurs in Nepal.

Two species of Fishing Eagle occur: they will be found in the vicinity of wooded streams and the marshes. These are the Large Grey-headed Fishing Eagle (*Polioaëtus ichthyaëtus*), a large brown eagle with a grey head and white-tipped tail; and Pallas' Fishing Eagle (*Cuncuma leucorypha*). The species is generally found on the banks of the larger rivers near to where they issue into the plains; it is rare in the central Valley.

The Brahminy Kite (*Haliastur indus indus*), readily recognized by its chestnut body and white head and breast, is very common in the plains and occurs in the Valley of Nepal as a rare straggler.

The common Pariah Kite (*Milvus migrans govinda*) is recorded as occurring up to an elevation of about 12,000 feet in the Himalayas, but it is not common above 8,000 feet. The Black-eared Kite (*Milvus lineatus*) has been observed by Scully in the central Valley. It is a migratory species and is a shyer and larger bird than the common Kite, keeping more to the jungles and marshes. In flight a large patch of white under the wing is readily discernible in some specimens. It has been observed in Eastern Nepal at 10,160 feet. The fifth species recorded is the Black-winged Kite (*Elanus coeruleus*), a small kite with white lower and grey upper parts and a black patch on the wings and brilliant crimson eyes. It will not be found in dense forest but prefers well wooded cultivated country.

Five species of harriers are recorded from Nepal. They are mainly migratory birds which are to be seen during the winter. Of these the Hen Harrier (*Circus cyaneus*) is fairly common in the central region; the Marsh Harrier (*Circus aeruginosus aeruginosus*) is common throughout the winter both in the Tarai and in the Nepal Valley; the beautiful Pied Harrier (*Circus melanoleucus*) is restricted to the plains, where it is frequently seen hunting over swamps and flooded rice fields. The Pale Harrier (*Circus macrourus*) and Montagu's Harrier (*Circus pygargus*) complete the list.

Two examples of the genus *Buteo*, representing the true Buzzards, are recorded. The Long-legged Buzzard (*Buteo ferox*) is common in the central Valley and is frequently seen hunting over streams and wet fields. Its flight is characteristic—four or five slow, steady flaps and then a sail with wings expanded. The Japanese Desert Buzzard (*Buteo japonicus*), which breeds in the higher Himalayas, is recorded by Scully as being less common in the central Valley than *ferox*. The Upland Buzzard (*Buteo hemilasius*) is a very rare species obtained at high elevations in Nepal, Sikkim, and Kulu.

Both the Eastern Goshawk (*Astur gentilis schvedowi*) and the Shikra (*Astur badius dussumieri*) are commonly seen as trained birds in Nepal; both are rare in the wild state. The Shikra breeds at moderate elevation. Other species recorded are the Crested Goshawk (*Astur trivirgatus rufitinctus*), the Larger Besra Sparrow-hawk (*Accipiter affinis*), both hill-forest species, and the Indian Sparrow-hawk (*Accipiter nisus melanoschistus*), which is resident and breeds in the Himalayas. It has been observed in the eastern limits of Nepal at 10,160 feet in March.

The Indian Crested Honey-Buzzard (*Pernis cristatus ruficollis*) occurs on the slopes of the lower hills (4,000 feet) and in the plains.

The Black-crested Baza (*Lophastur leuphotes leuphotes*), one of the most beautiful of acciptrine birds with black upper plumage and a long nuchal crest, is also recorded.

The genus *Falco* is well represented within the borders of the State. Nine species have been recorded.

The Indian Peregrine Falcon (*Falco peregrinus calidus*), a winter migrant, has been observed in the central zone and the Tarai. The Shahin Falcon (*F. peregrinus peregrinator*), which differs from the former in its blackish crown and deep rufous breast, and the Lugger Falcon (*Falco jugger*), a bird of open, dry plains and cultivation, also occur. Both the Hobby (*Falco subbuteo subbuteo*), which breeds in the Western Himalayas, and the Indian Hobby (*F. severus rufipedoides*) occur; the former has a whitish or buff breast streaked with brown, in the latter the breast is deep rufous. The Red-headed Merlin (*Falco chiquera chiquera*) is very common in the Nepal Valley, where it lives throughout the year. The Indian Kestrel (*Tinnunculus tinnunculus interstinctus*), according to Scully, is a seasonal visitor to the lower central region, where it is common in October; an example was obtained by Col. Kennion at 7,000 feet. The Chinese Lesser Kestrel (*Falco naumanni pekinensis*), a migratory species, has also been recorded. The Red-legged Falconet (*Microhierax coerulescens coerulescens*)—a pigmy falcon the size of a thrush, which differs from all acciptrine birds in that the members of the genus breed, like the owls, in holes in trees, was obtained by Hodgson; this species occurs in the Himalayas below 2,000 feet. A specimen was also obtained by Col. Kennion at Bhuguwada.

Order Columbae

Columbidae (Pigeons and Doves)

The Bengal Green Pigeon (*Crocopus phoenicopterus phoenicopterus*), which occurs in the lower hills, is plentiful in the Nayakot district, the lower valleys, and the Tarai. The Thick-billed Green Pigeon (*Treron curvirostra nipalensis*), the " Thoria " of the Nepalese, though usually confined to the base of the foothills, was obtained by Col. Kennion at 11,000 feet. The Pin-tailed Green Pigeon (*Sphenocercus apicaudus*), a bird " more exclusively of evergreen forest," occurs in the lower region. The Wedge-tailed Green Pigeon (*Sphenocercus sphenurus*), according to Scully, breeds in the hills round the Valley of Nepal. The Green Imperial Pigeon (*Muscadivora aenea sylvatica*) occurs in the Tarai. Hodgson's Imperial Pigeon (*Ducula badia insignis*), the " Dukue," occupies a range between 1,000 and 6,000 feet, but is commoner below 4,000 feet. The Bronze-winged Dove (*Chalcophaps indica*) occurs throughout the Himalayas in forest country from the base to 6,000 feet. The Indian Blue Rock Pigeon (*Columba livia intermedia*) is a permanent resident in the Valley of Nepal. The Snow Pigeon (*Columba leuconota leuconota*) occurs throughout the Himalayas at considerable elevation; it breeds above 10,000 feet, though in winter it descends to about 5,000 feet. The Speckled Wood Pigeon (*Dendrotreron hodgsoni*), also a bird of high elevation (10,000 to 13,000 feet), visits the central Valley in winter. The Ashy Wood Pigeon (*Alsocomus pulchricollis*) occurs from 7,000 to 10,000 feet. The Rufous Turtle Dove (*Streptopelia orientalis orientalis*), according to Scully, is fairly common in the Nepal Valley throughout the year. In May, June, and July it is found only in the forests from 7,000 to 8,000 feet, where it breeds. The species is scarcer in the central part of the Valley between January and March, when the majority of these birds move down to the lower levels. In the latter part of March and April it is again common in the central woods. In the Mai (Khola) Valley in East Nepal Stevens notes that all birds obtained at 7,000 feet were intermediate between *orientalis* and *S. orientalis meena*. A pair of breeding birds were taken by him in May. The Spotted Dove (*Streptopelia chinensis suratensis*), a common species almost throughout India, is a permanent resident of the Nepal Valley. The Indian Ring-Dove (*Streptopelia decaocto decaocto*) occurs in the Himalayas up to 8,000 or 9,000 feet, but is not resident above 4,000 feet. The Sikkim Red-Turtle Dove (*Oenopopelia tranquebarica murmensis*) occurs in the plains, the Indian Bar-tailed Cuckoo Dove (*Macropygia leptogrammica tusalia*) occurs throughout the Himalayas from 3,000 to 10,000 feet.

Order Gallinae

Phasianidae (Pheasants and Partridges)

The Common Peafowl (*Pavo cristatus*) is found at the base of the foothills below 2,000 feet; according to Scully it does not extend higher and

does not occur in a wild state in the central Valley. The Indian Jungle Fowl (*Gallus gallus murghi*) is common in the duns and the jungles of the Tarai; it was obtained by Col. Kennion at 8,000 feet. The Cheer Pheasant (*Catreus wallichi*) is not uncommon in the hills north of the Valley of Nepal. The Nepal Koklas (*Pucrasia macrolopha nipalensis*) inhabits Western Nepal. Scully obtained specimens at Jumla. Scully places the eastern limit of the Nepal Kalij (*Gennaeus leucomelanus leucomelanus*) as far as the Aum River; the bird is common in thick forest from the lower hills to about 9,000 feet. Beyond the River Aum eastwards the Nepal Kalij is replaced by the Black-backed Kalij (*Gennaeus leucomelanus melanotus*), which has been taken in the eastern limits of Nepal. The Beautiful Monaul Pheasant (*Lophophorus impejanus*), known to the Nepalese as the "*Dafa*" or "*Dafia*," is common in the interior of Nepal at high elevations, but it is not found within the tract normally visited by Europeans. The Crimson Tragopan (*Tragopan satyra*), to which the Nepalese attribute the term "Monal" (Scully), "is common in the hills north of the Nepal Valley four days' march from Katmandu." The Blood Pheasant (*Ithagenes cruentus cruentus*) is rare. It is a bird of high elevation occurring between 10,000 and 14,000 feet. The Red-spur Fowl (*Galloperdix spadicea spadicea*) occurs in the Himalayan Tarai.

The Common Quail (*Coturnix coturnix coturnix*) is found in great numbers in the Valley of Nepal from the middle of October to the middle of December and again from the latter end of March to the end of April (Scully). Other species recorded are the Blue-throated Quail (*Excalfactoria chinensis*) and the Black-breasted or Rain Quail (*Coturnix coramandelica*), both confined to the plains of the Tarai. The Common Hill Partridge (*Arboricola torqueola torqueola*) and the Rufous-throated Hill Partridge (*Arboricola rufogularis rufogularis*) occur in the densely wooded nullahs of the hills round the Valley of Nepal. The former bird was found to be common in East Nepal from 7,000 to 10,000 feet during March and April. The Chukar (*Alectoris graeca chukar*) breeds above 6,000 feet; Scully describes it as common in certain parts of these hills between March and October. Col. Kennion obtained it at 11,000 feet. The Black Partridge (*Francolinus francolinus asiae*) is common at this time in the same area and is found in the lower hills and plains throughout the year.

HEMIPODII

TURNICIDAE (Bustard-Quails)

The Common Bustard-Quail (*Turnix javanica taigoor*), the Little Button Quail (*Turnix dussumieri*), and the Indian Button Quail (*Turnix tanki tanki*) all occur in the sub-Himalayan region.

Order Grallae

Rallidae (Rails, Crakes, Water-Hens, etc.)

The great majority of wading and swimming birds which occur in Nepal are migratory species visiting the country during the cold weather. These birds arrive from the north towards and at the close of the rains and as regularly reappear from the south at the onset of the hot weather. Hodgson noted three classes of these migrants. Certain species merely pass over the central Valley or alight in it for a few hours; others stay in it for a few weeks, while the third class spend the entire season in the Valley. Finally a few species are not migratory and are resident in the central Valley throughout the year. The first to arrive are the Snipes. These are followed by the Scolopaceous Waders, next by the great birds of the Heron, Stork, and Crane families, then the Ducks, and lastly the Woodcock, which do not arrive till November. The time of the reappearance of these birds from the south is the beginning of March, and they go on arriving till the middle of May; the first to return are the Snipes; then come the Teal and Ducks, and lastly the Cranes and Storks.

The following species are recorded—the Eastern Baillons Crake (*Porzana pusilla pusilla*), common in the Valley of Nepal July to December; Elwes Crake (*Porzana bicolor*), obtained in Eastern Nepal in May. The Banded Crake (*Rallina superciliaris*), the Chinese White-breasted Water-Hen (*Amaurornis phoenicura chinensis*), the Indian Moor Hen (*Gallinula chloropus parvifrons*), the Water-Cock (*Gallicrex cinerea*), the Indian Purple Coot (*Porphyrio poliocephalus poliocephalus*) and the Common Coot (*Fulica atra atra*). The above species are distributed practically all over India. The majority of these species spend a few days or at most weeks in the central Valley during southward and northward migration. The Common Coot remains in the Valley throughout the cold weather.

Sub-Order Megalornes (Cranes)

Scully states that the Common Crane (the Eastern Crane) (*Megalornis grus lilfordi*) is common in winter in the Tarai and the Hetaura duns; like other cranes, it passes over the Valley during migration and may alight for a few hours. The same might be said of the Demoiselle Crane (*Anthropoides virgo*), which, with the Sarus Crane (*Megalornis antigone*) is also common in the Tarai and the duns in winter. Both these species are commonly kept in confinement in the Nepal Valley.

Sub-Order Otides

Family Otididae (Bustards)

The Lesser Florican (*Sypheotides indica*) was obtained by Hodgson in the Valley of Nepal where, according to him, it appears in the middle of May and disappears in the middle of June.

Order Limicolae

Hodgson's list includes: the Indian Stone-Curlew (*Burhinus oedicnemus indicus*), the Great Stone Plover (*Esacus recurvirostris*), the Indian Courser (*Cursorius coromandelicus*), a bird of open dry country, and the Large Indian Swallow Plover (*Glareola maldivarum*)—all species confined to the plains. Both the Pheasant-tailed Jacana (*Hydrophasianus chirurgus*) and the Bronze-winged Jacana (*Metopodius indicus*) are mentioned by Hodgson. The Red Wattled Lapwing (*Lobivanellus indicus indicus*) and the Yellow Wattled Lapwing (*Sarciophorus malabaricus*) occur; the former is common in the Nepal Valley throughout the year. The Spur-winged Plover (*Hoplopterus ventralis*) is common in summer in the Nepal Valley where, according to Scully, it breeds. Other species recorded are the Lapwing (*Vanellus vanellus*), the Eastern Grey Plover (*Squatarola squatarola hypomelana*), the Eastern Golden Plover (*Pluvialis dominicus fulvus*), which arrives in September and is common in the rice fields, and Jerdon's Ringed Plover (*Charadrius dubius jerdoni*), which is very common in the Nepal Valley from September to June and in the plains during winter. Scully only met with the Long-billed Ringed Plover (*Charadrius placidus*) in November on the banks of the streams in the Nayakot district. The Black-winged Stilt (*Himantopus himantopus himantopus*), the Avocet (*Recurvirostra avocetta avocetta*), and the Ibis Bill (*Ibidorhnycha struthersii*) are recorded. The two former species are winter visitors, the last named is resident in the inner and higher Himalayas.

Totaninae (Curlews, Sandpipers, Stints, etc.)

The Eastern Curlew (*Numenius arquatus lineatus*) is a winter visitor to the Valley of Nepal; the Whimbrel (*Numenius phaeopus phaeopus*) and the Black-tailed Godwit (*Limosa limosa limosa*) also occur. Other winter visitors to the country are the Common Sandpiper (*Tringa hypoleuca*) the Wood Sandpiper (*Tringa glareola*), and the Green Sandpiper (*Tringa ochropus*), the Spotted or Dusky Redshank (*Tringa erythropus*), the Redshank (*Tringa totanus totanus*), and the Greenshank (*Tringa nebularia*). The Little Stint (*Erolia minuta*), Temminck's Stint (*Erolia temminckii*), and the Ruff and Reeve (*Philomachus pugnax*) are also to be included in the list of recorded species. The majority of these waders use the central Valley as a stage during their passage to and from the plains.

Scolopacinae (Snipe and Woodcock)

" The Woodcock—(*Scolopax rusticola rusticola*) the ' Sim Kukra ' of the Nepalese arrives in the Valley of Nepal early in November and leaves at the end of February. It frequents the small woods in the centre of the Valley and may be found along the foot of the hills in damp tree forest." The Woodcock breeds freely throughout the Himalayas above 10,000 feet
46 and possibly lower.

The Wood Snipe (*Capella nemoricola*) is presumably rare in the Valley Scully only noted it on two occasions in winter. The Solitary Snipe (*Capella solitaria*), known as the " Bharka," is fairly common and it remains in the Valley from October to about the beginning of March, frequenting sloping grass-covered ground at the foot of the hills. Both the Wood Snipe and the Solitary Snipe breed in the higher ranges of the Himalayas. The Common Fantail Snipe (*Capella gallinago gallinago*), the " Bharak " of the Nepalese, and the Pintail Snipe (*Capella stenura*) arrive about the end of August and leave the Valley in May. They are both commoner particularly during the southward migration in September and October and again during the northward migration in March and April. The same may be said of the Jack Snipe (*Limnocryptes minima*), which arrives at the beginning of September and does not leave till about the middle of April. The Painted Snipe (*Rostratula bengalensis bengalensis*) is included in Hodgson's list. It is found at considerable elevations in the Himalayas where there are swamps and lakes.

Order Gaviae

Laridae (Gulls and Terns)

Hodgson records the following species: the Brown-headed Gull (*Larus brunnicephalus*) during migration, the Indian River Tern (*Sterna seena*), the Indian Whiskered Tern (*Chlidonias leucopareia indica*), and the Indian Skimmer (*Rhyncops albicollis*).

Order Steganopodes

Pelecanidae and Phalacrocoracidae (Pelicans and Cormorants)

Hodgson's list includes the Spot-billed Pelican (*Pelecanus philippensis*) which occurs throughout the better-watered tracts of India and is the only pelican which breeds within Indian limits. The Indian Large Cormorant (*Phalacrocorax carbo sinensis*), the Indian Shag (*Phalacrocorax fuscicollis*), and the Little Cormorant (*Phalacrocorax javanicus*), by far the commonest of Indian Cormorants, and the Indian Darter or Snake Bird (*Anhinga melanogaster*) are recorded as occurring in Nepal. Cormorants, according to Hodgson, are to be found throughout the cold season in the larger rivers within the mountains, but none ever halt in the Valley of Nepal for more than a day or so, during which time both they and the pelicans may be seen in the larger tanks in the Valley.

Order Herodiones

Ibididae, Plataleidae Ciconidae (Ibises, Spoonbills, and Storks)

The White Ibis (*Threskiornis melanocephalus melanocephalus*), the Indian Black Ibis (*Inocotis papillosus papillosus*), the Glossy Ibis (*Plegadis*

falcinellus falcinellus), and the Indian Spoonbill (*Platalea leucorodia major*) are included in Hodgson's list of Nepalese birds. The Black Stork (*Ciconia nigra*) and the White-necked Stork (*Dissoura episcopa episcopa*) are both common on the banks of streams and ponds and in the rice fields in the central Valley during the cold season. The Black-necked Stork (*Xenorhynchus asiaticus asiaticus*), the Adjutant (*Leptoptilus dubius*), the Painted Stork (*Pseudotantalus leucocephalus leucocephalus*), and the Open-bill (*Anastomus oscitans*) also occur.

Family Ardeidae

(Herons, Egrets, and Bitterns)

The Eastern Purple Heron (*Ardea purpurea manillensis*) and the Common Grey Heron (*Ardea cinerea cinerea*), the Eastern Large Egret (*Egretta alba modesta*), and the Indian Smaller Egret (*Egretta intermedia intermedia*) visit the Nepal Valley during the cold weather; the Little Egret (*Egretta garzetta garzetta*) is common in the Tarai and the plains and in the Nayakot district in winter, but a few birds stray to the central Valley in autumn. The Cattle Egret (*Bubulcus ibis coramandus*) and the Pond Heron (*Ardeola grayii*) are both permanent residents in the Valley, the lower hills, and the plains. The Indian Little Green Heron (*Butorides striatus javanicus*) and the Night Heron (*Nycticorax nycticorax nycticorax*) are also resident species; the latter is very common in the Nepal Valley. Two species of Bittern occur: the Yellow Bittern (*Ixobrychus sinensis*) and the Common Bittern (*Botaurus stellaris stellaris*); the last-named species is a winter visitor to India.

Order Anseres

Anatidae (Swans, Geese, Ducks, etc.)

According to Hodgson the Whooper Swan (*Cygnus cygnus*) was once observed in the Nepal Valley in the mid-winter of 1828. Other species mentioned by him are the Pink-headed Duck (*Rhodonessa caryophyllacea*) and the Cotton Teal (*Nettopus coromandelianus*); the last named being a resident species in India. Two species of Geese are mentioned in his list—the Grey Lag Goose (*Anser anser*) and the Bar-headed Goose (*Anser indicus*).

Coming to the true Ducks it will be seen from Scully's observation that the various Wild Ducks which visit the Nepal Valley are commonest during the southward migration between September and November, while between December and March few species remain in the Valley. Between March and April the northward migration commences and the Ducks are again plentiful. The following species are recorded: the Lesser Whistling Teal (*Dendrocygna javanica*), Sheldrake (*Tadorna tadorna*), Ruddy Sheldrake (*Casarca ferruginea*), Mallard (*Anas platyrhyncha platyrhyncha*), the Indian Spotbill (*A. poecilorhyncha poecilorhyncha*), the Gadwall (*Chaulelasmus*

streperus), the Common Teal (*N. crecca crecca*), and the Pintail (*D. acuta*), one of the commonest ducks in the Nepal Valley. The Wigeon (*Mareca penelope*) and the Blue-winged Teal (*Querquedula querquedula*) remain in the Valley throughout the cold season, but not in great numbers. The Shoveler (*Spatula clypeata*) is common during migration. Other species are the Pochard (*Nyroca ferina ferina*), White-eye (*N. rufa rufa*), Scaup (*N. marila marila*), a very rare straggler into North India, and the Tufted Pochard (*N. fuligula*).

Scully observed the Eastern Goosander (*Merganser merganser orientalis*) in the Nayakot district.

Order Pygopodes

Podicipididae (Grebes)

The list is concluded with the mention of the Great Crested Grebe (*Podiceps cristatus cristatus*) and the Indian Little Grebe (*P. ruficollis albipennis*). The last named is common in the tanks in the Nepal Valley from September to May.

REPTILES

The existing records of reptiles actually collected in Nepal are very meagre. Below are indicated the various genera and species which have been actually obtained or which, from the standpoint of the known distribution region, are likely to occur.

Crocodiles

The Mugger or Marsh Crocodile (*Crocodilus palustris*) occurs in the Tarai.

Tortoises and Turtles

The Chelonia are represented in Hodgson's collection by four species: Horsfield's Tortoise (*Testudo horsfieldi*), the two aquatic Tortoises (*Kachuja lineata* and *Kachuja dhongoka*), and the Mud Turtle (*Trionyx gangeticus*). *Trionyx hurum* is also likely to occur.

Lizards

The Common Indian House Geckos (*Hemidactylus gleadowi, Hemidactylus leschenhaulti*, and *Hemidactylus coctaei*), which are generally distributed throughout India, will probably be found to occur in the plains. Two species recorded from the Eastern Himalayas are *Hemidactylus garnoti* and *H. platyurus*. Of the Agamid Lizards the Common Bloodsucker (*Calotes versicolor*) is common in Nepal. Other allied species are *Acanthosura minor, Japalura variegata,* and the Rock Lizard (*Agama tuberculata*); the last

named is common in the West Himalayas. The Slow Worm (*Ophisaurus gralilis*) is also likely to occur. Hodgson obtained an example of the Yellow Monitor (*Varanus flavescens*) in the Residency grounds at Katmandu, but believed it was imported from the plains. He states that the Monitor occurs in the lower region. The Common Indian Monitor (*Varanus bengalensis*) will also be found in the plains.

The Common Skink (*Mabuia carinata*), which is widely distributed in India, is likely to occur in the plains, where *Mabuia dissimilis* will also probably be found. Other Skinks likely to occur are *Lygosoma indicum* (common at Darjiling), *Lygosoma maculatum*, and *Lygosoma Sikkimense*, occurring between 3,000 and 10,000 feet in the Eastern Himalayas. *Lygosoma himalayanum* is a West Himalayan species, while the Dotted Skink (*L. punctatum*) ranges from the base of the Himalayas to Ceylon.

SNAKES

TYPHLOPHIDAE

Common Blind Snake (*Typhlops brahminus*).
Diard's Blind Snake (*Typhlops diardi*), Eastern Himalayas.
Stoliczka's Snake (*Typhlops porrectus*), Himalayas.

BOIDAE

Common Python (*P. molurus*), Himalayan Plains.

COLUBRIDAE

Jerdon's Polyodont (*Polyodontophis collaris*), Himalayas.
Gray's Polyodont (*P. sagittarius*), Western Himalayas.
Anderson's Keelback (*Natrix paralellus*), Nepal to Sikkim.
Common Keelback (*Nerodia piscator*), Himalayas and Peninsular India.
Blyth's Keelback (*Rhabdophis platyceps*), Himalayas.
Orange Collared Keelback (*R. himalayanus*), Eastern Himalayas.
Buff Striped Keelback (*R. stolatus*), Himalayas and Peninsular India.
Vermilion-necked Keelback (*R. subminiatus*), Eastern Himalayas.
Firth's Keelback (*Rhabdophis firthi*) (chrysargus?), Eastern Himalayas.
The Mock Cobra (*Pseudoxenodon angusticeps*), Eastern Himalayas.
The Olivaceous Keelback (*Helicops schistosus*), Base of Himalayas.
Black-bellied Roughside (*Trachischium fuscum*), Eastern Himalayas.
Yellow-bellied Roughside (*Trachischium tenuiceps*), Himalayas.
Common Wolf Snake (*Lycodon aulicus*), Himalayas and Indian Peninsula.
Anderson's Wolf Snake (*L. fasciatus*), Eastern Himalayas.
Mackinnon's Wolf Snake (*L. mackinnoni*), Western Himalayas.
Gammie's Wolf Snake (*Dinodon gammiei*), Eastern Himalayas

Jerdon's Wolf Snake (*D. septentrionalis*), Eastern Himalayas.
Dhaman or Common Rat Snake (*Ptyas mucosus*), India.
Blyth's Rat Snake (*Ptyas nigromarginatus*), Eastern Himalayas.
Fasciolated Rat Snake (*Zamenis fasciolatus*), Base of Himalayas.
Blyth's Coluber (*Coluber prasinus*), Eastern Himalayas.
Broad-barred Coluber (*Coluber porphyraceus*), Eastern Himalayas.
Copper-headed Coluber (*Coluber radiatus*), Eastern Himalayas and the Tarai.
Cantor's Coluber (*Coluber cantoris*), Eastern Himalayas.
Hodgson's Coluber (*Coluber hodgsoni*), Himalayas.
Boie's Coluber (*Coluber oxycephalus*), Eastern Himalayas.
Daudin's Coluber or the Trinket Snake (*Coluber helena*), Himalayas and plains.
Gore's Bronze-back (*Dendrophis gorei*), Eastern Himalayas.
Gmelin's Bronze-back (*Dendrophis pictus*), Himalayas.
Variegated Kukhri Snake (*Oligodon taeniolatus*), Western Himalayas.
Wall's Kukhri Snake (*O. melaneus*), Eastern Himalayas.
Violaceus Kukhri Snake (*O. violaceus*), Eastern Himalayas.
Common Kukhri Snake (*Oligodon arnensis*), Himalayas and plains.
Red-bellied Kukhri Snake (*O. erythrogaster*), Eastern Himalayas.
Large-spotted Kukhri Snake (*O. juglandifer*), Eastern Himalayas.
Light-barred Kukhri Snake (*O. albocinctus*), Eastern Himalayas.
Schlegel's Kukhri Snake (*O. purpurascens*), Eastern Himalayas.
Stoliczka's Smooth Snake (*Liopeltis stoliczkae*), Eastern Himalayas.
Gunther's Smooth Snake (*L. calamaria*), Himalayas.
Rapp's Smooth Snake (*L. rappi*), Himalayas.
Schneider's Water Snake (*Hypsirhina enhydris*), Streams of the Tarai.
Common Cat Snake (*Dipsadomorphus trigonatus*), Himalayas and plains.
Gray's Cat Snake (*D. gokool*), Eastern Himalayas.
Himalayan Cat Snake (*D. multifasciatus*), Himalayas.
Stoliczka's Cat Snake (*D. stoliczkae*), Eastern Himalayas.
Collard Cat Snake (*D. nuchalis*), Himalayas.
Green Cat Snake (*Boiga cyanea*), Eastern Himalayas.
Boie's Cat Snake (*B. cynodon*), Eastern Himalayas.
Forsten's Cat Snake (*B. forstenii*), Himalayas.
Mock Viper (*Psammodynastes pulverulentus*), Eastern Himalayas, hills, and plains.
Boie's Whip Snake (*Dryophis prasinus*), Eastern Himalayas, hills, and plains.
Common Green Whip Snake (*Dryophis mycterizans*), Eastern Himalayas, hills, and plains.
Golden Tree Snake (*Chrysopelea ornata*), Eastern Himalayas.

ELAPINAE

Common Krait (*Bungarus caeruleus*), Himalayas and plains.
Lesser Black Krait (*Bungarus lividus*), Eastern Himalayas.

Greater Black Krait (*Bungarus niger*), Eastern Himalayas.
King Cobra (*N. hanah*), Himalayas.
Common Cobra (*Naia naia*), Himalayas 5,000 feet, hills, and plains.
McClelland's Coral Snake (*Calliophis macclellandi*), Himalayas.
Cantor's Slug Snake (*Amblycephalus monticola*), Eastern Himalayas.

VIPERIDAE

Russell's Viper (*Vipera russelli*), Western Nepal.
Himalayan Pit Viper (*Ancistrodon himalayanus*).
Green Pit Viper or Bamboo Snake (*Trimeresurus gramineus*), Himalayas.
Stoliczka's Pit Viper (*T. monticola*), Eastern Himalayas.

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APPENDIX XIV

FLORA OF NEPAL

List of Nepal plants compiled under the authority of the Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.[1]

DICOTYLEDONS

Ranunculaceae

Clematis acuminata DC.
grewiaeflora DC.
Buchanani DC.
napaulensis DC.
montana Ham.
Gouriana Roxb.
Naravelia zeylanica DC.
Anemone obtusiloba D. Don
rupestris Wall. var. Wallichii Bruhl.
elongata D. Don
vitifolia Ham.
rivularis Ham.
polyanthes D. Don
Thalictrum foliolosum DC.
rotundifolium DC.
cultratum Wall.
Ranunculus diffusus DC.
sceleratus Linn.
pensylvanicus Linn.
Caltha palustris Linn.
Trollius pumilus D. Don
Delphinium scabrifolium D. Don
ajacis Linn.
altissimum Wall. var. nipalensis Benth.
viscosum Hook. f. & T. var. chrysotricha Bruhl.

[1] The list is compiled from the following sources: D. Don's *Prodromus Florae Nepalensis*; N. Wallich's *Tentamen Florae Nepalensis*; Col. R. H. Beddome's *Ferns of British India*; *The Flora of British India*; Sir G. King and Pantling's *The Orchids of Sikkim-Himalayas in Annals of the Calcutta Garden*, vol. viii; I. H. Burkill's *Notes from a Journey to Nepal—Records of the Botanical Survey of India*, vol. iv, p. 4.

The nomenclature of the first three works is in many cases obsolete, the names, therefore, have been checked with more recent works and the modern equivalents have been included.

Delphinium speciosum M. Beib.
vestitum Wall.
Aconitum ferox Wall.
ferox Wall. var. atrox Wall.
palmatum D. Don
napellus Linn. var. rigidum Hook. f. & T.

DILLENIACEAE

Dillenia scabrella Roxb.
pentagyna Roxb.
indica Linn.

MAGNOLIACEAE

Magnolia sphenocarpa Roxb.
Manglietia insignis Blume
Michelia lanuginosa Wall.
Kisopa Ham.
excelsa Blume
champaca Linn.
Schizandra grandiflora Hook. f. & T.
propinqua Hook. f. & T.
elongata Hook. f. & T.
Kadsura Roxburghiana Arn.

ANONACEAE

Saccopetalum tomentosum Hook. f. & T.

MENISPERMACEAE

Parabaena sagittata Miers
Cocculus villosus DC.
laurifolius DC.
mollis Wall.
Cissampelos Pareira Linn.
Stephania hernandifolia Walp.

BERBERIDACEAE

Holboellia latifolia Wall.
latifolia Wall. var. angustifolia Hook. f. & T.
Berberis nepalensis Spreng.
aristata DC.
aristata DC. var. aristata Hook. f. & T.
asiatica Roxb.
angulosa Wall.
47 Wallichiana DC.
Berberis vulgaris Linn.
insignis Hook. f. & T.

PAPAVERACEAE

Argemone mexicana Linn.
Meconopsis simplicifolia Hook. f. & T.
nipalensis DC.
grandis Prain
bella Prain
robusta Hook. f. & T.
Wallichii Hook.

FUMARIACEAE

Dicentra scandens Walp.
Thalictrifolia Hook. f.
Corydalis rutaefolia Sibth.
meifolia Wall.
chaerophylla DC.
juncea Wall.

CRUCIFERAE

Nasturtium palustre DC.
micranthum DC.
Cardamine hirsuta Linn.
hirsuta Linn. var. sylvatica Link.
macrophylla Willd.
nasturioides D. Don
violaceum Wall.
Erysimum hieraciifolium Linn.
Brassica trilocularis Hook. f. & T.
Capsella Bursa-Pastoris Moench.

CAPPARIDACEAE

Capparis spinosa Linn.
multiflora Hook. f. & T.
olacifolia Hook. f. & T.

VIOLACEAE

Viola distans Wall.
distans Wall. var. distans Hook. f. & T.
biflora Linn.
palmaris Buch.-Ham.
Patrinii DC.
diffusa Ging.
serpens Wall. var. confusa Benth.
serpens Wall. var. glabra Hook. f. & T.
canescens Wall.

BIXACEAE

Flacourtia Ramontchi L'Herit.
Xylosma longifolia Clos.
controversum Clos.

POLYGALACEAE

Polygala leptalea DC.
persicariaefolia DC.
crotalarioides Ham.
arillata Ham.
triphylla Ham.
Solomonia edentula DC.
oblongifolia DC.

CARYOPHYLLACEAE

Gypsophila cerastioides D. Don
Silene inflata Sm.
Lychnis indica Benth.
multicaulis Wall.
Cerastium glomeratum Thuill.
triviale Link.
vulgatum Linn. var. grandiflora D. Don
Stellaria saxatilis Ham.
aquatica Scop.
longissima Wall.
crispata Wall.
media Linn.
Brachystemma calycinum D. Don
Arenaria globiflora Wall.
densissima Wall.
serpyllifolia Linn.
Drymaria cordata Willd.
Polycarpon Loeflingiae Benth. & Hook. f.

HYPERICACEAE

Hypericum cordifolium Choisy
cernuum Roxb.
patulum Thunb.
Hookerianum W. & A. var. Leschenaultii Choisy
elodioides Choisy
napaulense Choisy
japonicum Thunb.

GUTTIFERAE.

Mesua ferrea Linn.

TERNSTROEMIACEAE

Cleyera ochnacea DC.
ochnacea DC. var. hushia G. Don
Eurya acuminata DC.
symplocina Blume
Saurauja nepaulensis DC.
fasciculata Wall.
Stachyurus himalaicus Hook. f. & T.
Schima Wallichii Choisy
Thea sininsis Linn.
Camellia drupifera Lour.

DIPTEROCARPACEAE

Shorea robusta Gaertn.

MALVACEAE

Sida rhombifolia Linn.
acuta Burm.
cordifolia Linn.
Urena lobata Linn.
Hibiscus cancellatus Roxb.
Lampas Cav.
Kydia calycina Roxb.
Bombax malabaricum DC.

STERCULIACEAE

Abroma augusta Linn.
Eriolaena Wallichii DC.
spectabilis Planch.
Buettneria crenulata Wall.
aspera Coleb.

TILIACEAE

Grewia scabrophylla Roxb.
hirsuta Vahl.
oppositifolia Roxb.
sapida Roxb.
polygama Roxb.
Damine Gaertn.
disperma Rottl.
Triumfetta rhomboidea Jacq.
annua Linn.
tomentosa Bojer.
pilosa Roth.
Corchorus capsularis Linn.
olitorius Linn.
Elaeocarpus Ganitrus Roxb.
serratus Linn.

LINACEAE

Linum usitatissimum Linn.
Reinwardtia trigyna Planch.
tetragyna Planch.
Anisadenia saxatilis Wall.

MALPIGHIACEAE

Aspidopterys nutans Hook. f.

GERANIACEAE

Geranium nepalense Sweet
collinum M. Bieb.
Wallichianum Sw.
ocellatum Camb.
Grevilleanum Wall.
Oxalis corniculata Linn.
Impatiens densifolia Hook. f.
Pershadiana Hook. f.
aureola Hook f.
racemosa DC.
leptoceras DC.
scabrida DC.
pulchra Hook. f. & T.
Roylei Walp.
puberula DC.
Jurpia Buch.-Ham.
discolor Wall.
serrata Benth.
urticifolia Wall.
bicornuta Wall.
insignis DC.
stenantha Hook. f.

RUTACEAE

Ruta cordata D. Don
Boenninghausenia albiflora Reichb.
Evodia fraxinifolia Hook. f.
Zanthoxylum ovalifolium Wight
alatum Roxb.
Micromelum pubescens Blume
Clausena pentaphylla DC.
Triphasia trifoliata DC.

SIMARUBACEAE

Picrasma quassioides Benn.
nepalensis Benn.

OCHNACEAE

Ochna pumila Ham.

MELIACEAE

Azadirachta indica A. Juss.
Cipadessa baccifera Miq.
Amoora cucullata Roxb.
decandra Hiern.
Heynea trijuga Roxb.
Cedrela Toona Roxb.

OLACACEAE

Olax nana Wall.
Schoepfia fragrans Wall.
Natsiatum herpeticum Ham.

AQUIFOLIACEAE

Ilex dipyrena Wall.
excelsa Wall.
odorata Ham.
intricata Hook. f.

CELASTRACEAE

Euonymus vagans Wall.
fimbriatus Wall.
grandiflorus Wall.
pendulus Wall.
tingens Wall.
theaefolius Wall.
Celastrus paniculata Willd.
microcarpa D. Don
stylosa Wall.
Gymnosporia neglecta Wall.

RHAMNACEAE

Ventilago calyculata Nil.
Zizyphus Jujuba Lamk.
nummularia W. & A.
Oenoplia Mill.
incurva Roxb.
rugosa Lamk.
xylopyrus Willd.
Berchemia flavescens Wall.
Rhamnus dahuricus Pall.
nipalensis Wall.
Hovenia dulcis Thunb.
Sageretia oppositifolia Brongn.
hamosa Brongn.
Gouania napalensis Wall.

VITACEAE

Vitis flexuosa Thunb.
Ampelocissus latifolia Planch.
Tetrastigma serrulatum Planch.
rumicispermum Planch.
Parthenocissus semicordata Planch.
Ampelopsis heterophylla Planch.
Cissus carnosa Planch.
tenuifolia Planch.
Leea aspera Wall.
diffusa Laws.

SAPINDACEAE

Aesculus indica Coleb.
Acer oblongum Wall.
caudatum Wall.
caesium Wall.
villosum Wall.
Dobinea vulgaris Ham.
Turpinia pomifera DC.

SABIACEAE

Sabia paniculata Edgew.
Meliosma simplicifolia Walp.
pungens Wall.
Wallichii Planch.

ANACARDIACEAE

Rhus semi-alata Murray
parviflora Roxb.
Wallichiana Hook. f.
succedanea Linn.
succedanea Linn. var. himalaica Hook. f.
succedanea Linn. var. acuminata DC.
Dhuna Ham.
Mangifera indica Linn.
sylvatica Roxb.
Tapiria hirsuta Hook. f.
Semecarpus Anacardium Linn. f.
Spondias axillaris Roxb.

CORIARIACEAE

Coriaria nepalensis Wall.

LEGUMINOSAE

Piptanthus nepalensis D. Don
Priotropis cytisoides W. & A.
Crotalaria prostrata Roxb.
ferruginea Grah.
acicularis Ham.
alata Ham.
albida Heyne
calycina Schrank
sessiliflora Linn.
sericea Retz
tetragona Roxb.
medicaginea Lamk.
linifolia Linn. f.
Trifolium repens Linn.
Parachetus communis Ham.
Trigonella emodi Benth.
Lotus corniculatus Linn.
Indigofera linifolia Retz
cylindracea Wall.
hirsuta Linn.
bracteata Grah.
pulchella Roxb.
atropurpurea Ham.
Dosua Ham.
trifoliata Linn.
Millettia auriculata Baker
Caragana crassicaulis Benth.
Astragalis Donianus DC.
vicioides Grah.
stipulatus D. Don
pycnorhizus Wall.
tenuicaulis Benth.
sikkimensis Benth.
xiphocarpus Benth.
Geissapsis cristata W. & A.
Lespedeza macrostyla Baker
sericea Miq.
Alhagi maurorum Desv.
Stracheya tibetica Benth.
Uraria lagopus DC.
lagopoides DC.
hamosa Wall.
Alysicarpus rugosus DC.
Desmodium confertum DC.
Cephalotes Wall.
latifolium DC.

Desmodium parvifolium DC.
gyroides DC.
floribundum G. Don
polycarpum DC.
tiliaefolium G. Don
dioicum DC.
podocarpum DC. var. lascum J. G. Baker
oxyphyllum DC. var. serriferum J. G. Baker
Abrus precatorius Linn.
pulchellus Wall.
Vicia hirsuta Koch.
Shuteria ferruginea Baker
vestita DC.
vestita DC. var. involucrata J. G. Baker
vestita DC. var. densiflora J. G. Baker
Dumasia villosa DC.
Mucuna prurita Hook.
macrocarpa Wall.
Apios carnea Benth.
Erythrina arborescens Roxb.
Cochlianthus gracilis Benth
Butea frondosa Roxb
minor Ham.
Pueraria phaseoloides Benth
peduncularis Grah.
Wallichii DC.
Phaseolus velutinus Grah.
Vigna pilosa Baker
Dolichos frutescens Buch.-Ham.
Atylosia mollis Benth.
elongata Benth.
Flemingia congesta Roxb. var. semialata J. G. Baker
Dalbergia Sissoo Roxb.
tamarindifolia Roxb.
cuneifolia Benth.
volubilis Roxb.
Pongamia glabra Vent.
Derris scandens Benth.
Sophora mollis Grah.
Ormosia glauca Wall.
Mezoneurum cucullatum W. & A.
Cassia fistula Linn.
Cassia occidentalis Linn.
Sophera Linn.
Tora Linn.
mimosoides Linn.
laevigata Willd.
Bauhinia malabarica Roxb.
purpurea Linn.
Entada scandens Benth.
Mimosa pudica Linn.
rubricaulis Lam.
Acacia concinna DC
pennata Willd.
pennata Willd. var. arrophula D. Don
Albizzia lucida Benth.

ROSACEAE

Prunus Puddum Roxb.
rufa Wall.
undulatum Ham.
acuminata Wall.
Prinsepia utilis Royle
Spiraea canescens D. Don
bella Sims
Aruncus Linn.
vaccinifolia D. Don
Neillia thyrsiflora D. Don
rubiflora D. Don
Rubus acuminatus Sm.
moluccanus Linn.
paniculatus Sm.
ferox Wall.
lanatus Wall.
niveus Wall.
niveus Wall. var. pedunculosus Hook. f.
ellipticus Sm.
foliolosus D. Don
rosaefolius Sm.
lasiocarpus Sm. var. micranthus Hook. f.
calycinus Wall.
hibiscifolius Focke
Geum elatum Wall. var. humile Royle
Fragaria indica Andr.
Potentilla nepalensis Hook.
fulgens Wall.

ROSACEAE—*continued*

Potentilla peduncularis D. Don
micropetala D. Don
microphylla D. Don
coriandrifolia D. Don
argyrophylla Wall.
argyrophylla Wall. var. atrosanguinea Hook. f.
eriocarpa Wall.
leuconota D. Don
Agrimonia Eupatorium Linn.
Poterium diandrum Wall.
Rosa involucrata Roxb.
macrophylla Lindl.
sericea Lindl.
moschata Mill.
Cydonia vulgaris Pers.
Eriobotrya dubia Dcne.
elliptica Lindl.
Pyrus Pashia Ham.
crenata D Don
lanata D. Don
Wallichii Hook. f.
Photinia integrifolia Lindl.
Stranvaesia glaucescens Lindl
Crataegus crenulata Roxb.
Cotoneaster frigida Wall.
bacillaris Wall.
rotundifolia Wall.

SAXIFRAGACEAE

Astilbe rivularis Ham.
Saxifraga ligulata Wall
brachypoda D. Don
ramulosa Wall.
hispidula D. Don
pallida Wall.
diversifolia Wall
cordigera Hook. f. & T.
corymbosa Hook. f. & T.
strigosa Wall.
Tiarella polyphylla D. Don
Chrysosplenium nepalense D. Don
Hydrangea aspera D. Don
vestita Wall.
anomala D. Don
Dichroa febrifuga Lour.
Deutzia staminea Br.
Ribes Takare D. Don

CRASSULACEAE

Bryophyllum calycinum Salisb
Kalanchoe spathulata DC.
Sedum himalense D. Don
asiaticum DC.
bupleuroides Wall.
coriaceum Wall.

DROSERACEAE

Drosera peltata Sm
Burmanni Vahl.

HAMAMELIDACEAE

Bucklandia populnea Br.

COMBRETACEAE

Terminalia Chebula Retz
tomentosa Bedd.
Anogeissus latifolia Wall.
Combretum nanum Ham.
decandrum Roxb.
Wallichii DC.
squamosum Roxb.

MYRTACEAE

Eugenia Jambolana Lam
frondosa Wall.
areolata DC.

MELASTOMACEAE

Osbeckia chinensis Linn.
nepalensis Hook.
rostrata D. Don
crinita Benth.
stellata Wall.
Melastoma malabathricum Linn.
normale D. Don
Oxyspora paniculata DC.
Sonerila squarrosa Wall
maculata Roxb.
Sarcopyramis nepalensis Wall

LYTHRACEAE

Ammania pentandra Roxb.
rotundifolia Ham.
Woodfordia floribunda Salisb.
Lagerstroemia parviflora Roxb.
Duabanga sonneratioides Ham.

ONAGRACEAE

Epilobium tetragonum Linn.
roseum Schreb. var. cylindricum D. Don
Jussiaea repens Linn.

SAMYDACEAE

Homalium nepalense Benth.

PASSIFLORACEAE

Passiflora nepalensis Wall.

CUCURBITACEAE

Bryonia laciniosa Linn.
Zehneria umbellata Thwaites
Mukia scabrella Ham.
Gynostemma pedata Blume

BEGONIACEAE

Begonia gigantea Wall.
laciniata Roxb.
Hatacoa Buch.-Ham.
picta Sm.
laciniata Roxb.
scutata Wall.
amoena Wall.
Roxburghii A.DC.
megaptera A.DC.
Wallichiana A.DC.

DATISCACEAE

Datisca cannabina Linn.

CACTACEAE

Opuntia monacantha Haw.

UMBELLIFERAE

Hydrocotyle javanica Thunb.
rotundifolia Roxb.
Sanicula europaea Linn.
Vicatia coniifolia DC.
Trachydium obtusiusculum C. B. Clarke
Bupleurum tenue D. Don
lanceolatum Wall.
Carum anethifolium Benth.
diversifolium C. B. Clarke
Pimpinella diversifolia DC.
Wallichii C. B. Clarke
bella C. B. Clarke
Oenanthe stolonifera Wall.
linearis Wall.
Ligusticum nepalense D. Don
Selinum striatum Benth.
Candollii DC.
Cortia Lindleii DC.
Pleurospermum stellatum Benth
rotundatum Benth.
Benthami C. B. Clarke
angelicoides Benth.
pumilum Benth.
Brunonis Benth.
Peucedanum glaucum DC.
Heracleum nepalense D. Don
Wallichii DC.
obtusifolium Wall.
Caucalis anthriscus Scop.
Sison trinerve Buch.-Ham.
Athamantha gigantea D. Don
teres D. Don

ARALIACEAE

Aralia Pseudo-ginseng Benth.
Pentapanax Leschenaultii Seem. var umbellatum Seem.
parasiticum Seem.
Heptapleurum elatum C. B. Clarke
impressum C. B. Clarke
Trevesia palmata Vis.
Heteropanax fragrans Seem.
Brassaiopsis Hainla Seem.
palmata Kurz
aculeata Seem.
speciosa Dcne. & Planch.
Macropanax oreophilum Miq.
Hedera Helix Linn.

CORNACEAE

Cornus oblonga Wall.
capitata Wall.
macrophylla Wall.
Toricellia tiliaefolia DC.

CAPRIFOLIACEAE

Sambucus adnata Wall.
Viburnum stellulatum Wall.
punctatum Ham.
coriaceum Blume
nervosum D. Don
cotinifolium D. Don
Triosteum hirsutum Wall.
Lonicera ligustrina Wall.
macrantha DC.
glabrata Wall.
acuminata Wall.

RUBIACEAE

Anthocephalus Cadamba Miq.
Adina cordifolia Hook. f.
Stephegyne parvifolia Korth.
Hymenopogon parasiticus Wall
Hymenodictyon excelsum Wall
flaccidum Wall.
Luculia gratissima Sw
Wendlandia exserta DC.
coriacea DC.
pendula DC.
puberula DC.
Oldenlandia scandens Roxb.
auricularia K. Schum
corymbosa Linn.
gracilis DC.
lineata Roxb.
Anotis ingrata Wall.
gracilis Hook. f.
Wightiana Wall.
Ophiorhiza fasciculata D. Don
Harrisiana Heyne
Harrisiana Heyne var. rugosa Wall.
Mussaenda Roxburghii Hook. f.
macrophylla Wall.
glabra Vahl
incana Wall.
frondosa Linn
Adenosacme stipulata Hook. f.
Randia tetrasperma Roxb.
dumetorum Lamk.
triflora Buch.-Ham.
fasciculata DC.
Hyptianthera stricta W. & A.
Knoxia corymbosa Willd.
Ixora undulata Roxb.
Psychotria denticulata Wall.
erratica Hook. f.
erratica Hook. f. var pedunculata Hook. f.
calocarpa Kurz
Wallichiana DC.
Paederia foetida Linn.
Hamiltonia suaveolens Roxb.
Leptodermis lanceolata Wall.
Spermacoce stricta Linn.
Rubia cordifolia Linn.
angustissima Wall.
Galium rotundifolium Linn.
Aparine Linn.
mollugo Linn.
hirtiflorum Req.
vestitum D. Don

VALERIANACEAE

Nardostachys Jatamansi DC.
Valeriana Hardwickii Wall.

DIPSACEAE

Morina nepalensis D. Don
polyphylla Wall.
Dipsacus strictus D. Don
inermis Wall.

COMPOSITAE

Vernonia teres Wall.
subsessilis DC.
subsessilis DC. var. bracteolata Hook. f.
subsessilis DC. var. macrophylla Hook. f.
cinerea Less.
saligna DC.
anthelmintica Willd.
Roxburghii Less.

Vernonia extensa DC.
Elephantopus scaber Linn.
Adenostemma Lavenia O.Kze.
Ageratum conyzoides Linn.
Eupatorium Reevesii Wall.
acuminatum D. Don
Solidago Virga-aurea Linn. var. pubescens Clarke
Virga-aurea Linn. var. leiocarpa Benth.
Dichrocephala latifolia DC.
Cyathocline lyrata Cass.
Myriactis nepalensis Less.
Wallichii Less.
Aster trinervius Roxb.
sikkimensis Hook f.
Thomsoni Clarke
Erigeron bellidioides Benth.
asteroides Roxb.
multiradiatus Benth.
monticolus DC.
alpinus Linn. var. multicaulis Hook. f.
Conyza japonica Less.
stricta Willd.
Thespis divaricata DC.
Blumea Wightiana DC.
subcapitata DC.
hieracifolia DC.
oxyodonta DC.
obovata DC.
balsamifera DC.
procera DC.
Laggera alata Schultz-Bip
flava Benth.
pterodonta Benth.
Anaphalis triplinervis C. B. Clarke
Griffithii Hook. f.
cinnamomea C. B. Clarke
adnata DC.
araneosa DC.
contorta Hook. f.
cuneifolia Hook. f.
Gnaphalium luteo-album Linn.
Caesulia axillaris Roxb.
Inula Cappa DC.
48 grandiflora Willd.
Vicoa auriculata Cass.
Siegesbeckia orientalis Linn.
Eclipta alba Hassk.
Spilanthes Acmella Linn.
Bidens pilosa Linn.
tripartita Linn.
Cosmos sulfureus Cav.
Glossogyne pinnatifida DC.
Chrysanthellum indicum DC.
Galinsoga parviflora Cav.
Artemisia parviflora Roxb.
vulgaris Linn.
mollissima D. Don
leptophylla D. Don
carnifolia Ham.
Cremanthodium reniforme Benth.
oblongatum Clarke
Gynura angulosa DC.
nepalensis DC.
Emilia sonchifolia DC.
Senecio chrysanthemoides DC.
diversifolius Wall.
scandens D. Don
Mortoni Clarke
Buimalia D. Don
retusus Wall
triligulata Ham.
arnicoides Wall.
nudicaulis Ham.
tetranthus DC.
densiflorus Wall.
Wallichii DC.
vagans Wall.
acuminatus Wall.
triligulatus Ham.
Carduus pumilis D. Don
Cnicus argyracanthus DC.
Wallichii DC. var. nepalensis Hook. f.
Saussurea eriostemon Wall.
uniflora Wall.
candicans Clarke
affinis Spreng.
gossipiphora D. Don
albescens Hook. f. & T.
Leucomeris spectabilis D. Don
Ainsliaea pteropoda DC.

COMPOSITAE—*continued*

Ainsliaea aptera DC.
Gerbera macrophylla Benth.
piloselloides Cass.
nivea Benth.
Picris hieracioides Linn.
Crepis porrifolia D. Don
Taraxacum officinale Wigg. var. erio poda Hook. f.
Lactuca hastata DC.
longifolia DC.
dissecta D. Don
graciliflora DC.
Dubyaea Clarke
rapunculoides Clarke
sagittarioides Clarke
gracilis DC.
Sonchus oleraceus Linn.
arvensis Linn.
Launaea nudicaulis Less.
Tragopogon gracile D. Don
Scorzonera bupleuroides D. Don
Tagetes patula Linn.

CAMPANULACEAE

Pratia begonifolia Lindl.
montana Hassk.
Lobelia trigona Roxb.
radicans Thunb.
pyramidalis Wall.
trialata Ham.
Wahlenbergia gracilis DC.
ovata D. Don
Codonopsis thalictrifolia Wall.
viridis Wall.
purpurea Wall.
subsimplex Hook. f. & T.
Cyananthus Hookeri C. B. Clarke
Campanumaea inflata C B. Clarke
Campanula sylvatica Wall.
colorata Wall.
cana Wall.
fulgens Wall.

ERICACEAE

Gaultheria fragrantissima Wall.
numularioides D. Don
Cassiope fastigiata D. Don
Pieris ovalifolia D. Don
ovalifolia D. Don var. lanceolata Clarke
formosa D. Don
villosa Hook. f.
Enkianthus himalaicus Hook. f. & T.
Rhododendron arboreum Sm.
Hodgsoni Hook. f.
setosum D. Don
Falconeri Hook. f.
anthopogon D. Don
fulgens Hook. f.
campanulatum D. Don
Wightii Hook. f.
campylocarpum Hook. f
Thomsoni Hook. f.
camelliaeflorum Hook. f.

MONOTROPACEAE

Monotropa uniflora Linn.

PLUMBAGINACEAE

Plumbago zeylanica Linn.

PRIMULACEAE

Primula petiolaris Wall.
reticulata Wall.
rotundifolia Wall
elliptica Royle
Stuartii Wall
Stuartii Wall. var. purpurea Hook. f.
floribunda Wall.
pusilla Wall.
Androsace saxifragaefolia Bange
sarmentosa Wall.
sarmentosa Wall. var. Watkinsi Hook. f.
rotundifolia Hardwicke
cordifolia Wall.
Lehmanni Wall.
Lysimachia japonica Thunb.
alternifolia Wall.
pyramidalis Wall.
lobelioides Wall.
evalvis Wall.
Anagallis arvensis Linn.
Centunculus tenellus Duby

MYRSINACEAE

Maesa ramentacea A.DC.
argentea Wall.
macrophylla Wall.
Chisia D. Don
Myrsine africana Linn.
semiserata Wall.
semiserata Wall. var. subspinosa D. Don
capitellata Wall.
Embelia Nagushia D. Don
esculenta D. Don
Ribes Burm.
robusta Roxb.
floribunda Wall.
vestita Roxb.
Ardisia neriifolia Wall.
humilis Vahl
macrocarpa Wall.

SAPOTACEAE

Bassia butyracea Roxb.

STYRACEAE

Symplocos spicata Roxb.
theaefolia Ham.
Sumuntia Ham.
crataegoides Ham.
dryophila Clarke
pyrifolia Wall.

OLEACEAE

Jasminum pubescens Willd.
humile Linn.
glandulosum Wall.
dispermum Wall.
heterophyllum Roxb.
pubigerum D. Don
grandiflorum Linn.
Nyctanthes Arbor-tristis Linn.
Fraxinus floribunda Wall.
Olea glandulifera Wall.
Ligustrum nepalense Wall.
nepalense Wall. var. vestita Wall.
Notelaea Posua D. Don

APOCYNACEAE

Alstonia neriifolia D. Don
Tabernaemontana coronaria R.Br.
Vallaris Heynei Spreng.
Nerium odorum Soland.
Beaumontia grandiflora Wall.
Trachelospermum fragrans Hook. f.
Ichnocarpus frutescens R Br

ASCLEPIADACEAE

Calotropis procera R.Br.
Cynanchum glaucum Wall.
Gongronema nepalense Done
Marsdenia Calesiana Wight
Tylophora fasciculata Ham.
Belostemma Benth.
Heterostemma Wallichii Wight
alatum Wight
Dischidia benghalensis Coleb.
Hoya lanceolata Wall.
linearis Wall.
Arnottiana Wight
Ceropegia Wallichii Wight
longifolia Wall.
pubescens Wall.

LOGANIACEAE

Mitrasacme polymorpha Br
Buddleia asiatica Lour.
paniculata Wall.

GENTIANACEAE

Exacum teres Wall.
tetragonum Roxb.
Sebaea Khasiana C. B. Clarke
Canscora decussata Roem. & Sch.
Crawfurdia fasciculata Wall.
speciosa Wall.
Japonica Sieb. & Zucc. var. luteo-viridis Clarke
Gentiana depressa D. Don
tubiflora Wall.
decemfida Ham.
ornata Wall.
capitata Ham.
pedicellata Wall.

GENTIANACEAE—*continued*

Swertia paniculata Wall.
dilatata C. B. Clarke
nervosa Wall.
angustifolia Ham.
angustifolia Ham. var. Wallichii Burkill
Chirata Ham.
multicaulis D. Don

HYDROPHYLLACEAE

Hydrolea zeylanica Vahl

BORAGINACEAE

Ehretia acuminata Br.
macrophylla Wall.
laevis Roxb.
Heliotropium strigosum Willd. var. brevifolia C. B. Clarke
Trichodesma indicum R.Br.
Cynoglossum furcatum Wall.
lanceolatum Forsk.
Bothriospermum tenellum Fisch. & Mey.
Trigonotis multicaules Benth.
ovalifolia Benth.
Myosotis robusta D. Don
Onosma bracteatum Wall.
bicolor Wall.
Emodi Wall.
Wallichianum Benth.

CONVOLVULACEAE

Rivea ornata Choisy
Argyreia Hookeri C. B. Clarke
Roxburghii Choisy
Lettsomia setosa Roxb.
atropurpurea C. B. Clarke
Ipomoea Bona-nox Linn.
uniflora Roem. & Sch.
hederacea Jacq.
cuspidata D. Don
Calystegia hederacea Wall.
Evolvulus alsinoides Linn
Porana racemosa Roxb
grandiflora Wall.
paniculata Roxb.
Cuscuta reflexa Roxb.

SOLANACEAE

Solanum vernascifolium Linn.
indicum Linn.
xanthocarpum Schrad & Wendl.
macrodon Wall.
crassipetalum Wall.
Physalis peruriana Linn.
minima Linn.
Nicandra physaloides Gaertn.
Datura Stramonium Linn.
fastuosa Linn.
Scopolia lurida Dunal

SCROPHULARIACEAE

Verbascum Thapsus Linn.
Scrophularia pauciflora Benth.
unticaefolia Benth.
elatior Benth.
Wightia gigantea Wall.
Mimulus nepalensis Benth.
Mazus rugosus Lour.
dentatus Wall.
surculosus D. Don
Lindenbergia grandiflora Benth
philippensis Benth.
urticaefolia Lehm.
Stemodia urticaefolia Lehm.
Limnophila conferta Benth.
sessiliflora Blume
hypericifolia Benth.
Moniera cuneifolia Michx.
Torenia vagans Roxb.
peduncularis Benth.
Vandellia crustacea Benth
pedunculata Benth.
angustifolia Benth.
nummularifolia D. Don
Ilysanthes reptans Urban.
Hemiphragma heterophyllum Wall
Scoparia dulcis Linn.
Calorhabdos Brunoniana Benth.
Veronica himalensis D Don
deltigera Wall.
Anagallis Linn.
Anagallis Linn. var. punctata Hook. f.

Buchnera hispida Ham
cruciata Ham.
Striga euphrasioides Benth
Masuria Benth.
Centranthera hispida Br.
Sopubia trifida Ham.
Euphrasia officinalis Linn.
Pedicularis megalantha D. Don
mollis Wall.
brevifolia D. Don
trichoglossa Hook. f.
siphonantha D. Don
macrantha Klotz.
aspleniifolia Fl.
furfuracea Wall.

OROBANCHACEAE

Aeginetia indica Roxb.
Orobanche cernua Loeffl.

LENTIBULARIACEAE

Urticularia bifida Linn.
orbiculata Wall.
flexuosa Vahl
capillaris D. Don
racemosa Wall. var filicaulis Clarke
squamosa Benj
obtusiloba Benj.

GESNERACEAE

Aeschynanthus ramosissima Wall
maculata Lindl.
Lysionatus serrata D. Don
Didymocarpus macrophylla Wall.
cinerea D. Don
aurantiaca Clarke
villosa D. Don
leucocalyx Clarke
oblonga Wall.
subalternans Wall.
aromatica Wall.
Chirita urticaefolia Ham.
pumila D. Don
bifolia D. Don
macrophylla Wall.
Kurzii Clarke.
Platystemma violoides Wall,
Rhynchoglossum obliqua Blume var.
parviflora Clarke
Epithema carnosum Benth.

BIGNONIACEAE

Oroxylum indicum Vent
Stereospermum suaveolens DC.
Amphicome Emodi Lindl.

PEDALIACEAE

Martynia diandra Glox.

ACANTHACEAE

Thunbergia fragrans Roxb.
coccinea Wall.
Hygrophila polysperma T. Anders.
Echinacanthus attenuatus Nees
longistylis Clarke
Daedalacanthus nervosus T. Anders.
Hemigraphis latebrosa Nees
Aechmanthera Wallichii Nees
tomentosa Nees
Strobilanthes nutans T. Anders.
tamburensis Clarke
lamiifolius T. Anders
quadrangularis Clarke
Sabinianus Nees
divaricatus T. Anders.
glutinosus Grah.
Wallichii Nees
capitatus T. Anders
atropurpureus Nees
pentstemonoides T. Anders.
Barleria cristata Linn.
Asystasia macrocarpa Nees
Lepidagathis hyalina Nees
incurva Buch. Ham.
Justicia simplex D. Don
Adhatoda vasica Nees
Rungia parviflora Nees
Dicliptera Roxburghiana Nees
bupleuroides Nees
Peristrophe bicalyculata Nees
Hypoestes triflora Roem. & Sch.

VERBENACEAE

Phryma leptostachya Linn.
Verbena officinalis Linn.
Callicarpa macrophylla Vahl
lobata Clarke
vestita Wall.
Gmelina arborea Linn.
Vitex trifolia Linn. f.
Clerodendron serratum Spreng.
infortunatum Gaertn.
Siphonanthus R.Br.
Holmskioldia sanguinea Retz
Caryopteris grata Benth.
paniculata Clarke
Wallichiana Sch.

LABIATAE

Ocimum gratissimum Linn.
Geniosperum strobiliferum Wall.
Orthosiphon rubicundus Benth.
scapiger Benth.
incurvus Benth.
Plectranthus Gerardianus Benth.
Gerardianus Benth. var. graciliflora Hook. f.
striatus Benth.
repens Wall.
ternifolius D. Don
Coetsa Ham.
incanus Link.
Coleus barbatus Benth.
Anisochilus polystachyus Benth.
Pogostemon glaber Benth.
plectranthoides Desf.
tuberculosus Benth.
Dysophylla cruciata Benth.
quadrifolia Benth.
crassicaulis Benth. var. pumila Hook. f.
Colebrookia oppisitifolia Sm.
Elsholtzia strobilifera Benth.
flava Benth.
blanda Benth.
cristata Willd
polystachya Benth.
incisa Benth.
Perilla ocymoides Linn.
Mosla dianthera Maxim.
Mentha arvensis Linn.
Origanum vulgare Linn.
Micromeria biflora Benth.
Calamintha umbrosa Benth.
longicaulis Benth.
Melissa flava Benth.
Salvia lanata Roxb.
Nepeta ruderalis Ham.
nepalensis Spreng.
spicata Benth.
Scutellaria discolor Coleb.
angulosa Benth.
repens Ham.
rivularis Wall.
Brunella vulgaris Linn.
Craniotome versicolor Reichb.
Anisomeles ovata R.Br.
Colquhounia coccinea Wall.
Stachys sericea Wall.
Lamium amplexicaule Linn.
Roylea elegans Wall.
Leucas lanata Benth.
mollissima Wall.
mollissima Wall. var angustifolia Hook. f.
ciliata Benth.
Cephalotes Spreng.
hyssopifolia Benth.
linefolia Spreng.
Leonotis nepetaefolia R.Br.
Phlomis macrophylla Wall.
breviflora Benth.
Notochaete hamosa Benth.
Eriophyton Wallichianum Benth.
Gomphostemma parviflorum Wall.
ovatum Wall.
Leucosceptrum canum Sm.
Teucrium quadrifarium Ham.
laxum D. Don
Ajuga lobata D. Don
bracteosa Wall.
integrifolia Buch.-Ham.
macrosperma Wall. var. breviflora Hook. f.

PLANTAGINACEAE

Plantago major Linn.
lanceolata Linn.

NYCTAGINACEAE

Boerhaavia repens Linn.

AMARANTACEAE

Deeringia celosioides R.Br.
Celosia argentea Linn.
exstipulata Hornem.
Amaranthus spinosus Linn.
paniculatus Linn.
Cyathula tomentosa Moq.
capitata Moq.
Pupalia atropurpurea Moq.
Achyranthes aspera Linn.
aquatica Br.
Alternanthera sessilis R.Br.

CHENOPODIACEAE

Chenopodium album Linn.
opulifolium Schrad.
ambrosioides Linn.
murale Linn.

POLYGONACEAE

Polygonum tomentosum Willd.
glabrum Willd.
barbatum Linn.
Hydropiper Linn.
flaccidum Meissn.
flaccidum Meissn. var. hispida Hook. f.
capitatum Ham.
chinense Linn.
mite Schrank.
amplexcaule D. Don
humile Meissn.
Wallichii Meissn.
affine D. Don
viviparum Linn.
sphaerostachyum Meissn.
viscosum Ham.
Posumbu Ham.
tortuosum D. Don.
Polygonum plebejum Br.
plebejum Br. var. elegans Hook f.
molle D. Don
alatum Ham.
alatum Ham. var. nepalense Hook. f.
microcephalum D. Don
campanulatum Hook. f.
runcinatum Ham.
rumicifolium Royle
strigosum Br
perfoliatum Linn.
filicaule Wall.
muricatum Meissn.
microcephalum Don
sphaerocephalum Wall.
cymosum Meissn.
paniculatum Blume
esculentum Moench.
serrulatum Lag. var. Donii Hook. f.
Rheum Emodi Wall.
Webbianum Royle.
Rumex hastatus D. Don
nepalensis Spreng.

ARISTOLOCHIACEAE

Aristolochia indica Linn.
platanifolia Duc.
saccata Wall.

PIPERACEAE

Houttuynia cordata Thunb.
Piper nepalense Miq.
pepuloides Roxb.
Suipiqua Ham.
brachystachyum Wall.
aurantiacum Wall
saxatile Wall.
nepalense Miq.
Peperomia reflexa Dietr.

LAURACEAE

Cryptocarya amygdalina Nees
Beilschmiedia sikkimensis King
Grammieana King
Cinnamomum Tamala Fr. Nees
caudatum Nees

LAURACEAE—*continued*

Cinnamomum pyrifolium D. Don
obtusifolium Nees
glanduliferum Meissn.
Machilus sericea Blume
Phoebe paniculata Nees
Litsea oblonga Wall.
sericea Wall.
lanuginosa Nees
elongata Wall.
umbrosa Nees
umbrosa Nees var. consimilis Hook. f.
salicifolia Roxb.
chartacea Wall.
Dodecadenia grandiflora Nees
Lindera melastomacea Benth.
bifaria Benth.
Neesiana Benth.
Laurus umbellata Ham.

THYMELAEACEAE

Daphne cannabina Wall.
Edgeworthia Gardneri Meissn.
Wikstroemia canescens Meissn.

ELAEAGNACEAE

Elaeagnus latifolia Linn
umbellata Thunb.
Hippophae salicifolia D. Don

LORANTHACEAE

Loranthus odoratus Wall.
Scurrula Linn.
longiflorus Desr.
umbellifer Schultz
vestitus Wall.
ligustrinus Wall
cordifolius Wall.
pentapetalus Roxb.
globosus Roxb.
Viscum monoicum Roxb.
articulatum Burm.
articulatum Burm. var. dichotoma Kurz.
album Linn.

SANTALACEAE

Pyrularia edulis A.DC.
Osyris arborea Wall
Henslovia heterantha Hook. f. & T.

BALANOPHORACEAE

Balanophora dioica Br.
Rhopalocnemis phalloides Jungh.

EUPHORBIACEAE

Euphorbia pilulifera Linn.
neriifolia Linn.
Tirucalli Linn.
pilosa Linn.
tenuis Buch.-Ham.
fusiformis Buch.-Ham.
prolifera Buch.-Ham.
angustifolia Buch.-Ham.
longifolia D. Don
Wallichii Hook f.
Stracheyi Boiss.
Sarcococca pruniformis Lindl.
Bridelia retusa Spreng.
pubescens Kurz.
Andrachne cordifolia Muell.-Arg.
Phyllanthus Emblica Linn.
glaucus Wall.
Urinaria Linn.
parvifolius Ham.
Glochidion lanceolatum Dalz.
acuminatum Muell.-Arg.
Emblica officinalis Gaertn.
Breynia patens Benth.
Sauropus compressus Muell.-Arg
Antidesma diandrum Roth.
Bunius Spreng.
Jatropha Curcas Linn.
Acalypha brachystachya Horn
Alchornea mollis Muell.-Arg.
Mallotus philippensis Muell.-Arg.
nepalensis Muell.-Arg.
Baliospermum corymbiferum Hook. f.
Excaecaria acerifolia F. Didr.

URTICACEAE

Ulmus Wallichiana Planch.
Celtis australis Linn.

Trema orientalis Blume.
Streblus asper Lour.
Ficus religiosa Linn.
Cunia Ham.
glomerata Roxb.
pyriformis Hook. & Arn. var. subpyriformis Miq.
laevis Blume
scandens Roxb.
altissima Blume
Urtica parviflora Roxb.
Girardinia heterophylla Dcne.
Pilea anisophylla Wedd.
Wightii Wedd.
scripta Wedd.
bracteosa Wedd.
Lecanthus Wightii Wedd.
Elatostema rupestre Wedd.
ficoides Wedd.
lineolata.Wight
sessile Forst. var. polycephala Hook. f.
sesquifolium Hassk.
surculosum Wight
surculosum Wight var ciliata Hook. f.
Boehmeria rugulosa Wedd.
platyphylla D. Don
platyphylla D. Don var. rotundifolia Wedd.
platyphylla D. Don var. canescens Wedd.
platyphylla D. Don var. macrostachya Wedd.
sidaefolia Wedd.
Hamiltoniana Wedd.
macrophylla D. Don
polystachya Wedd.
cuspidata Bl.
Pouzolzia viminea Wedd.
indica Gaud. var. alienata Wedd.
Debregeasia hypoleuca Wedd.
Maoutia Puya Wedd.

JUGLANDACEAE

Engelhardtia spicata Blume
Colebrookiana Lindl.

MYRICACEAE

Myrica Nagi Thunb.
octandra Buch.-Ham.

CUPULIFERAE

Betula alnoides Ham.
utilis D. Don
Alnus nepalensis D. Don
Quercus semecarpifolia Sm.
serrata Thunb.
lanuginosa D. Don
glauca Thunb.
spicata Sm.
incana Roxb.
lamellosa Sm.
lineata Blume
Castanopsis tribuloides A.DC.
indica A.DC.
Corylus ferox Wall.
Carpinus viminea Wall.

SALICACEAE

Salix tetrasperma Roxb.
tetrasperma Roxb. var. nobilis Anders.
elegans Wall.
eriostachya Wall.

CERATOPHYLLACEAE

Ceratophyllum demersum Linn.

CONIFERAE

Cupressus torulosa D. Don
funebris Endl.
Juniperus recurva Ham.
recurva Ham. var. squamata Parlat.
macropoda Boiss.
Taxus baccata Linn.
Podocarpus nereifolia D. Don
Pinus excelsa Wall.
longifolia Roxb.
Tsuga Brunoniana Carr.
Larix Griffithii Hook. f. & T.
Abies Webbiana Lindl.

CYCADACEAE

Cycas pectinata Griff.

HYDROCHARITACEAE

Hydrilla verticillata Casp

BURMANNIACEAE

Burmannia disticha Linn.
coelestis D. Don
nepalensis Hook. f.

ORCHIDACEAE

Oberonia iridifolia Lindl.
ensiformis Lindl.
caulescens Lindl.
myosurus Lindl.
Microstylis musciferae Ridl.
congesta Reichb
Wallichii Lindl.
Wallichii Lindl. var. biloba Hook. f.
Liparis nepalensis Lindl.
Grossula Reichb. f.
nervosa Lindl.
olivacea Lindl.
bituberculata Lindl.
Dendrobium floribundum D. Don
moschatum Sw.
denudans D. Don
parviflorum D. Don
alpestre Royle
chrysanthum Wall.
densiflorum Wall.
Farmeri Paxt.
amplum Lindl.
Pierardi Roxb.
caudidum Wall.
fimbriatum Hook. f.
longicornu Lindl.
formosum Roxb.
Bulbophyllum odoratissimum Lindl.
caudatum Lindl.
reptans Lindl.
affine Lindl.
leopardinum Lindl.
polyrhizum Lindl.
cylindraceum Lindl.
Careyanum Hook
hirtum Lindl.
Ione bicolor Lindl.
scariosa King. & Pant.
Cirropetalum Wallichii Lindl.
brevipes Hook. f.
guttulatum Hook. f.
maculosum Lindl.
Monomeria barbata Lindl.
Panisea parviflora Lindl.
Eria convallarioides Lindl.
muscicola Lindl.
stricta Lindl.
carinata Giles
excavata Lindl.
confusa Hook. f.
Spathoglottis ixioides Lindl.
Acanthophippium striatum Lindl
Phajus flavus Lindl.
Anthogonium gracile Lindl.
Ceratostylis himalaica Hook. f.
Cryptochilus sanguineus Wall.
Coelogyne elata Lindl.
cristata Lindl.
appendiculatum D. Don
longifolium D. Don
praecox Lindl.
humilis D. Don
flavida Wall.
fuscescens Lindl.
flaccida Lindl.
ovalis Lindl.
prolifera Lindl
uniflora Lindl.
maculata Lindl.
ochracea Lindl.
Otochilus fuscus Lindl.
albus Lindl.
porrectus Lindl.
Pholidota imbricata Lindl.
recurva Lindl.
Calanthe brevicorum Lindl.
biloba Lindl.
massuca Lindl.
tricarinata Lindl.
Arundina graminifolia Schltr.
Eulophia campestris Wall.

Eulophia bicallosa Hook. f.
explanata Lindl.
nuda Lindl.
flava Hook. f.
Cymbidium giganteum Wall.
lancifolium Hook.
grandiflorum Griff.
elegans Lindl.
eburneum Lindl.
aloifolium Swartz.
Cremastra Wallichiana Lindl.
Geodorum purpureum R.Br.
pallidum Wall.
Esmeralda Cathcartii Reichb. f.
Doritis taenialis Benth.
Rhynchostylis retusa Blume
Sarcochilus usneoides Reichb.
Aerides longicorum Hook. f.
odoratum Lour..
multiflorum Roxb.
Vanda parviflora Lindl.
alpina Lindl.
Ascocentrum ampullaceum Schltr.
Saccolabium dasypogon Lindl.
intermedium Gutt.
calceolare Lindl.
Acampe papillosa Lindl.
Sarcanthus racemifer Reichb. f.
Podochilus cultratus Lindl.
Anoectochilus Roxburghii Lindl.
Herpysma longicaulis Lindl.
Spiranthes australis Lindl.
Listera Lindleyana King & Pant.
Zeuxine abbreviata Benth.
sulcata Lindl.
flava Benth.
Goodyera procera Hook.
biflora Hook. f.
Epipogum nutans Reichb. f.
Cephalanthera xiphophyllum Reichb. f.
Epipactis latifolia Sw.
consimilis Wall.
gigantea Dongl.
Orchis latifolia Linn.
habenarioides King & Pant.
Chusna D. Don
Hermirium congestum Lindl.
angustifolium Benth.
gramineum Lindl.
Habenaria geniculata D. Don
goodyerioides D. Don
arietina Hook. f.
intermedia D. Don
longifolia Ham.
triflora D. Don
latilabris Hook. f.
geleandra Benth.
Wightii Trim.
affinis Wight
reniformis Hook. f.
galeandra Benth.
Hamiltoniana Hook. f.
Plantanthera Susannae Lindl
Diplomeris pulchella D. Don
hirsuta Lindl.
Hemipilia cordifolia Lindl.
Satyrium nepalense D. Don
Cypripedium cordigerum D. Don
Apostasia Wallichii R.Br.

SCITAMINACEAE

Globba Hookeri Clarke
Roscoea capitata Smith
Curcuma angustifolia Roxb.
Hedychium spicatum Ham.
spicatum Ham. var. trilobum Wall.
densiflorum Wall.
villosum Wall.
Gardnerianum Rosc.
auranticum Wall.
Amomum aromaticum Roxb
Costus speciosus Sm.
speciosus Sm. var. nipalensis Rosc.
Canna indica Linn. var. nepalensis Wall.
indica Linn. var. speciosa Rosc.
Musa nepalensis Wall.

HAEMODORACEAE

Aletris nepalensis Hook. f.
Ophiopogon intermedius D. Don
Liriope spicata Lour.

IRIDACEAE

Iris nepalensis D. Don
Pardanthus chinensis Ker.

AMARYLLIDACEAE

Hypoxis aurea Lour.
Curculigo recurvata Dryand.
gracilis Wall.
Crinum amoenum Roxb.
Agave Vera-Cruz Mill.
Wightii Drum. & Prain

DIOSCOREACEAE

Dioscorea daemona Roxb.
pentaphylla Linn.
anguina Roxb.
glabra Roxb.
bulbifera Linn.
belophylla Voigt.
sikkimensis Prain & Burkhill

LILIACEAE

Smilax rigida Wall.
parvifolia Wall.
elegans Wall.
prolifera Roxb.
ferox Wall.
aspera Linn
Asparagus racemosus Roxb.
filicinus Ham.
nepalensis Baker
Curillus Ham.
Polygonatum oppositifolium Royle
punctatum Royle
verticillatum Allioni
cirrifolium Royle
Smilacina fusca Wall.
Streptopus simplex D. Don
Tupistra aurantiaca Wall.
Hemerocallis fulva Linn.
Chlorophytum undulatum Wall.
Dianella ensifolia Redonte
Allium ascalonicum Linn.
blandum Wall.
odorum Linn.
Lilium Wallichianum Schulz.
nepalense D. Don
Lilium giganteum Wall.
roseum Wall.
Fritillaria oxypetala Royle
cirrhosa Hook. f.
stracheyi Hook. f.
Gardneriana Wall.
Iphigenia indicum Kunth
Gloriosa superba Linn.
Tricyrtis pilosa Wall.
Disporum calcaratum D. Don
pullum Salisb.
Paris polyphylla Sm.

PONTEDERIACEAE

Monochoria hastaefolia Presl.

XYRIDACEAE

Xyris schoenoides Mart.
pauciflora Willd.

COMMELINACEAE

Pollia Aclisia Hassk.
Commelina obliqua Ham.
suffruticosa Blume
Aneilema nudiflorum Br.
scaberrimum Kunth
Cyanotis barbata D. Don
Floscopa scandens Lour.

JUNCACEAE

Juncus concinnus D. Don
glaucus Ehrh.

PALMACEAE

Phoenix sylvestris Roxb.
humilis Royle
Trachycarpus Martiana H. Wendl
Calamus acanthospathus Griff.

PANDANACEAE

Pandanus furcatus Roxb. var. indica Kurz.

ARACEAE

Arisaema nepenthoides Mart.
speciosum Mart.
costatum Mart.

Arisaema erubescens Schott
echinatum Schott
Sauromatum guttatum Schott
Typhonium diversifolium Wall.
Thomsonia nepalensis Wall.
Ariopsis peltata Nimmo
Remusatia viviparum Schott
Gonatanthus sarmentosus Klot.
Colocasia Antiquorum Schott var. typica Engl.
Raphidophora glauca Schott
Lasia heterophylla Schott
Pothos scandens Linn.
Acorus Calamus Linn.

LEMNACEAE

Lemna sp.

ALISMACEAE

Alisma reniforme D. Don
Sagittaria guayanensis Humb.
sagittifolia Linn.
Butomopsis lanceolata Kunth

NAIADACEAE

Potamogeton indicus Roxb.
oblongus Viv.
crispus Linn.

ERIOCAULACEAE

Eriocaulon nepalense Prescott
xeranthemum Mart.
luzulaefolium Mart.
oryzetorum Mart.
truxcatum Ham.

CYPERACEAE

Kyllingia triceps Rottb
brevifolia Rottb.
Pycreus angulatus Nees
Cyperus flavidus Retz
tuberosus Rottb.
radiatus Vahl
auricomus Seiber.
pumilus Linn.
setifolius D. Don
trisulcus D. Don
49 a filicina Nees var. meiogyna Stachey
Cyperus pilosus Vahl
Wallichianus Spreng.
Zollingeri Steud.
dilutus Vahl
Eleocharis congesta D. Don
fistulosa Link.
Fimbristylis dichotoma Vahl
stolonifera C. B. Clarke
diphylla Vahl
tetragona Br.
globulosa Kunth
fusca Benth.
Stenophyllus barbata Rottb.
Bulbostylis capillaris Kenth var. trifida Kunth
Scirpus quadrangulus D. Don
mucronatus Linn.
Lipocarpha sphacelata Kunth
Rhynchospora Wallichiana Kunth
glauca Vahl
Eriophorum comosum Wall.
Scleria tessellata Willd.
Kobresia trinervis Boeck.
fissiglumis C. B. Clarke
Carex hymenolepis Nees
filicina Nees
nubigena D. Don
muricata Linn. var. foliosa D. Don
brunnea Thunb.
longipes D. Don
longipes D. Don var. nepalensis Boott
setigera D. Don
japonica Thunb.
japonica Thunb. var. alopecuroides D. Don
phacota Spreng.
longicruris Nees
Prescottiana Boott
linearis Boott var. elachista C. B. Clarke
cruciata Vahl var. argocarpus C. B. Clarke
continua C. B. Clarke
stramentita Boott
insignis Boott
pulchra Boott

CYPERACEAE—*continued*

Carex speciosa Kunth
acutiformis Ehrh.
ligulata Nees
hebecarpa C. A. Mayer
hebecarpa C. A. Mayer var. lachnosperma Nees

GRAMINEAE

Panicum flavidum Retz.
colonum Linn.
prostratum Lamk.
indicum Linn.
indicum Linn. var. gracile Hook. f.
myosuroides R.Br.
khasianum Munro
unciniatum Raddi
Thysanolaena acarifera Nees
Oplismenus compositus Beauv.
Arundinella brasiliensis Raddi
setosa Trin.
Setaria glauca Beauv.
Forbesiana Hook. f.
Leersia hexandra Sw.
Coix Lachryma-Jobi Linn.
Dimeria ornithopoda Trin.
fuscescens Trin.
Pollinia articulata Trin.
vagans Nees
imberbis Nees
argentea Trin.
Saccharum spontaneum Linn.
Narenga Ham.
Erianthus fulvus Nees
longisetosus Anders.
Ischaemum angustifolium Hack.
ciliare Retz
petiolare Hack.
Pogonatherum polystachyuum Kunth
Arthraxon submuticus Hochst.
Andropogon assimilis Steud.
pumilus Roxb.
Andropogon monticola Schult.
contortus Linn.
microtheca Hook. f.
fascicularis Roxb.
intermedius Willd.
acicularis Willd.
melanocarpus Elliot
distans Nees
Cymbopogon Martini Stapf
Anthistiria gigantea Cav.
laxa Anders.
ciliata Linn. f.
imberbis Retz var. Roylei Hook. f.
Phalaris minor Retz
Hierochloa Hookeri Clarke
Sporobolus piliferus Kunth
Calamagrostis pilosula Hook. f. var. Wallichiana Hook. f.
Coelachne pulchella Br.
pulchella Br. var. spicata Hook. f.
Avena aspera Munro var. Roylei Hook. f.
Microchloa setacea Br.
Cynodon dactylon Pers.
Chloris incompleta Roth.
Eleusine coracana Gaertn.
Arundo Donax Linn.
Phragmites Karka Trin.
Koeleria cristata Pers.
Catabrosa Wallichii Hook. f.
Eragrostis amabilis W. & A.
stenophylla Hochst.
nardioides Trin.
Poa pseudo-pratensis Hook. f.
annua Linn. var. nepalensis Griseb.
Festuca polycolea Stapf
Bromus himalaicus Stapf
Arundinaria racemosa Munro
falcata Nees
spathifolia Trin.
Dendrocalamus strictus Nees
Bambusa?

FILICES

Trichomanes striatum D. Don
radicans Sw.
Hymenophyllum tenellum D. Don
australe Willd.
Cyathea spinulosa Clarke
Brunoniana Clarke
Diacalpe aspidioides Bl.
Peranema cyathoides D. Don
Acrophorus stipellatus Moore
Dryopteris aridum O. Ktze.
crinipes O. Ktze.
filix subsp. palentissima C. Chr.
filix-mas Linn. var. parallelogramma Hook.
crenata O. Ktze.
penangiana C. Chr.
opaca C. Chr.
prolixa O. Ktze.
brunnea C. Chr.
hirtipes Moore
ochthodes Moore
gracilescens Moore
spinulosa Pr. var. remota A. Br.
sparsa Moore var. nitidula Wall.
Hendersoni C. Chr.
angustifrons Moore
Polystichum auriculatum Pr.
auriculatum Pr. var. lentum D. Don
obliquum Moore
ilicifolium Moore
lentum Moore
lobatum C. Chr.
aristatum Pr.
aristatum Pr. var mucronatum C. Chr.
aristatum Pr. var. cornu-cervi C. Chr.
speciosum C. Chr.
Hookerianum C. Chr.
amabilis Bl.
Oleandra Wallichii Pr.
neriiformis Cav.
Nephrodium cochleatum D. Don
sparsum Desv.
Nephrolepis cordifolia D. Don
Nephrolepis tuberosa Presl.
Davallia truncata D. Don
pulchra D. Don
bullata Wall.
multidentata Bedd.
pseudo-cystopteris Bedd.
Microlepia marginata C. Chr.
platyphylla J. Sm.
hirta Pr.
speluncae Moore
strigosa Pr.
Odontosoria chinensis Sm.
Dennstaedtia appendiculata J. Sm.
Monachosorum subdigitatum Kuhn
Lindsaya cultrata Sw.
Athyrium distans Moore
nigripes Moore
nigripes Moore var. Clarkei Bedd.
filix-femina Roth var. dentigera Wall.
fimbriatum Moore var. foliosa Wall.
umbrosum Bedd. var. multicaudatum Wall.
Diplazium lobulosum Pr.
japonicum Bedd.
maximum C. Chr.
Stolczkae Bedd. var. hirsutipes Bedd.
lanceum Pr.
heterophlebium Diels
Diplaziopsis javanica C. Chr.
Asplenium nidus L. var. phyllitidis C. Chr.
normale D. Don
recurvatum D. Don
laciniatum D. Don
bulbiferum Forst.
tenuifolium D. Don
praemorsum Sw.
unilaterale Linn.
cheilosorum Ktze.
Woodwardia radicans Sm.
Coniogramme fraxineum Diels
Hemionites plantaginea
Pellaea Tamburii Hook

Gymnopteris vestita Und.
costata Wall.
Cheilanthes rufa D. Don
farinosa Kaulf.
farinosa Kaulf. var. dealbata C. Chr.
Onychium japonicum Ktz.
siliculosum C. Chr.
Plagiogyra pycnophylla Mett.
euphlebia Mett.
Adiantum lunulatum Burm.
venustum D. Don
caudatum Linn.
caudatum Linn. var Edgeworthii Bedd.
Capillus-Veneris Linn.
flabellulatum Linn.
Pteris longifolia Linn.
biaurita Linn.
cretica Linn.
longipes D. Don
aquilina Linn.
pellucida Pr. var. stenophylla Bedd.
Vittaria vittarioides C. Chr.
Antrophyum coriacea Wall.
Drymoglossum carnosum J. Sm.
Polypodium lineare Thunb.
subamoenum Clarke
Atkinsoni C. Chr.
normalis D. Don
hermionitideum Wall.
membranaceum D. Don
hastatum Thunb.
hastatum Thunb. var. majus Hook.
hastatum Thunb. var. trifidium C. Chr.
euryphyllum C. Chr.
Donianum Spr.
Polypodium himalayense Hook.
ellipticum Thunb.
pedunculatum Mett.
scolopendrinum C. Chr.
acuminatum Roxb.
vulgare Linn.
aureum Linn.
leiorhizum Wall.
Wallichianum Spr.
coronans Wall.
simplex Sw.
Drynaria coronans Sm.
Elaphoglossum conforme Schott
petiolatum Urban
Ceratopteris thalictroides Linn.
Gleichenia linearis Clarke
dichotoma Wall.
longossima Blume
glauca Hook.
Ophioglossum vulgatum Linn.

LYCOPODINEAE

Lycopodium setaceum Ham.
Hamiltonii Spr.
serratum Thunb.
cernuum Linn.
Selaginella fulcrata Spr.
pennatum Spr.
tenerum Spr.
bryopteris Bak.
Equisetum diffusum D. Don
debile Roxb.
Marsilea quadrifoliata Linn

CHARACEAE

Chara polyclades D. Don

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NEPAL



MAHARAJA CHANDRA SHAM SHER
JANG BAHADUR RANA,
Prime Minister of Nepal.

6459
CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL Lib. Delhi

NEPAL

CHAPTER XI

UNKNOWN NEPAL

§ 1

The Towns

BEYOND the narrow limits of the Valley of Katmandu Nepal is and will probably long remain a land unvisited by those of Western birth. It is only, indeed, under the strictest regulations that the Nepalese permit even their own cousins of India and Tibet to thread their way along their mountain paths or use the long undulating tracks that painfully link together the towns of outer Nepal.[1] As I have said, before, the Tarai is not subject to this absolute prohibition. For purposes of sport and archaeology Europeans have been from time to time admitted into this surge of hot rank jungle which, like a green sea, washes against the foot of the Himalayan crags. Occasionally also for state purposes, such as forest development or engineering installations, the Maharaja not merely permits but welcomes therein the presence of English experts. But along a clear line defined by the outpost ridges of the Himalayas a barrier exists and has always existed against all foreigners.[2]

[1] There is no general prohibition directed against Asiatic travelling within Nepal. Large numbers of outsiders, chiefly Indians, are welcomed in the sacred centres and at the many *melas* or general fairs, which are usually held in the Tarai. Moreover, the Maharaja's policy of extending the industrial activities of his country has led to the introduction of representatives of Indian trade, who are permitted to travel extensively throughout the country for the purpose of organizing their business.

[2] In the first half of the nineteenth century Brian Hodgson made an excursion eastwards to the Sunkosi, and a few miles westward to the bank of the Trisul Gandak. The only other European who has in comparatively recent years travelled into "outer" Nepal beyond the foothills of the Himalayas is Dr. Hooker, the famous naturalist. In November 1848 the latter proceeded up the valley of the Tamor, afterwards climbing up the bed of its tributary the Yangma. Later he reached the pass of Walanchun. His description of the view from the Tangla above the Tamor valley is quoted by Sir Clements Markham. "Kangchanjanga," he writes, "was nearly due north—a dazzling mass of snowy peaks intersected by blue glaciers which gleamed in the slanting rays of the rising sun, like aquamarines set in frosted silver. To the east was a billowy mass of forest-clad mountains, on the north-east horizon rose Donkya and Chumolhari, to the

The present Prime Minister was once asked by an Englishman, who was a personal friend of his, whether he might be allowed to visit Gorkha, the cradle of the reigning dynasty of Nepal, about sixty miles west of the Valley. Chandra Sham Sher's answer was as characteristic and courteous as it was final: "I could indeed give you permission to go, but it is my friendship that makes me refuse. I should have to send with you at least a company of my soldiers, and that," he added, with a smile which those who know him can readily picture, "would be unpleasant for you, and perhaps unpleasant for myself also." [1]

This sense of being a kingdom apart is, so far as the higher ranks of the Nepalese are concerned, a carefully thought-out policy. "Where the Englishman comes, he stays," is a maxim that would be recognized throughout Nepal, and of all the States of the world, there is probably a no more fiercely patriotic country than Nepal. This is natural enough. Excepting Afghanistan, there is no kingdom within the long scope of the interests of the Indian Government that has not, sooner or later, agreed to accept a semi-sovereignty in return for the great boons of an absolute protection from abroad and an absolute guarantee against any British or other interference in their internal affairs. The situation of Afghanistan is wholly different from that of Nepal. It has secured its independence chiefly because in no circumstances, short of absolute necessity, would the Indian Government have ever made itself responsible even for the line connecting Kabul and Kandahar. Partly also it is due to the fact of the slow encroachments of Russia from the north; and the dexterous policy adopted by Abdur-Rahman, which in its essence was identical with that pursued by

west Mount Everest." Mr. Douglas Freshfield, in the course of his climb round Kangchanjanga, also marched some way along Nepalese paths, but made no attempt to leave the high mountain tracks.

[1] I may perhaps add as a personal reminiscence the answer that the Maharaja once made to me when I asked him why he maintained so sternly the complete seclusion of Nepal. "My friend, the English have at times difficulty in the government of India," he said. "Those difficulties arise in no small measure from the fact that in these days of easy travel all English sahibs are not sahibs. Now I am convinced that the prosperity of Nepal is bound up with the maintenance of British predominance in India, and I am determined that the sahib who is no sahib shall never enter Nepal and weaken my people's belief that every Englishman is a gentleman." I do not suppose, nor did the Maharaja intend me to understand, that this was the one and only reason for the exclusion of foreigners from the country, but as an acute realization of one of the causes of our trouble in India to-day, the comment is characteristic of the shrewd observation of Chandra Sham Sher. The Indian Government has frankly accepted and respected the wish of Nepal to be left alone, and those who see in straws the direction of a wind may find in the visitors' book in the dak bungalow at Raxaul the betraying comments of those who have wished to force themselves upon Nepal and have been unwilling to believe that both the Gurkha and the Englishman were grimly in earnest when they refused them permission. It is also true that one or two of these remarks go far to justify the Maharaja's belief that many of those who travel in India are not sahibs.

Abdul Hamid in Constantinople. A third feature, which wholly distinguishes the relations of the two States, is the presence between them of a lawless No Man's Land peopled with well-armed tribes, the habit of whose life and the poverty of whose soil has always tended to make them gangs of robbers rather than workers.

It has been suggested to the writer on more than one occasion that it is the influence of the Brahmans which so completely bars the door against travel in Nepal. But it may be as well to explain that this forbidden tract does not extend to the full southern limit of Nepal. The Tarai has never been considered as part of the taboo. It is not, of course, true that Englishmen or other Europeans are welcomed indiscriminately, even in what the Nepalese call the Naya Muluk. But the presence of foreigners is welcome when specially invited to take part in one of the magnificent big-game shoots arranged by the Maharaja, and at least tolerated when it is necessary for experts to travel in the district, who have been called in by Nepal for such purposes as the organization of forestry, or the improvement of mechanical transport, or the identification of ancient sites of interest. None of these has ever been considered as in any way an infringement of the sacrosanctity of the country. The line of absolute prohibition may be said to extend through Butwal to Hetaura, and thence along the crest of the foothills parallel to the Bengal border. In old days there were indeed travellers across these forbidden lands. Sir Joseph Hooker, the famous botanist, was permitted, after great difficulty and a certain amount of regrettable action on the part of the Indian Government, to follow the eastward route from Katmandu through Ilam to Nagri and Darjiling in British India.

But those were different days from ours. The practical and political objection felt by the ruling classes of Nepal to the visit of any foreigner to any part of Upper Nepal is reinforced tenfold by the determination of the men in the outlying towns and villages that the sanctity of their country shall not be defiled by the presence of a stranger. There the matter rests—and by the cordial co-operation of the British. The prohibition is stricter to-day than it was a hundred years ago. Unless I am mistaken, it will be stricter still after the death of the present Prime Minister. But no one can read the future of Nepal, and our oscillations may involve her in certain expansions which may in turn alter the wholesome rules of seclusion which now exist, and by which in a large measure she has consolidated her present position, not merely as a sovereign and independent State but as an Ally, on whose unfailing loyalty the British Empire has had every reason to congratulate itself for many years.

The old kings and the modern statesmen of Nepal chose well when they selected the Valley of Katmandu for the centre of their government. The position is central, the climate is temperate, the soil fertile, the locality

consecrated by a hundred traditions, religious and political. The result is shown in the fact that nowhere else in Nepal is there to be found a tithe of the noble buildings that adorn, or the practical comfort that enfolds, the Valley. In magnificence of scenery alone does outer Nepal hold its own against the Valley of her kings.

Of the provincial towns of Nepal there are but three which, by any stretch of the word, can be called important centres. These are Butwal, Palpa, and Pokhra. It will be noticed that they lie within a comparatively small area in the Gandak basin; and, as will be seen later, they owe their distinction to various causes—partly to the existence of flat cultivable land, partly to their importance as administrative centres, and partly to the fact that the old high road between India and Tibet supplied them not only with the daily custom that a garrison brings with it, but no small advantage from the foreign trade that made its way painfully north or south beneath their walls. Other towns there are such as Salyana, Jumla, Dhankuta, Dipal, otherwise known as Silgarhi, Ridi, Baitadi, and Ilam, which possess a certain notability as the chief towns of districts, as goals of pilgrimage, or as military headquarters; but of all the places outside the Valley, the three first-mentioned towns are of the greatest consequence. It will therefore be interesting to take the reader along the road from the southern edge of the Valley of Katmandu to Butwal and thence into the hills in a northerly direction through Palpa and Ridi to Baglung. Then, returning in a generally east-south-east direction, he may glance at Pokhra and the Marsiangti district before visiting historic Gorkha and Nayakot lying deep below the edge of the Valley. He will then have some acquaintance with the general features of the most important area of outer Nepal.

One leaves Katmandu by the iron bridge over the Bagmati, and, after threading one's way through Patan, follows the southward course of that river. At Khokna the metalled road ends—with the exception of a few miles to be noted presently. From this point, until the Valley is again reached, there are merely tracks impossible to wheeled vehicles, though except in a few places it is possible to use pack animals throughout the entire journey. From the edge of the Valley beside the gorge there is, at sundown, as beautiful a view as any that Asia can boast. At one's feet the Valley—seemingly as flat and green as the lake that it once was—lies dotted with pleasant villages and the white breasts of splendid temples. Beside the rivers and the roads are fields of verdure which here and there lose themselves in wide pools of close forest or in the upsweep of the vegetation clothing the slopes of the sheltering hills. The sharp violet outline of the northern and eastern hills with their countless ravines and screes catches the golden light, while above them the white summits of the Himalayas indent the purple sky. Close by is Pharping, where is the power-house which

supplies Katmandu with electricity. This village, according to legend, was once the scene of a curious incident.

Travellers in India will have noticed that the Hindus are divided themselves into two main religious sects. One worships Shiva, the others are disciples of Vishnu. There does not appear to be any sect that pays its devotions to the senior member of the Hindu Trinity, Brahma; indeed, there is only one temple in all India—that by the shores of the Pushkar lake near Ajmir—which is dedicated to the senior of the Triad.[1]

The reason for this ban, according to Nepalese belief, is given in the Vamshavali. There was once a dispute between Brahma and Vishnu as to the limits of the celestial light which pervaded the seven firmaments above the earth and the seven firmaments below hell. To test the matter, Brahma went up and Vishnu down, and upon their return to earth met near this little village of Pharping. Brahmà said that he had passed beyond the limits of the light. Vishnu, not having been able to do the same, questioned the accuracy of his fellow god's statement. Brahma then called to witness the celestial cow who corroborated Brahma with her mouth, while at the same time she shook her tail by way of denial. Vishnu, detecting Brahma's lie, laid the curse upon him that nowhere on earth should he receive worship.

From this point the road falls, still beside the Bagmati, in a general southerly direction and the last sight of the Valley is lost.

The first few villages on the route are not of any size but are of some importance from their mineral wealth. At Brunchuli soft peaty coal is dug for winter fuel, but it is not of the quality that is needed for raising steam. Turning westward one passes by the old copper workings of Shisnari and Ipah. The difficulty of transport—the one serious disability that attends the closing of Nepal to railway extension—makes competition with Indian products impossible. But there are here deposits of corundum —which suggest that marketable rubies and sapphires would be found —and of certain semi-precious stones, such as green jasper, which have scarcely been touched. While upon this topic it may be suggested that it would be profitable to exploit the very large deposits of rock crystal that Nepal possesses. Specimens of great size and beauty find their way into Katmandu, and it is reported that they are found almost covering the mountain side in four or five places that are high enough to be snow-bound in the winter. It is also worth considering whether in spite of transport difficulties it would not pay to develop the sulphur and mica deposits in this country. There is a rumour that "blue clay," similar to that at the Kimberley mines, has been found on the slopes of Mount Sheopuri on the northern ring of the Valley. But so far as I know no one has ever succeeded in discovering a diamond in Nepal.

[1] This will remind the reader that no church among ourselves is dedicated to God the Father.

The track, shortly after leaving Ipah, for a few miles joins the main route between Sisagarhi and India. The road winds along the side of the river and is so magnificently timbered that it requires the eye of an expert geologist to note that at Suparita there is a lode of graphite, and that at Karna duhan there is promise of coal of a better quality than that at Brunchuli. At Hetaura the road to India is abandoned and the track, turning westward along the valley of the Rapti,[1] runs a level course for about one hundred and twenty miles, in which the Sameshwar range between Tomaspur and Sakwani is the only obstacle. A densely wooded jungle and the descending pools and rapids of the stream make this trail one of the most beautiful



AN OCTROI POST OUTSIDE BUTWAL.

in Nepal. In ten miles one reaches an open grassy plain at Newalpur. After passing Dindarpa, a village on the river bank, one finds an extensive sal forest of considerable importance which extends on both sides of the river as far as Jhawani. At Narayani, where the Trisul Gandak—which is known also as the Narayani—receives the Rapti, it is necessary to cross the river. A somewhat antiquated canal boat is used as a ferry, but, if possible, it is more convenient to use the local dug-outs which are handled with a skill that is of absorbing interest to the passengers. One leaves here the valley of the Rapti, which, on the whole, is well cultivated with Indian corn and rice: of mineral wealth there is little display, but a cart road

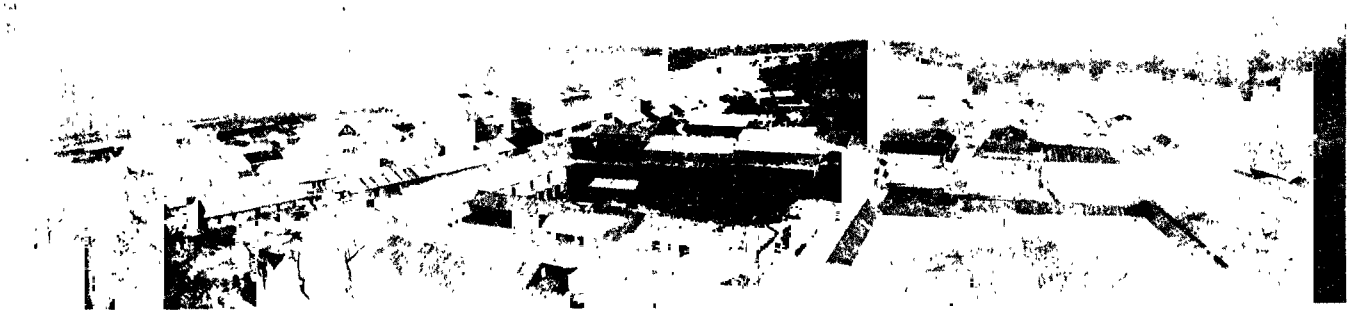
[1] The Rapti river is swollen by the Karra river shortly below Suparita. This stream rises in the Makwanpur hills and is well stocked with fish.

connecting Jalhar with Pachari Mojua would help to increase the output of the mines at the latter place.

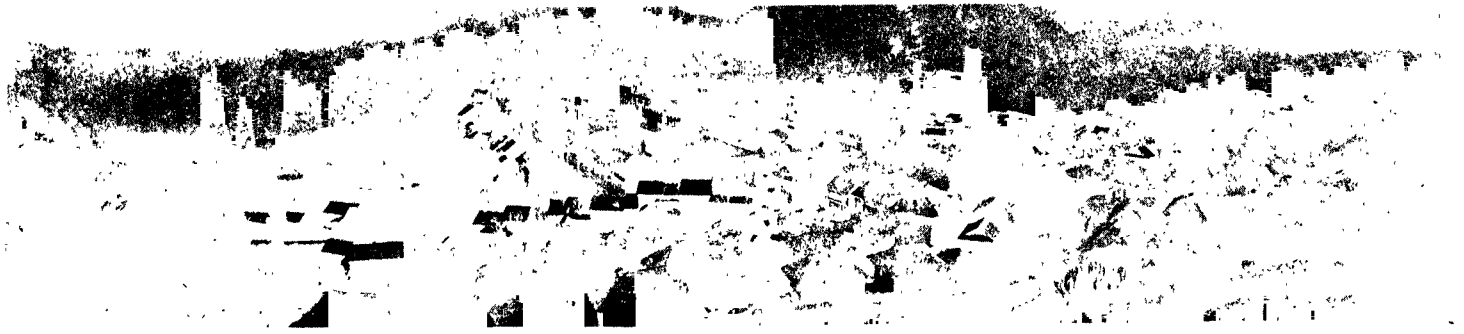
At Narayani, as well as at Ridi and Muktinath, the sacred shaligrams are found, which are described later in connection with the town of Ridi. Hunting for them in the river-bed forms, therefore, no insignificant part of the local industries. From this point the jungle becomes less over the stretch between Narayani and Butwal, and after descending the Sameshwar fold the track into the latter place is comparatively good going.

Before reaching the town itself, incoming goods are examined and have to pay duty at octroi posts in the jungle.[1] Butwal, on the edge of the Tarai and therefore interested in agriculture and forestry, is also an important centre of traffic and transport from its position at the entrance of the long mountain trail that leads up to Muktinath and the Photu Pass. To the south, a few miles nearer India, is the unprogressive little village Bethri.[2] Here there is a brick court-house, a gaol, and a few other official buildings. It is the residence of a Bada Hakim with two subas under him. A few sentries are detailed from Butwal to guard the Nepalese Government treasury here. Bethri is a fair example of many smaller towns in this district. Situated along the northern side of the Tarai, and in the danger zone, they act as centres of commerce without, at the same time, attracting any considerable number of inhabitants. During the summer the place is almost empty. Markets are held twice a year to which villagers come in from over a wide area. They bring in large quantities of rice, pulses, vegetables, and fruit, and barter them for the produce of the hills and of Tibet. The place is almost encircled by extensive jungles, and a few mango topes close to the Kachari, or court-house, render the town picturesque. Still, as was once said of a famous bridge at Cambridge, Bethri is eminently a place of transit and not of lounge, and the small colony of permanent inhabitants in the reed houses pay a heavy toll in human life for the trading profits, considerable though these are. It is one of the places like Hetaura, of which the permanent existence, despite climatic defects, is secured by its position on the high road just where the under-features of the Himalayas burst up through the Tarai, and further progress must be made along one track alone.

[1] See p. 6. This illustration gives a fair idea of the lesser undergrowth and younger timber which are spreading along the foothills of the Himalayas, and are now being developed by English experts. There is probably no valuable Indian timber tree that does not grow better in Nepal than in India. In the Tarai wheat is sown largely, and other crops include peas, (muzzar ?) barley, gram, and rice; wheat is grown on the rice stubble and thrives. There are two crops of rice, one of which is produced by artificial irrigation. This ripens in May; the other is more dependent on the rains. Miles of dhub grass are utilized for cattle grazing. [2] This is spelt Bhetehi on some maps.



BUTWAL



PALPA

§ 2

Butwal.—Butwal itself is a town of importance. Here there is a Residency, a couple of parade grounds, and several military offices. Three regular battalions of Nepalese troops spend the winter in Butwal and are moved up to Palpa in the hot weather. As is usual in Nepal, the parade grounds are as level as Lords' and kept in almost as perfect order. Large though the town is, its appearance is not imposing as the majority of houses are merely temporary structures of sun-baked brick with corrugated iron roofs. It is possible to live in Butwal all the year round, though the climate cannot be said to be healthy and epidemics of *awal* occasionally paralyse



A STREET IN BUTWAL

its industries. During the campaign of 1814-16 the strategic importance of Butwal and its retention by the British afterwards were matters to which Nepal attached no small value. Eventually, however, the place was given back to the Nepalese, and has remained in their hands as an administrative, military, and commercial centre. For justice and for trade alike the mountain folk come into Butwal from great distances. It is a natural halting-place for all travellers or caravans before the trans-Nepal route from India to Tibet is attempted, or after it has been traversed. But the great days of this road are gone, and the thin trickle of traffic which still uses the road through Katmandu to Kirong scarcely adds to her importance. But Palpa and Pokhra, towns of considerable consequence, as well as the lesser districts of Musikot and Baglung are centres for the collection

of goods which are afterwards sent down into Butwal for transport to the Indian railhead at Bridgmanganj.

Besides the insufficiently explored ruins in the forest to the south of the town at Sena Mena—locally known as " Buddha's Darbar "—and Rummindei,[1] Butwal has a local fame for the growing of plants and shrubs of medicinal repute and for the production of many elixirs which both Nepal and Tibet consume in large quantities. Ghi, or clarified butter, is made here. The normal food crops, with the exception of rice, wheat, and Indian corn, grow scantily, but of these, together with certain pulses and vegetables, enough is grown for local needs. None of them is exported. The octroi yields an annual income to the State of one hundred and fifty thousand rupees. The place needs a better water supply, and I understand that the educational requirements of Butwal and a new system of sanitation are at this moment under the consideration of the Prime Minister. The plate will give a fair but not a flattering idea of the appearance of one of the main streets of Butwal.

§ 3

Palpa.—Hereafter one turns one's back upon the rich vegetation of the Tarai and almost at once the characteristic scenery and vegetation of the Himalayan foothills is encountered. Immediately above the town is the fort of Nayakot. This is kept in better repair than the corresponding defences of Sisagarhi on the main road from Raxaul to Katmandu. A new track twelve inches wide permits the traveller to make his way up to Palpa; but strangers, even of Indian nationality, may only use it by express permission of the Maharaja. The jungle rapidly decreases as the ascent is made. No sal is found above Nayakot and the growth on the hills hereabouts is chiefly of use for fuel and as shelter for game. At Chitawan there is good shooting. The length of this path it is difficult to estimate. I have before me notes of a journey which make the distance from Butwal to Tansing only fourteen miles, which is certainly an underestimate: it is probably about twenty miles from Butwal to the adjacent town of Palpa. Though it cannot be regarded as better than a mule track, there does not seem to be any special difficulty.

Palpa is the name generally employed by writers on Nepal for the town which is often referred to in Nepal as Tansing. As in the case of many other districts in the country, " Palpa " is used both of the province of the city itself, and of the town which has gathered round the Governor's offices at a little distance—perhaps four and a half miles—which is locally known

[1] For a description of Rummindei, see chapter i. As permission to visit it is occasionally extended to European archaeologists, I have not inserted any account of it here. Notes of Sena Mena have appeared in the publications of the Archaeological Department of the Indian Government.

as Tansing, and generally as Palpa-Tansing. As the name Palpa is applied to the whole of this official area, it has been generally employed in these pages instead of Tansing.

It lies high on the crest of undulating hills of some steepness. There is a military cantonment here with a large parade ground lying at the back of the administrative offices of the Governor's palace.[1] In front of the palace is a long, well-kept lawn studded with trees, and containing a few shrines or memorials dating from different periods; none, however, is of great antiquity. The traveller will note as a proof of Palpa's prosperity



PALPA
Asantol quarter of Tansing

that here and in the older quarters of Tansing, nearly all the houses are built of kiln-burned brick.

All round this official centre the shingled or corrugated iron roofs of the town creep up or down from all sides. There is not an active market here, though, like Butwal, the place acts as a collecting centre. Palpa owes her high position among the outlying towns of Nepal to her administrative importance. The population of the town is said not to exceed six thousand, but it is difficult to believe that this can be the case, as besides the civilian officials permanently in residence, there are between 1,500 and 2,000

[1] The guns that Nana Sahib brought across the Nepalese frontier in 1857 were at once confiscated by the Nepalese and are said to be still at Palpa.

soldiers quartered here or at Butwal alternatively. It will be found by referring to the census returns [1] that the whole district of Palpa is actually more populous than even the Valley of Katmandu; the above figure should perhaps be taken with reserve. The town is well drained and rarely suffers from epidemics. She needs a better supply of good water and one would have thought that as an official centre she would have provided herself with a better system of primary education. The healthiness of her inhabitants is proverbial; a recent visitor was enthusiastic over their good looks: "all her men, women, and children have rosy cheeks and golden complexions and seem stout and strong there."

The Governor of Palpa has authority over the whole of the territory made sacred by the birth and childhood of Buddha, and it will be remembered that General Khadga Sham Sher—who afterwards fell by his own unwisdom—rendered great assistance to the archaeological department of India when Nigliva and Rummindei were discovered and partially explored. Of the local shrines, two of the most famous are the temples of Kal Bhairab and Palpa Bhairab,[2] which stand high up in the mountains about two miles from the city. The locality produces little in the way of cereals, though here and there in the shelter of watered valleys the ground is well and successfully tilled. There are many mango topes, and in the summer the flowers and fruits necessary for worship at the many shrines of Palpa are supplied by sweet-scented gardens and orchards.

About eight miles north-west of Palpa is Ridi, where the Kali Gandak is again met. The road to it is of the same uncomfortable nature as that which winds up from Butwal to Palpa. The vegetation dwindles all the way and the characteristic mountain scenery of Nepal closes in the horizon before one. From time to time the majestic icy peak of Dhaulagiri shuts in the view to the north, and from its southern shoulder a long bare rocky buttress leads to the outskirts of Ridi. Here its ravines afford a home for many companies of religious devotees. It lies at the confluence of a mountain stream and the Kali Gandak, which turns sharply to the east at this point.

§ 4

Ridi.—The most important characteristic and aspect of Ridi is its sanctity. It is regarded by the Nepalese as being almost equal in holiness to Benares, which is too far distant for any but the wealthier among the Nepalese to visit. But when their strength is failing them, many old men and even old women of Nepal will attempt the long journey into India in order that their bodies may be burnt at holy Kashi and their ashes assimil-

[1] Appendix VII, vol. i.

[2] This temple contains a figure of Bhairab which is identical with a figure in the palace square of Katmandu, before which officials were sworn in after the annual "paijni."

RIDJ

ated with the waters of the thrice-sacred Ganges. At Ridi there is held out to them that after death the ashes of the faithful may become compacted and incarnate in the famous shaligram stones of the Gandak. The shaligram is a symbol of cardinal importance throughout Nepal and a large area of northern India. They are found at Ridi, upstream at Muktinath, and,



A STREET IN RIDI

as we have already seen, downstream at Narayani—all places on the Kali or Black Gandak. They are composed of a compact silica roughly spherical in shape and greyish black in colour. The surface is marked with white or yellow bands or spirals, and they roughly resemble a large unpolished onyx. But it is no shaligram unless it has a hole—or by a happier chance still, two holes—pierced completely through it. These are called by the Nepalese its eyes. For many centuries the curious little formations have been regarded as emblems of Narayan or Vishnu, and during worship

before his shrines they are held up in the hand to sanctify the making of a vow. In the temples they are generally contained in a small copper cup, holding also Ganges water and a few leaves of the tulsi plant. At Ridi the last rites are performed, as at Pashpati. The dying man is placed upon a slanting ledge with his legs in the stream, and after death the body is burnt and the ashes strewn upon the running water.

Ridi is a well-built town with several good residential houses near it. The recesses of the hills are densely wooded, and in the small flat valley which surrounds it there is some scanty vegetation. The main building of the place is the Rikheswar temple, where there is a famous statue. This is



INTERIOR OF THE RIKHESWARA NARAYANA IN RIDI

an image of Rikheswar Rishikesh Bhagawan, one of the avatars of Vishnu. Local tradition has it that this statue was at the time of its discovery of the size and nature of an infant boy, but that it has in the course of years assumed the appearance of an adult god, and there are many old men and old women here who will testify to this miracle.

The town is huddled together between the high bluffs through which the mountain stream has cut its way, and the banks of the Kali Gandak, and only in one or two places is there a convenient descent to the level of the stream. On the crest and in the recesses of the hills above Ridi are the retreats and temples referred to. Religious men from Nepal or India are given shelter here and daily offerings are made to the god Bhagman by all. Besides acquiring general merit by their pilgrimage, the visitors

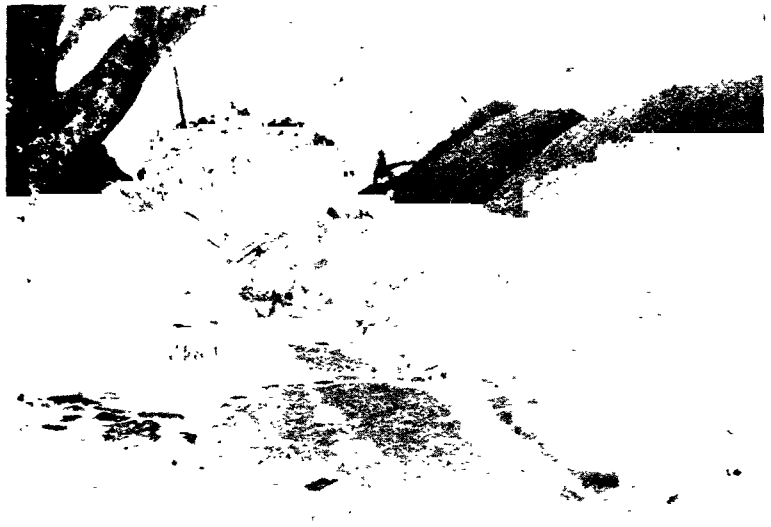
expiate their sins by bathing in the sacred water that flows below the town. As is the case in most places of pilgrimage, the sale of articles of food and clothing to the devout comprises the larger part of the trade. Little rice or wheat is to be seen, and few vegetables appear to be cultivated in this rocky soil. To a great extent the food has therefore to be brought in from outside. In other circumstances Ridi might perhaps have been developed, for it enjoys a cold bracing climate and sanitation is an easy matter. Moreover, the general health is good, and from its position it might become the hill-station for the central Tarai.

Education in the English sense of the word is not provided here, nor is there either a post or telegraph office. Administratively Ridi is a dependence of Palpa, but, so far, it is her holiness only that has attracted any attention to the place. The architecture is more characteristically Nepalese than that of the other towns through which we have passed since leaving Katmandu. The illustrations on pages 13 and 14 will show how well the sacred town has maintained the Nepalese ideals of construction—ideals which for use and beauty are scarcely surpassed by those of the architecture of any other country in Asia. I am glad to be able to give a good photograph of the interior of the holiest of the shrines here—the temple to Rikheswara Narayana. In general it corresponds to the arrangement of the more famous temple near Bhatgaon, though it is probably much later in date. It is useful as a specimen of the architecture of the smaller temples of great local reputation that may be found in many places in the outlying districts of Nepal.

§ 5

From Ridi a journey of about seventeen miles to the north-west takes one through Taksor, a dependence of Gulmi, to Tunghas. The track is bad from the beginning, though one which, in an emergency, can be used by tanjams. From Gulmi it is worse. Riding is impossible, and even while walking, both ponies and men are exposed to considerable danger. Tunghas is a small town on a plateau in the middle of a valley surrounded by well wooded hills where there may still be seen the traces of old bismuth workings. It is no great distance from this point to the " Kashmir of Nepal," at Musikot and Isma, though the journey may take five hours. These two towns are three miles apart on a well cultivated plain watered by the Badiya river surrounded by tree-covered hills eight thousand feet high. The district is rich in minerals. Bismuth, copper, antimony, and cobalt ores are all found here, and the presence of sapphires and rubies, though those found so far are of poor quality, suggest that a more systematic development of the place might repay the Government. Musikot offers another example of those collections of straggling townships that assume a common name to the bewilderment of travellers accustomed to greater

precision of nomenclature. It spreads itself over an area about six miles long from east to west and about five miles wide from north to south. Within this space there are about ten large or small villages each known to itself as Musikot. Indeed, it is difficult to make any real distinction between Musikot and Isma, which is often included in the former designation, though it actually lies about a league west-by-south of central Musikot. Other villages claiming individuality are Nesti and Chali. A poor track about twenty miles long takes the traveller from Musikot to Baglung. It is known as a " mul sharak " or main road, but that is only joined five miles farther on when Kusma is reached. Seven miles beyond Baglung chairs cannot be



SYANGJA (NEAR POKHRA)

used; the path is fit only for those on foot. At Kusma the Modi stream from Dhaulagiri is crossed.

§ 6

Baglung is a busier centre of industry than any that we have seen hitherto. The women here weave a country cloth that is in great demand locally, and in 1924 there was a considerable cultivation of rice, wheat, mokaye (Indian corn), kodo, jowar (pulse), pumpkins, mustard, mangoes, plantains, and papayas. Fowls are kept by all except Brahmans and Chattris. In the dry season Baglung suffers from a grave disadvantage, for the wells dry up and the inhabitants have to descend a thousand feet to the river for their water.

From Baglung we begin the return journey to Katmandu. A little way

south of Baglung, the Kali Gandak is crossed at Dhamarzung. This village on the left bank is about fourteen miles distant from Pokhra. The road is bad but picturesque, and the pine-clad hills that border it possess great stores of coloured mica.[1] Twelve miles on from Dhamarzung one passes the village of Henzabanzi, and from this point to Pokhra the road is so perfectly level that even in its existing state it might be used by motors.

§ 7

Pokhra.—Pokhra is the second city in Nepal—it would be more accurate to say it is the most important city outside the Katmandu group. It contains perhaps ten thousand inhabitants[2] and lies in a wide flat plain encircled by hills—the largest plain in Nepal except Katmandu and, possibly, Dumja—on the right bank of the Seti river. The plain is covered with lakes of considerable size—the only real lakes in all Nepal—which are bordered with trees. It contains important temples, notably those of Vindhya Basini—which is reported to be larger than the greatest temple in Patan, a comparison which probably refers to the temple of Machendranath—and of Durga. The town is characteristically Nepalese both in architecture and in the composition of its inhabitants The illustration on page 19 gives as good a view of the bazar as could be obtained for me. It is a centre of administration, and possesses a Court of Justice and a military cantonment. Water is laid on in the main streets. It is not a place of wealth or of political importance, but its size, its fertile soil, and its position on the central east-and-west road of Nepal, combines with its official character to make it a town that is destined to play no small part in the future industrial development of Nepal. Hodgson makes the remark that the only other valley in Nepal at all comparable with that of Katmandu is the Jumla, which is smaller in area and at a considerably greater altitude. Here barley is grown whereas rice is the staple product of the metropolitan area. At a

[1] I give without comment the positive assertion of a traveller that the lumps, which are chiefly found at Namarzung, are red above the water level, while below it they are pink. Here, said the same authority, are also found rubies for the Lhasa market. It is not unlikely, considering the wealth of corundum strata in this district that these may be of genuine quality, but Mr. B. L. Shaw of Calcutta, the Indian traveller who has been kind enough to contribute much to this account of the towns in the Gandak district, and who is himself a known geologist, is of opinion that they may be spinels. The true ruby and the spinel ruby are alike crystals of corundum, but the latter is of octagonal crystallization while the true ruby is hexagonal. A trace of magnesium may also be found in the spinel, and its specific gravity is less. Otherwise it is indistinguishable from the no more beautiful stone which the world has decided to buy at a far greater price. The "Agincourt" ruby in the crown of England is really a spinel.

[2] A good illustration is thus offered of the manner in which almost the entire prosperity and commerce of Nepal is centred in the Valley of Katmandu. Each of the three greate towns of the Valley have a population slightly above or slightly below 100,000.

much lower elevation, not much higher than that of the Tarai, is the valley of Pokhra. This contains the lakes that are referred to elsewhere, from which, indeed, the name of the town is derived. The highest level is, however, so much lower than that of the valley that irrigation can only be effected by a large pumping plant. Jang Bahadur had a scheme for installing these pumps and hoped that he might secure an annual income of thirty or forty thousand pounds thereby. But the presence of an European engineer was regarded as essential, and the traditional hatred of the presence of foreigners, even Jang Bahadur did not care to challenge. It is already a producer of copper in considerable quantity, but the hills



THE POKHRA VILLAGE BAZAR

that surround it are full of other minerals. Its agricultural advantages will supply a vastly increased population, and if the industrial possibilities of Nepal are fully developed, the place will one day become an important mining and smelting centre.

§ 8

The road to the east turns south for a short distance and follows the edge of the Ulani lake. It afterwards accompanies the left bank of the Seti, which has the characteristic white opacity of snow water.[1] The view westwards from the point beside the lake where the roads divide is of

[1] It is said locally that even if bottled and put aside for a long time the water of this stream never recovers its limpidity.

extreme beauty. The flat plain of grass and water-grown willows with Pokhra lying low to the right, throws into relief the rugged heights that surround it, while the majestic mass of white-crowned Dhaulagiri dominates the higher peaks of the north-western horizon. At Durgahashi the track turns in a somewhat more easterly direction, and after passing Deorali Bhanjyang at fourteen miles, reaches Tarkughat at about twenty-eight. This village is of no importance beyond the fact that from this point two routes climb up one on each side of the river Marsiangti to the famous salt mines. These tracks are in places but six inches in width and wind their



JIMRO STREAM

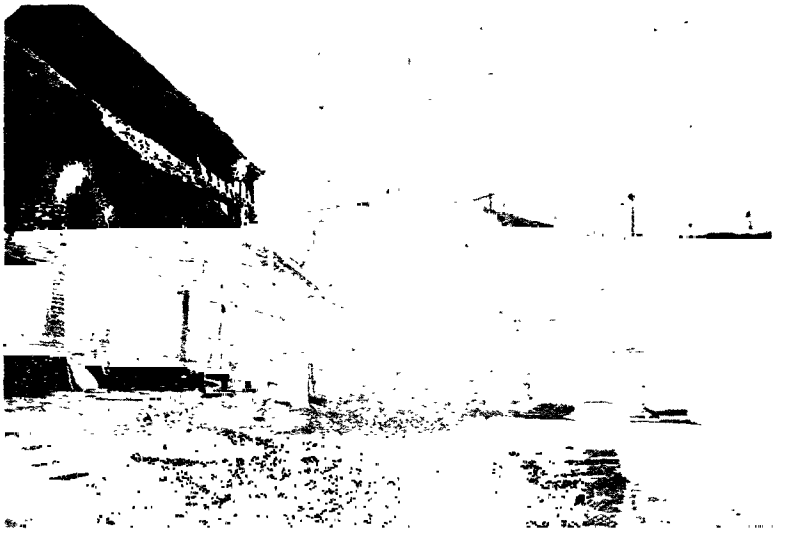
Two miles from Pokhra

way among and across slippery sloping boulders. All vegetation stops two or three thousand feet above the level of Tarkughat, and at eleven thousand feet snow remains permanently in the ravines that score the mountain side.

Brine Springs.—The salt mines, or rather the brine springs from which the salt is evaporated, lie on the right bank of the Marsiangti. It is impossible to obtain any accurate estimate of their height, but they are probably from fourteen thousand to sixteen thousand feet above sea level The largest are at Panu Khani and have been worked for about ninety years. In spite of the great difficulty of extracting the salt at a temperature

that is rarely above freezing point, and where fuel[1] is scanty, a considerable amount is brought down to Pokhra, and a certain number of Tibetans make their way across an almost impracticable pass—nearly twenty-one thousand feet in height—to purchase it. The workers there say that it is a two days' journey from them to the Tibetan frontier—an estimate which would justify the higher of the two figures just given as the probable altitude of the brine springs.

The Marsiangti is crossed by two bridges; one of wood at Udaipur, and a suspension bridge—the gift of Suba Norjang—at Bhulbulia. There is another bridge across the stream at Udaipur, but this is regarded as



BANDIPUR

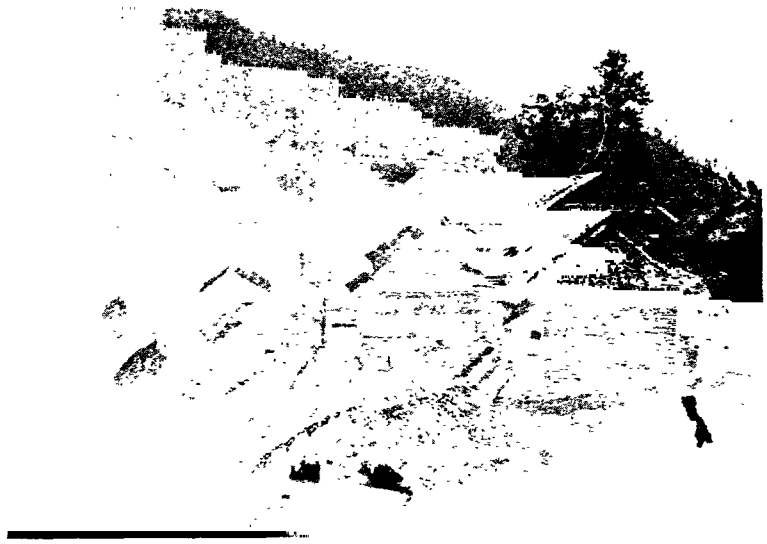
Headquarters of the district of Tanhung

unsafe. The river is generally about eighty-five feet wide. The eastern bank of it is in most cases almost a vertical cliff of rock, but the right bank is continually slipping into the stream, and there is a proposal to support it by a retaining wall. The track is of a dangerous nature and a new road

[1] The salt is obtained by boiling the brine in copper pans heated over fires fed by dora or brushwood. It is estimated that salt of about one-eighth the weight of the brine is extracted here. The process seems to be conducted under unnecessary difficulties. Were the brine pumped into an open channel and dealt with lower down, where evaporation is normal and the supply of wood sufficient, it would be possible to extract a far greater amount than is at present obtained. At Panu Khani there is no possibility of making full use of even what little evaporation takes place, because the ground does not permit of the construction of wide flat pans.

will have to be constructed if the salt industry is to be seriously developed.[1] Pack animals are at present impossible. The suspension bridge at Bhulbulia is approached over enormous water-worn blocks that constitute a danger in themselves. Two miles downstream from this point the Khudi stream falls into the Marsiangti and gives its name to a small village where there is a rest-house. The skill of its inhabitants in wood-carving is well known, and some of the finest temples in Pokhra have been decorated by the men of Khudi.

From this point the road to the capital passes villages of the normal type. The architecture—or the lack of it—does not differ from that already



VILLAGE OF KHOPLAN

illustrated in the plates. In the centre of each cluster of houses is a circular stone platform from which a pipal grows to give shade to travellers during the midday halt. Here there are always chattis of water, and generally there is a red-sprinkled image or symbol of Mahadeo, or a bell slung from a stone frame. The villages themselves are clean, and the villagers are simple and friendly to those who speak their language. One of these villages, Bandipur, is the military centre of the district of Tanhung. The traffic upon all Nepalese routes is small except upon those near the Valley of Katmandu or upon those which give access to railheads in India. In

[1] Generally speaking Nepal is badly supplied with salt, and it is from Tibet that the larger part is obtained.

remoter districts the wayfarer will often find himself in solitude for hours together.

§ 9

Gorkha.—There are two roads from the Marsiangti to Katmandu, of which the northern constantly crosses the affluents of the Seti. The highest watershed is crossed, and the Darwadi basin reached at last. At the bottom of the hill to the north is the picturesque little village of Khoplan Bhanjyang[1] where the road divides. The lower track pursues an east-south-easterly direction, and after about eight miles passes through Gorkha, the historic capital and cradle of the ruling dynasty of Nepal.



GORKHA

Gorkha[2] lies at the foot of a semicircle of hills which enclose a wide and well cultivated plain. Here there are barracks for two battalions of soldiers. Like other Nepalese towns it is of a straggling nature, and it is only near Pokhri Tol that the buildings combine to make any considerable effect. A house, once the home of Bhim Sen Thapa, is still pointed out. There are several interesting shrines here, though none of great size. By

[1] See p. 22.

[2] It is now generally accepted that the word "Gorkha" was in its origin identical with the title of "Gaekwar" which is assumed by the Maharaja of Baroda. It seems, therefore, to trace the warlike race back to a time when their occupation was less that of arms than of the peaceful tending of the holy cow—a very long period. Doctor Oldfield considered the term Gorkhali applied to all natives of the Gorkha district irrespective of their class. The term has since been roughly, but irregularly, extended to cover any military tribe from which the Gurkha battalions in the Indian army are recruited.

the side of a deep rectangular pool are two temples, one of early date with two roofs, and the other of the much later square dome-crowned style,[1] to which reference will be made shortly. The hills round Gorkha are fairly well wooded, the plain, which it commands, is carefully tilled, and the areca palm grows here without much difficulty. But it is not in the agricultural aspect of the place that the chief interest lies.

Long before the days of the invaders from India Gorkha had been a place of refuge, and there still exist traces of very early fortification on the conical hill whereon are placed the darbar buildings and the Bhawani temple—a situation which in old days it must have been difficult to take



GORKHA
The Pokhri Tol

by storm. Gorkha thus maintained its independence for many centuries in the uncertain manner in which so many other Nepalese fastnesses asserted their petty sovereignties, until the upward movement of the migration from Rajputana, driven north from the plains by Mohammedan invaders, flowed over the under-features of the Himalayas. The farthest point reached by the Mohammedan tide was not decided only by the difficulty of fighting with mountaineers within the shelter of their own hills. There was also a height at which the Himalayan winters proved too rigorous for the invading Moslems. Those whom they drove before them, those almost unwilling Rajput invaders of Nepal, had no choice but to adopt

[1] Perhaps the best and largest illustration of this style may be seen in the temple built by Jang Bahadur on the banks of the Bagmati in Katmandu.

the policy of permanent occupation. Return to the plains they could not; nor was it possible for them to live strung out along the series of Nepalese valleys where there was a chance of cultivation without putting their isolated cities of refuge into some state of defence. So one by one they occupied and strengthened the small kots or hill forts which proved, in



SANGU (NEAR NAYAKOT)

their hands, a still more sufficient defence against the unskilled and spasmodic assaults of neighbouring tribes. In 1559 Gorkha was captured and held by Drabya Sah. He could then, of course, have had no prevision of the great extension of the power and prosperity of his people among the Nepalese mountains, although by this annexation he laid the foundations for them. The present King of Nepal is the descendant of Drabya Sah, and, young as he is, it would be rash to prophesy that he would himself join his ancestors without having witnessed—if not achieved by his own

hands—a further extension of the kingdom that had its rise in this half-deserted little town of Gorkha.

Of the Darbar building itself and the temple of Bhawani there is little to note except the final ascent to the latter through three archways, a feature which is found nowhere else in Nepal. Before the Bhawani temple is gained a remarkable flight of steps about one hundred and twenty feet in height and about seventy-five feet in width, has to be scaled.[1] The decoration of the shrine is ornate. In striking contrast to its elaboration is the holy of holies of the Gurkha race, a little crude sanctuary hidden in a cavern to which access is almost impossible except on hands and knees—the shrine of Gorakhnath. Here, beneath an overhanging stream, housed in the natural recesses of the rock, and with little adornment beyond the ceremonial tridents, flags, halberds, trumpets, and other insignia of all such places of worship, is the image of the god. The contrast between the high-built temple, with its majestic flight of stairs, and the humble simplicity of the divine habitation below it, recalls a curiously similar juxtaposition in Europe—Lourdes. There is little in the town to-day to attract attention. The glory, if not the sanctity, of Gorkha is departed, and, except for scanty business traffic, there is little travelling along the road that connects Gorkha with Katmandu.

§ 10

Nayakot.—The track to Nayakot now follows the northern road. A more direct track from Gorkha to Katmandu has been made which avoids Nayakot, and makes its way through Dhading to Kakani on the north-western edge of the Valley; but it is reported to be difficult and liable to damage during the rains. Along the northern track there is not much to detain the traveller, though as he approaches Katmandu he will welcome the picturesque beauty of the little town of Sangu, where the northern and western roads from Katmandu divide. The general aspect of the hills through which this route perpetually ascends and descends differs in no way from that of other mountain landscapes in Nepal. The road is bad throughout until the Trisul Gandak is reached. Making one's way across it by one of the suspension bridges which the present Maharaja has substituted for an old unsafe wooden bridge, one is confronted by Nayakot.

Nayakot lies on a spur descending in a south-westerly direction from Mount Dhaibung, about a mile distant from the Trisul Gandak in the west and the same distance from the river Tadi to the south and east. The town, which at one time was more prosperous and of greater importance than it is to-day as the winter residence of the Gurkha kings until 1813, consists for the most part of about sixty three-storeyed houses. These are apparently

[1] See vol. i, p. 65.

rather in the style of those in Kirtipur which Hodgson calls the Chinese style of Katmandu.

There is only a single street lying in an indentation of the cross of the ridge, and it is consequently invisible from below. The upper Darbar building and the temple to Bhairab are placed on somewhat higher ground and may be partially seen. It is a straggling area shut in on all sides by precipices except to the south-west, where a flat plain intervenes between the two rivers. The general difficulty of obtaining water has turned the Nayakot area into a realm of orchards and mango topes. The King of Nepal owns important plantations of the latter fruit. Lower down on the river level are fruit gardens where almost anything can be grown from pears, apples, and plums to cocoanut, betel, and the supari, which we know at home as the cape gooseberry. Its oranges and pineapples are famous and rice is grown, some varieties of which cannot be raised in the much higher fields of the Valley.

Nayakot is only about two thousand feet above the level of the sea. The lakes from which the two rivers, Trisul Gandak and Tadi, rise lie ten thousand feet higher, just below the line of perpetual snow. This descent has to be made within thirty miles. The frequency of vast spates as well as the normal rapidity of their current may be imagined.

The town of Nayakot is now more famous for its gardens and orchards than for its political significance. But the illustration on p. 63, vol. i, of the Darbar at Nayakot is of interest because it was from this town that Prithwi Narayan Sah directed his attack upon the Nepal Valley in 1768 and 1769, and it has its niche in history as one of those places in which, however humble their subsequent lot, destiny was fulfilled and the first words of a new chapter written. Until the occupation of the Valley by Prithwi Narayan, and indeed for a long time afterwards, low-lying Nayakot was the winter residence of the wealthier classes of the Valley, and generally of the Court also. But that is almost a thing of the past; whatever exodus there now is during the cold weather seeks a lower altitude still; the Tarai or India itself is preferred. The many-storeyed houses—outside the Valley and the Tarai, only here, at Pokhra, and at Palpa are there generally found buildings of more than one storey—bear witness to a vanished importance. The town is to-day merely a double line of houses along a depression in the hills. Only the Darbar structure and a temple to Bhairab break the view to the spectator from a distance. Compared with Katmandu, Nayakot lies low, but it is eight hundred feet above the rivers at whose juncture it is placed, and the difficulty of obtaining water has in the long run contributed to the development rather of the river-banks than the town itself. The watersmeet is presided over by a flattish decline of which the lowest part is occupied by the famous mango topes belonging to the king. Here, however, the dreaded *awal* reigns as virulently, though not for so long

a period, as in the Tarai. Picturesquely enough, the Nepalese believe that at the close of the great festival of Bhairab the Destroyer in the middle of April, who is therein worshipped in the form of a tiger, the local goddess releases the man-destroying plague upon all who dare to trespass upon the tiger's favourite haunt of the Tarai. The difference of altitude between Nayakot itself and the warm damp valley below it is shown also in the different races that inhabit the two districts. Newars from the Valley are in a majority in Nayakot, while only the immune or semi-immune tribes of the Tarai and the Bhabar—or intermediate zone—can live in the malarious atmosphere of the Trisul Gandak and the Tadi.

As a garden community Nayakot has no parallel in Nepal. The markets of Katmandu are supplied with mangoes, tamarinds, bels, guavas, bananas, and custard apples, and sections of sugar-cane—all denizens of the hot Indian plains, but all improved by the touch of autumn chill which adds a flavour unknown in Bihar. Of the " temperate " fruits the pears, apples, apricots, and plums rival those of Kashmir.[1]

From Nayakot the journey into Katmandu is simple enough. The track descends a little towards the royal mango groves and then, crossing the Tadi, follows the left bank of the Trisul Gandak for a little way. It then ascends a little valley by a stony track until, not far from the British Envoy's summer bungalow, it joins the western road that accompanies the Trisul Gandak all the way to Tribeni and the Indian frontier. From this point there is a fairly steep descent to Jitpur and an easy path down to Dharmathali and Balaji on the western edge of the Valley. From Balaji a flat and good avenue leads to the north-west corner of Katmandu city and Thamale, not far from the Legation lines.

" Thamale " is the local pronunciation of Thambahil, a suburb of Katmandu, wherein the priests ceremonially plant every year the first rice of the season.[2]

[1] Dr. Oldfield records that in his time peaches were unknown there: they have since been grown with great success.

[2] Thamale extends from the north-western point of the city of Katmandu across the plain which divides the Vishnumati from the ground on which the British Legation is placed. Rather fancifully, a resemblance has been detected between the shape of this extension to the Scarf of Honour which is by custom attached to the hilt of the oriental sword.

CHAPTER XII

UNKNOWN NEPA

THE TRACKS

WE have now roughly described the most important outlying towns of Nepal; we have followed two characteristic roads leading westwards out of the Valley; and we have seen the nature of the country from Bethri in the hot Tarai to the chilly salt mines fifteen thousand feet and more above the sea and within two stages of the Tibetan frontier. We have noted the characteristics of several different towns such as Ridi with its holy associations; Butwal the frontier station, unhealthy in climate but essential for purposes of trade and of guarding the Indian border; Palpa, a city of officials and a kind of commercial collecting station for many miles round. Farther up, in the healthier upper area, we have touched upon the plain of Musikot, which seems likely to become the centre of a valuable mining district; Baglung the industrious, perched sixteen hundred feet above the Kali Gandak; Pokhra, the best example outside the Valley of a Nepalese centre of administration, and probably destined in the future to become far more commercially important than she is to-day; finally, we have noticed Gorkha, the home of the ruling race, and the diminished glories of Nayakot itself.

It is now necessary to refer briefly to the two great trade routes that lead out, north and north-east respectively, from the capital into Tibet. These are respectively known from their last passes as the Kirong and Kuti roads, though neither village is actually within the present limits of Nepal, and they have had a historical and practical influence on Nepalese history which is shared by no other road leading into her seven-hundred-thousand-square-miled neighbour.

§ 1

Kirong.—The Kirong road, which we will take first, is the more westerly of the two routes. From Katmandu one makes one's way through the avenue of willows to Balaji and then ascends the river bed of the Mahadeo khola through Dharmathali. From Dharmathali there is a path at an easy gradient to Jitpur. The scenery of this route increases in beauty as one rises slowly above the level of the plain. From Chandragiri it is possible to obtain a magnificent view of the Valley of Katmandu, but the picture thus gained is inevitably obstructed by the dense forest growth that fills

the ravine down which the track descends. From Jitpur there is unrolled a wider and an even more beautiful view. To the right are the forests of Balaji and Mount Nagarjun; filling the centre of the landscape is the sweep of buildings and temples which make up Katmandu, Thamale, Deo Patan, and Pashpati; and the long panorama is happily finished at each end by the great white domes of Swayambhunath and Boddhnath. On a clear day the view from higher up is plotted out over a far greater area and with greater distinctness. But many prefer the graceful composition of a landscape to the merciless flat accuracy of an ordnance map, and it is from the reasonable height of Jitpur that the finest view can be had of the Valley of Katmandu.

Immediately above Jitpur the road becomes steep, loose, and difficult. The following extract from a letter will perhaps give a sufficient description of this track. " We walked to Jitpur for the most part along smooth paths fringing the river. There we got into chairs and were lifted up a steep road with an ever-widening map of the Valley before us[1] all the time. One could even detect an outburst of smoke in the heart of Katmandu which suggested a house on fire not far from the Darbar Square. The Tundi Khel was pasted down like a flat green leaf.

" As soon as we got out of the Valley and on to the south-western slopes of Kakani, we were among forty-foot rhododendron trees largely furred with orchids, though these were less profuse than those on the south-western slope of Chandragiri. We passed through scattered groups of houses, for the most part thatched and red-ochred cottages, with pipals of honour set in brick circles for the wayfarer's rest in the middle of the road; and goats, coolies, poultry, and family parties made up indiscriminately the inhabitants of the low stoeps. The houses were generally of two storeys, and the conversation on the threshold below was frequently corrected by the outspoken comments of the elderly ladies at the windows of the first floor. The loads that the coolies were carrying seemed even heavier than those which are taken up the treacherous southern slope of Sisagarhi. A baulk of wood, ten feet long and six inches square, seemed to be regarded as a fair burden for a single man. We turned aside to the Envoy's summer bungalow, on a spur of Kakani, just where the main track begins to trend downhill towards Nayakot."

The Envoy's summer residence at Kakani is placed upon a flattish crest, extending altogether about four hundred yards in length, and varying between fifty and one hundred and fifty yards in width. The bungalow itself is a white structure with an open pillared porch extending the width of the house and providing a cool sitting-room. The window frames are painted a bluish green, and the grey galvanized iron roof blinks at the sun. To the English visitor the most remarkable feature of Kakani is the

[1] We were of course carried up backwards.



SCENE NEAR CHANGU NARAYAN

fact that there is a daring miniature golf course laid out on the slightly levelled mountain crest. For all practical purposes the links are less than two hundred and fifty yards long by, at most, a hundred yards wide. On all sides the ground descended rapidly, but to the north-east the wooded precipice dropped so fast that a mere twelve-handicap man could without much difficulty have driven six hundred yards.

There are many other places in this most interesting of all Asiatic valleys, and perhaps not the least attractive are the hot-weather stations at Kakani and Nagarkot, on the north-western and eastern hills respectively. Here, while the temperature of the Valley surges about 90° Fahrenheit, there is always a cool wind, and the nights are free from mosquitoes. Moreover, from these crests the enormous range of the Himalayas, culminating in a far-off mound of snow and ice, which the world knows as Everest, fills the eye from sunrise to dusk. From no other habitable spot can such a panorama be seen as this long expanse of the ice-bound backbone of the world. One has only to walk a few paces in the other direction to look down on the other side upon the wide, peaceful Valley of Katmandu, with its clustering red-brown towns, its white domes, and the broad, even spaces of its lawn-like parade grounds. In all directions the surface of the plain is intersected by meandering river-beds, and the woods that cover the western and southern slopes rise like a tapestry of verdure masking the terrible paths by which alone this, perhaps the most beautiful of Himalayan valleys, communicates with, or is protected from, the outer world. You may see the chimney of a power station, or trace perhaps the obelisks of steelwork that support the ropeway that supplies Katmandu with her necessities from India and with her comforts from the entire world.

The main road to Kirong, which we have abandoned for the moment to pay a visit to the Envoy's bungalow, pursues a more or less steady descent for about three thousand five hundred feet, and from Kakani may faintly be traced at the bottom of the valley into which the Tadi Khola runs. Across this stream is visible the tip of the flat strip of land, to which I have before referred in speaking of the royal mango groves south of Nayakot. The track turns upstream beneath that town and rises and falls till at Sangu the routes diverge. That which we have just traced from Pokhra goes off to the left, the other, which we are about to follow, trends to the north-east along the eastern bank of the Trisul Gandak.

Pursuing the latter, one comes in about seven miles to Betravati.[1] This village lies at the confluence of the Trisul Gandak with the stream which played a famous part in the last stage of the war with China in 1792. I quote the story in the words in which it was told to me.

"The crossing of the Betravati, according to local tradition, brought disaster upon the Chinese army at the time of its invasion of Nepal. The

[1] The name is shown as Betravali on most maps. This is the local pronunciation.

Gurkhas, under Damodar Panre, secreted themselves on the opposite shore, and thence attacked the Chinese troops, who were crossing a narrow bridge over the stream. Pressed from behind by their own troops, and opposed in front by the Gurkhas, the small bridge became over-congested, and at this critical moment it either gave way or, as the tradition goes, the Gurkhas cut the mooring chains, and thus a number of Chinese were thrown into the surging water below. The Chinese advance stopped at this place, and peace negotiations were begun." [1]

It will be remembered that Nayakot lies at a much lower elevation than Katmandu, and the rise in the track is not considerable until Betravati is passed. Here a steep ascent begins. The track keeps consistently to the left bank of the river and makes its way over a large number of mountain tributaries. The road presents little of interest except the rugged scenery and the countless swirling rapids of the river which even in the winter remains of a milky hue. At Ramcha there is a military post. This place is only fifteen miles from Nayakot, but is three thousand four hundred feet higher. The road then skirts a village at the river end of a small plain known, as in Katmandu, by the name of Tundi. Eight miles on is Shabru, one of the halting-places of the route. This is a small village which supplies a neighbouring outpost with provisions. Here the road divides, and a track running to the north-east communicates with Gosain kund, which will be described later. The actual ascent to the lakes, which is very steep, begins a mile or two farther on at Kundi, whence there is a steady and severe climb for seven miles before the first of the pools is reached.

Eight miles farther along the main or north-western route to Kirong there is for some distance a " trang," cut for the most part in the mountain side and quite impassable by night. Beyond this lies the frontier post of Rasua Chok, five thousand seven hundred feet above the sea. Here there is a customs house and a garden. Many more feet, however, have to be climbed before the pass is reached. It will be remembered that after the Chinese war a considerable portion of land on the Nepalese side of the watershed at both Kirong and Kuti was annexed by the Chinese. The matter remains the cause of a not ill-founded complaint on the part of Nepal. At both places the Tibetans—who have assumed the territorial rights obtained by China in the Treaty of 1792—would be able to surmount the actual pass at their leisure and descend some ten miles into what geographically speaking should be Nepalese territory before reaching the actual frontier. In military operations this might give Tibet such an overwhelming advantage that the threat of any such concentration would justify Nepal in securing the outer pass herself. Certainly in Katmandu it would be regarded as a natural precaution.

After crossing into Tibet the road, still keeping to the left bank of the

[1] See vol i, pp. 68-69.

Trisul Gandak, which here takes the name of the Jongkha Changpo, arrives at Kirong itself, a fortified place without attraction of any kind whatever. It has, however, played an important part in Nepalese wars and is occupied by a small detachment of Tibetans who are drawn from the larger military centre of Jongkha Jong, forty miles away by road to the north.

Kirong was described by one of the pandits bent on Tibetan travel as a place with a fort, a good-sized temple, about twenty shops, and a population of between three and four thousand. It is interesting to note that wheat and barley were then grown round the town, and that the place acted as a trade exchange for Tibetan salt and Nepalese rice.

From this point the road runs in a north-easterly and easterly direction following the right bank of the mighty Tsangpo, which, after circumnavigating the eastern massif of the Himalayas and sweeping down some six thousand feet in a series of rapids from Tibet to the jungles of Sadiya, becomes the Brahmaputra and joins the Ganges, less mighty than itself, at the familiar watersmeet at Goalundo in Bengal.

§ 2

Kuti.—The other main road into Tibet is that through Kuti, or Nilam To this place the route from Katmandu runs eastward through the Valley, leaving Bhatgaon on the right hand and making the first halting-place at Sankhu. This village is still within the Valley, which is not left behind until the Chautaria pass is reached, about fourteen miles from Katmandu. Once over the rim we follow the descent to the Mulanchi river which, after about ten miles, falls into the upper waters of the Sunkosi. If the Kirong track offers little attraction beyond scenery it must be admitted that its rival presents even less. The changing scene is not without grandeur, though continuous unclad slopes and peaks of rock, however enormous, become in time more monotonous than any other natural spectacle. The route threads its way through a large number of small clumps of houses, with here and there a place worthy of the name of village, all of which support themselves on the necessities of the travellers. None of them, however, offers any especial interest except to the ethnologist. It is among highly placed Himalayan villages such as these that the persistence can be observed of eight or nine different races of Tibetan origin, all Nepalese subjects and all insisting upon speaking their own tongue—generally a greatly modified but recognizable form of Tibetan. They carry their racial jealousy to such an extent that in some villages the inhabitants of neighbouring houses or huts are actually unable to understand each other. This, of course, is a needless addition to the work of administration, and the Nepalese Government, in providing an official and universal language for use throughout the country, is slowly breaking

it down. But so difficult of access are these peoples, so remote from the world of business, and so proud of their individual descent that it may be long before success is achieved. Sometimes the probable origin of the inhabitants of a given village may be deduced from its name. Thus it is said that the little village of Newar, which lies beyond the Bisingkhar pass, represents an unmixed colony from the Valley of Katmandu. By all accounts the Kuti track, which has suffered even more than the Kirong route from the competition of the Chumbi Valley, is so little used that it would scarcely be worth while to do more to it than has been done by the present Government, which is satisfied if the bridges along the track are kept in reasonable repair, and the " trangs " made safe.

Soon after leaving Newar the road runs along the right bank of the Sunkosi, which is here known as the Bhotiakosi, and climbs rapidly to a height of about ten thousand feet. Much of the road is hacked out of the cliff, and in places it consists of a mere foothold supported on iron and wooden beams driven into the hill-side. The name Chaksam, which is also found as the name of a village in the upper reaches of the Budhi Gandak to the west, indicates a place where men using the Tibetan tongue had at one time thrown iron chains across the gorge to support a temporary foot-bridge.[1] The Kuti Pass track was recorded by an Indian traveller to Tibet as one of the most dangerous in the whole Himalayan range.[2] He describes the route as passing through a fearful gorge where the road crosses the river no less than fifteen times; thrice by iron suspension bridges, and twelve times by wooden bridges, some of which were sixty paces long. At one point the rocky sides of the gigantic chasm were so close that a bridge of twenty-four paces spanned it. At another a path is supported along the perpendicular wall of rock on iron pegs let into the face of the rock. The path, of stone slabs covered with earth, is only eighteen inches wide, one-third of a mile long, and one thousand five hundred feet high above the roaring torrent.

The present Maharaja has done all that is possible to keep alive this historic route, but it is doubtful whether this track is available for animals, loaded or not. From the frontier station of Kodahari the path still climbs steadily upwards for twenty miles across the plateau to Kuti or Nilam at a height of thirteen thousand nine hundred feet, from which point the road descends slightly and again climbs to Tingri, which is about the same

[1] The best surviving example of these bridges is that which crosses the great Tsangpo river about forty-two miles south-west of Lhasa. This, too, gives the name Chaksam to the village on the southern bank, and it may be added as a curious testimony to the enterprise as well as the skill of the ironworkers of the fifteenth century, that the links are as good to-day as when they were forged.

[2] Father Grueber and Father Dorville, Jesuit missionaries, visited Nepal in 1662. Grueber records the tremendous precipices across the face of which he scaled the Kuti Pass and reached Katmandu.

height as Nilam. From this point there is an up and down track joining the Tsangpo road at Shigatse.

While upon the subject of the Kuti road it is worth while to record the inaccurate but picturesque description of Father Georgi who—quoting from Father Cassien's narrative—says that it is twelve miles from Katmandu to Sankhu, through which place all travellers to Tibet are obliged to pass. For which reason, says Father Cassien, Sankhu is the apple of discord among the kings of the Valley. Eight miles from Sankhu, Langur is reached after crossing the river Koska. From Langur to the next halting-place, Sipa, is eighteen miles, and the same distance separates Sipa from Ciopra. We are now fifty-six miles from Katmandu according to Father Georgi. Even admitting a certain looseness in the estimate of Father Cassien, it is difficult to identify some of these places, as his record of the length of the stages is repeatedly wrong. At the seventy-sixth milestone is the village of Nogliakot, with many chaityas, stones engraved with the formula *om mani padme hum* round the pagoda. Eight miles farther on is Paldu, and at the fourteenth mile Nesti, or Listi, is reached, a name that appears more than once in the record of the campaigns between Tibet and Nepal. At a point four miles on, he says that rice is cultivated—a most unlikely form of agriculture. His description of the difficulties of the road is picturesque. At the hundred and sixth mile—I quote from M. Lévi's translation—the very narrow track lies along the edge of precipices and is continually turning the corners of extremely lofty mountains. Often the yawning gulfs between the rocks are bridged by narrow and trembling constructions of sticks and undergrowth. The traveller shudders to see underneath him immense sheer precipices and to hear the noise of the water tumbling at the bottom among the stones. There is one specially difficult point which reduces timid or inexperienced men to terror, and the more they fear, the greater is the risk of a fall. Here a prominent rock about sixteen feet long slopes downwards over an abyss, and is the more slippery from the dripping waters which continually wash and polish it. It is true that holes have been hacked out upon its surface where the traveller is able to place, if not his entire foot at least the ball of it; but Father Georgi does not seem to think that this much reduces the terrors of the passage. The river Nohotha is spanned by iron chains. Here people cross in safety upon the footway of the bridge grasping, on the right hand and on the left, two cables which are riveted into the rock at each end, but the oscillations of this rough bridge are fearful—especially when there is added to them the vibration caused when several persons are passing at the same time out of step. Then, says Father Cassien, one can scarcely endure the terror. Sixteen miles farther on is Khangsa, or Khasa, which still gives its name to this portion of Nepal irredenta. Once more the fathers encountered a wretched and dangerous path, worse even than that of the day before. There were

no less than twenty-nine gangways to cross, and the mountain side to which they clung in desperation was as dizzy as ever, and the hazards more numerous.[1] At last, after passing Bhairab kund, a spring of warm water, Kuti is seen, the last outpost of Nepal. Georgi's comparison of this pass with that of the Jelep in Sikkim is based on no knowledge of the latter, but it is interesting to recall his statement that the Sikkim road was in old days, as it is again to-day, the easiest route from India to Tibet. Father Cassien records the causes and the conditions of the temporary cession of Kuti to Tibet. They include the establishment of the Nepal currency in Tibet, the grant of extra-territoriality to Nepalese living in Kuti, Shigatse, Egantze, and Lhasa, a regular tribute of salt and Nepal's right to appoint the head men of the villages along the track between " Nepal " and Kuti.

§ 3

Gosain kund.—More important than any other religious centres outside the Valley are those of Gosain kund, or Gosain-than, and Muktinath. The former lies high up among the mountain ridges which ultimately join to form the buttresses of the holy Himalayan range. There is a mountain called Gosain-than ten or twelve miles beyond the frontier[2] in Tibet, but Nepal can boast of the sacred lakes—which are generally known to Europeans by the same name of Gosain-than—the cause of some confusion. They are magnets for a perpetual pilgrimage throughout the kindlier months of the year. Mention has already been made of the road from Nayakot to Dungsay where the tracks, to the pass and the lakes respectively, diverge. The latter road is naturally not only attended by sacred traditions but is adorned also by carvings of a religious nature. One of the most curious natural features of Nepal may be found between Rapcha (Ramcha) and Dungsay At a little Tibetan village called Taria an immense rock overhangs the road and forms the roof of a large natural cavern capable of sheltering between two and three thousand persons. It is largely used as a halting-place during the pilgrim season.

Of these lakes there are said to be twenty-two. The largest of them is known as Gosain kund, or Nilkhiat kund, and is of interest because it is the source of the river Trisul Gandak. The water falls into the lake from

[1] Father Marc does not attempt to give the length of the stage of this journey, but his description of its terrors is even more remarkable than that of Father Cassien. So terrible, he says, is the crossing of some of the chain bridges that many travellers are blindfolded and bound to a plank, which is slung to the cables and manœuvred across by a local expert.

[2] It is an imposing peak of twenty-six thousand three hundred feet, though its apparent height is dwarfed by the ice-crowned summits that attend it. It is known to the Tibetans as Shisha Pangma. It will be noted that the frontier line, as traced on the Nepalese maps includes access to the summit of this mountain.

a rock on the northern side by the three springs which have suggested the special name of the river. During the winter the lakes are thickly frozen over, but the stream of the Trisul continues to run. Gosain kund seems at first sight a curious place to have chosen for pious travel and adventure; except on the principle that the Himalayan gods—or, it would perhaps be better to say, the gods in their Himalayan aspect—prefer to live apart and unmolested by men. Seldom do these austere divinities sanction such



GOSAIN KUND

direct access as is permitted at Gosain kund or Muktinath. It is interesting to remember that within a radius of a hundred miles of Mount Everest most of the villagers, Nepalese and Tibetans alike, probably believe that the patience of the deity was at last exhausted when for the third time an attempt was made, in 1924, to violate her icy shrine, and that the deaths of Mallory and Irvine were directly and certainly due to the displeasure of that lonely deity.

But the lakes of Gosain kund, encircled by glaciers and fed from the scanty annual wasting of their eternal ice, offer a sanctioned avenue to these remote Powers of good and evil. Of these pools, the highest and most sacred lies on a great rocky bluff. In its centre is a tawny-coloured rock, which Oldfield describes as of an oval shape, the rounded top of which can

be seen, sunk a foot or more beneath the surface of the tranquil and transparent water. "The pious worshippers of Shiva, as they stand on the edge of the sacred lake, look on this unhewn rock as a divinely carved representation of Mahadeo[1] and fancy they can trace out in it a figure of the deity reclining full length upon a bed of serpents. This rock must have been deposited in its present position when the lake was filled by an ancient glacier, and, sunk as it is in the centre of the ice-cold waters, it can never have been touched by mortal hands."[2]

The difficulties which attend the pilgrimage to Gosain kund have occupied the attention of the present Maharaja. The Government has appointed



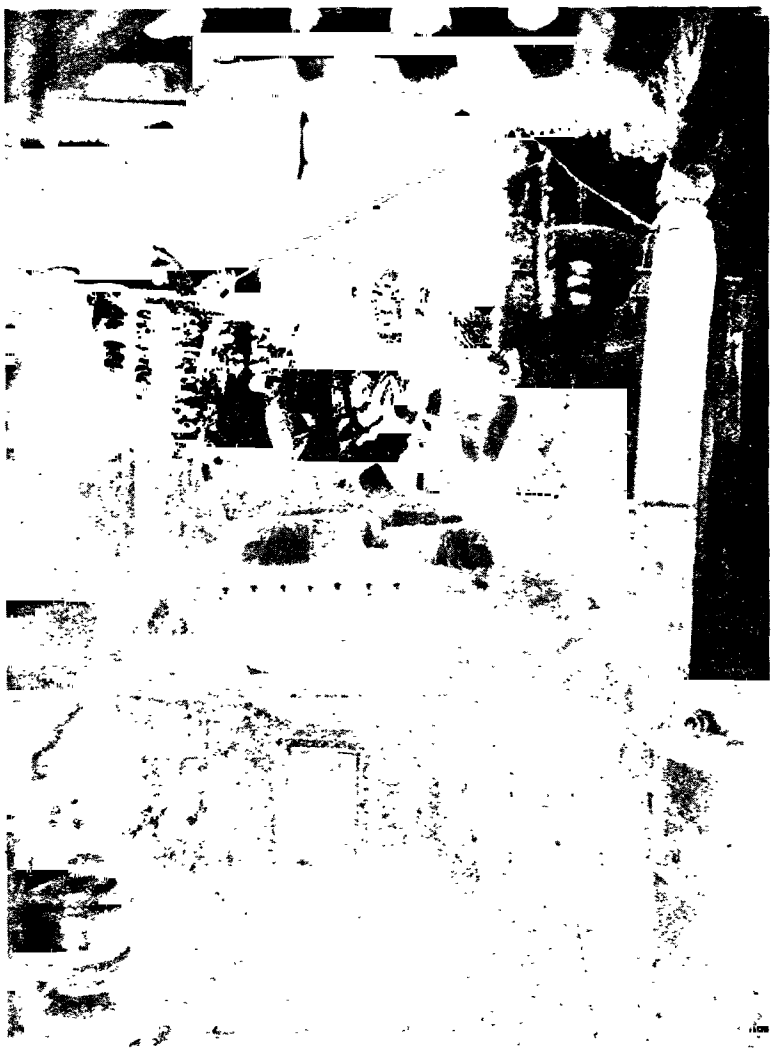
THE TEMPLE OF MUKTINATH

officials to deal with the more arduous aspects of the journey, and the enterprise is not to-day the hardy and often mortal adventure that it used to be.

[1] For the curious identification with Shiva of this submerged symbol of Vishnu found in the similar pool shrines at Balaji and Nilkantha, see vol. i, pp. 226, 227.

[2] The following legend explains the existence of Gosain kund. Once upon a time the Kalakuta tide of poison was destroying the world. Three hundred and thirty million gods then prayed to Mahadeo, imploring him to protect the earth and, it seems, themselves also. Mahadeo good-humouredly assented and, to destroy its power, he sucked the tide into his own mouth. Instead of swallowing it, however, he kept it in his throat, which became blue from the effects of the poison—hence his name Nila-kantha. Feeling feverish, he went to the Himalayas, but even there the cold was not sufficient to bring him relief. So he struck his trident into the mountain side and at once three streams gushed out. He lay down and let the ice-cold water flow over his head—and there he lies to this day.

Muktinath.—The other great sanctuary in the Nepalese Himalayas, Muktinath, may be approached from Pokhra by a track running over the



MUKTINATH

The Jwala Mayi, or Chief Deity of this place of pilgrimage

Radnaga la. Afterwards a high altitude is maintained among the mountain peaks confronting Dhaulagiri until Deorali Bhanjyang is gained. Thence the path descends sharply to Sik on the banks of the Kali Gandak, about

sixteen miles above Baglung, where the path from Ridi joins it. Perhaps, from the point of view of a European, the best thing that can be said about the route is that, for nearly twenty miles, the road and river make their way round the base of mighty Dhaulagiri, a gigantic and detached peak which ranks with Chumolhari and Siniolchu, Nanga parbat and Kangchanjanga, as one of the five most beautiful mountains in the Himalayan range—and if in the Himalayas, then in all the world. From here the ascending road follows or crosses the bed of the river, and there is nothing to report of this merely arduous journey until Phala and the outskirts of



MUKTINATH
The 108 sacred springs

the much larger town of Kagbeni are reached. Muktinath lies six miles from the river south-east of Kagbeni, and in that distance the track ascends no less than two thousand two hundred and twenty-five feet.

In August, when the largest number of pilgrims undertake the enterprise, there is not sufficient accommodation for them at Muktinath, and the surrounding villages, of which Santal is the chief, offer such scanty hospitality as this remote and unfertile region can afford. The shrine, of which the two views on pp. 38 and 39 give an adequate representation, ranks, in the view of the Nepalese, with Gosain kund, Pashpati, and Ridi as one of the four great places of Hindu sanctity and sin-remission in Nepal. It attracts also large numbers of pilgrims from India and from Tibet, offering to both creeds alike a large indulgence in return for the arduous

and often fatal expedition by which alone it may be visited.[1] As will be seen the shrine stands beside a holy pool which is fed by a hundred and eight springs. This number corresponds with the number of times that the name of the exalted god should be preceded by "sris." Hard as the journey to it is, Muktinath is visited by thousands every year. Doubtless it owes no small part of its original sanctity to the fact that the thrice-sacred shaligram is found in remarkable abundance in the waters of the Kali Gandak at this point.

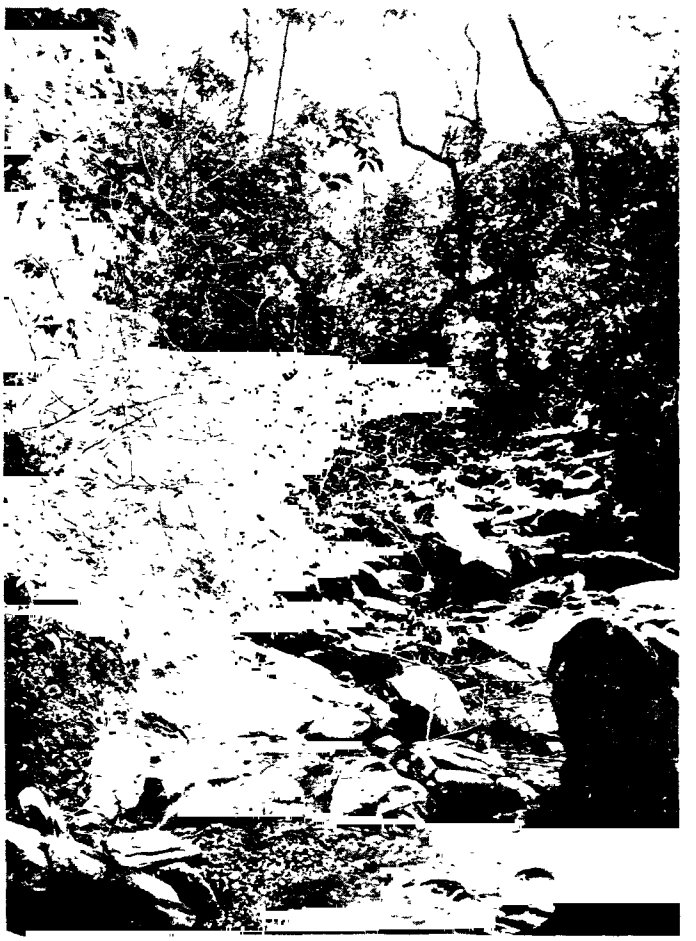
§ 4

Central route.—Of other main roads the greatest of all, that which leads from Darjiling in Bengal to Pithoragarh in Kumaon five hundred miles away and more, is, as may well be imagined, for the most part a merely local convenience. For any long distance it is easier and quicker and, it may be added, cheaper for a Nepalese to make his way either to one of the railway stations on the Indian border—of which Darjiling, Pratapganj, Raxaul, Nepalganj, Bridgmanganj, Chandanchauki, and Bileri are perhaps the most used—and there join the Indian railway system for an excursion east or west even when his destination is in his own country. But the long route needs some mention, though no European eye has seen more than a twentieth of it and it is difficult to obtain any description of it from the Nepalese themselves.

India and Nepal meet about half-way between Darjiling and Ilam, the frontier post being at Simana, a few miles north of the source of the Mechi or Telpani river, which, for a large part of its course, forms the boundary between Bengal and Nepal. It is a bad route from the start, obstructed by many steep ascents and descents, and during flood time practically impassable. These remarks apply to a large part of this long track. A small party might perhaps push its way through in spite of all difficulties, with the help of local assistance in the matter of rope bridges, ferries, and other means of crossing swollen rivers. But the entire length of the route runs through the under-features of the Himalayas—under-features which, in any other country, would be hailed as mountains of importance—and the pace is necessarily slow. Nor is it possible, without previous arrangement, to secure provisions locally. On the whole a fair number of Nepalese powahs or lodging places are to be found. It need hardly be said that any attempt to use this road without the permission of the Nepal Government would be entirely impossible, and that such permission would certainly not be given to a European under any conditions whatever. Moreover, as has

[1] It will be remembered from the chapter dealing with Nana Sahib in the preceding volume, that the mysterious visitor of princely importance from India, who was seen by the Panjabi fakir beside the Khundi khola, was then, nominally at least, on his way to Muktinath.

been said before, the Nepal Government and the Indian Government alike are totally opposed to the intrusion of foreigners or strangers of any kind within the territory of the king of Nepal—and the arm of the Sirkar is long.



THE KUNWAR KHOLA

About forty-five miles from Ilam the road, which has been clinging to the northern side of the Morung mountain frontier to the north, runs through Dhankuta after a steep descent of above two thousand three hundred feet into the upper waters of the Kankai river. From this valley there are alternative roads for threequarters of the way to Katmandu. That to the south has become neglected for any through traffic, so difficult

is it. It may be said generally to ascend the right bank of the Sunkosi river. The northern road which we will follow makes a steep ascent and descent into the Arunkosi, which is not without interest because, within the basin drained by it are many of the descendants of the Kirantis who once reigned over a large portion of Nepal.

Another reason that lends interest to the Arunkosi is that during the recent attempts upon Mount Everest the upper or Tibetan valleys of the Arun offered to the surveyors, naturalists, and ethnologists of the party an interesting field of study. These districts down to the frontier near Lungdung in the Arun gorge and Popti la have been accurately surveyed by the Expedition. The track running over the Popti la, better perhaps known as the Hatia route, that being the name of the customs station, was never one of great importance. It appears in history as the scene of the disastrous withdrawal of the Nepalese army from Tibet in 1791. Fifteen miles farther east are the twin passes of the Tipta la, 19,000 feet, and the Kanglachen, 18,365 feet, within seven miles of each other. The former is known also as the Walanchun. Although the lower of the two, travellers are advised not to attempt this pass at the end of November, but to use the Kanglachen route. Again to the east another pass, the Jongsong la, of over twenty thousand feet, and about twelve miles north of Kangchanjanga, connects with the Sikkim roadways.[1]

§ 5

North-eastern Nepal.—Sarat Chandra Das adds incidentally to our knowledge of north-eastern Nepal in his description of his journey from Darjiling to Lhasa. He started early in November 1881, and at the Chambab, 18,280 feet, the frontier between India and Nepal. His account of this pass is probably characteristic of nearly all the higher passes in this region. It was heavily covered with snow at the time of his passage, and the method taken by his guide of throwing down a bale of clothing to see what would happen to it, and in the event of its bringing up safely at the bottom, of following it at full length, is not an unknown device in other mountainous regions. Patches of grass amid the snow were succeeded by occasional plants of the "blue lotus." Rhododendrons and junipers followed soon, and at last the traveller reached a brook about four feet wide, said to be the head waters of the Kabili river of Nepal. After some

[1] Besides these three passes there are Pangu la, the passes of Kuti, Kirong, Pangsing la, and Photu la sixty miles north-north east of Dhaulagiri; the frontier posts of this track are at Changrang and Lo Mantang. The last and most westerly pass of all is sometimes known as the Taklakhar or Yari la. It takes advantage of the channel cut by the Karnali river not far from Simikot. It is an extremely difficult pass, and is scarcely used at all.

up and down work of no great difficulty Semarum was reached, and the traveller makes the note that both to the south and west the Semarum pass is overhung by a very rugged cliff resembling the outspread wings of an eagle both in colour and shape. From the top of the Semarum pass Chomo Kankar was visible, and the tracks of hares, snow leopards, and snow pheasants were here seen. The road at this point became difficult, but in a short time vegetation was again reached. At Namga Tsal, near Kangma, a halt was made for a night under the protection of a great cedar. A cave here enjoys no small vogue as a place of Buddhist pilgrimage. On the following day the Yalung was reached. This is spanned by a strong bridge of cedar logs and silver fir planks. Turning north-north-east the ascent of Chunjorma was begun, and Das noted specimens of the green pheasant recorded by Dr. Hooker.[1]

Three miles to the west of the road lies Yalung itself. This seems to be the residence of only twelve families, " who spend their summer in tending yaks at Yalung, and their winter at Yanku tang, in the valley of the Kabili." After attaining the summit of Chunjorma by the Nango la some more high crags are reached, of which one resembling a horse's head has naturally been called after Tam-drin. Junipers and rhododendrons were found on the other side, and Das stayed the night at Mudang Phug. Again descending, full forest vegetation was seen in the deep glens of the streams which here cut into the mountain side. In the Yamatari valley the rhododendron bushes were fluttering with the white and red strips which are so universally found in and near Tibet as the offerings of travellers. Das's servant, Phurchung, said that in a flat grassy valley near this place his parents had met Dr. Hooker, who not only treated his father for snow blindness, but gave his mother a coin to hang about Phurchung's neck, who was then a baby in arms. Beyond the Yamatari bridge is a small village, Kangpa-chan, where Phurchung was received by his relatives with a hearty welcome and much Tibetan beer.

Kangpa-chan (Hooker's Kambachen) is picturesquely situated on the lower slopes of snow mountains. Juniper and rhododendron bushes surround the village, broken by patches of barley, radishes, and potatoes. Mr. Das reached the place on the 24th November and was earnestly advised by one of the villagers not to attempt to get into Tibet by the Walang pass as it was too late in the season. The Jangma and the Kangmachen passes were still possible. In the village Phurchung's uncle, Pema Zang, owned a house of some pretensions containing a well painted shrine. " Pema Zang

[1] In November 1848 Dr. Hooker was permitted, at the urgent request of the Indian Government, to ascend the Kosi river in Eastern Nepal to its confluence with the Tamor, which he then followed in a general north-easterly direction. He made his way up the Yangma river and crossed the Walanchun and Yangma passes. (See *Himalayan Journals*, vol. i, p. 205. Murray, 1854.)

had long, thick, and tangled hair. He wore gold earrings in the shape of magnolia flowers, and his looks and talk were grave and serious. He often sits in deep meditation for the purpose of arresting hail and other storms by the potency of the charms he is able to pronounce."

Here snowshoes had to be bought and provisions put up for the hard journey that lay before the travellers. Kangpa-chan was once a far larger centre. But as punishment for the murder of an oppressive Magar chief, nearly the whole population was exterminated. His widow revenged herself by inviting the Sharpas, who had been guilty of the crime, to the funeral feast, and there poisoned nearly a thousand of them. The Tibetans, with whom the Sharpas are racially connected, sent an army to avenge this too rough justice, and the Magar chieftainess found herself besieged. The Tibetans seem to have been unable to take the place by storm, and therefore cut off the water supply. To deceive them the chieftainess employed a device as ancient as it is world-wide. She opened the reservoir in the castle and let the water flow out in full sight of the Tibetan troops. Thinking she must have abundance, they then raised the siege and retired; the lady, however, rashly made a sortie and fell herself in the melée. In the long run the Tibetans finally expelled the Magars from the Kangpa-chan and Tamor valleys, which were restored to their former owners. The place where this massacre was carried out is still known as Tongshong phug—"the Place of a Thousand Murders."

On leaving Kangpa-chan the road takes a north-westerly direction through Yangma to the Kanglachen pass. At Manding Gompa, short of Yangma, it became necessary to deal with the Nepalese authorities who closely scrutinized all travellers There was apparently a discussion in the village as to the identity and standing of the pilgrim from India. The head Lama admitted that he had no orders from the Nepalese Government to prevent the pious from making their pilgrimage to Tibet. Phurchung seems to have proved himself a diplomatist of no mean order, and after a slight test of his master's knowledge of Tibet and the Buddhist religion, and the completion of a small financial transaction, they were allowed to go on their way. An hour or two afterwards Yangma itself was reached. Hooker dismisses it as a miserable collection of two hundred to three hundred stone huts.[1] Das seems to have been as little impressed. He says that the houses could be distinguished from the boulders everywhere strewing the ground only by the smoke issuing from the roofs. He was of opinion that, in 1881, there were not more than a hundred houses in the village.

The road now lies along the Yangma, which here flows either in deep gorges or else spreads itself in wide lakes. The real ascent now began, though Yangma itself lies 12,789 feet above sea level. Po-phug, a mere

[1] See *Himalayan Journals*, by Hooker, vol. i, p. 238.

collection of huts, lies at the foot of a steep ascent, where the head waters of the Yangma river were passed. Das notes that the limit of vegetation is reached at Tsa-Tsam. The track now lay across a large glacier a quarter of a mile wide and more than three miles long, and up a great curtain of bare black rock. The cold, the fog, and the darkness made it impossible for the party to reach the regular halting place, the White Cavern, so the night was spent in the open, and we may well believe Das when he says that it was the most trying night he ever passed in his life. Next morning they discovered that they had halted for the night only a furlong from the White Cavern, which, as a matter of fact, is nothing more than a crevasse between detached rocks.

It is interesting to set as a parallel with the accounts given of other high Himalayan passes by Father Grueber and Father Cassien the description by Mr. Das of the hardships he suffered at Kanglachen. " How exhausted we were with the fatigue of the day's journey, how overcome by the rarefication of the air, the intensity of the cold, and how completely prostrated by hunger and thirst, is not easy to describe . . . and so with neither food nor drink, placed as if in the grim jaws of death, in the bleak and dreary regions of snow where death alone dwells, we spent this most dismal night."

The summit of Kanglachen is a small plateau from which a magnificent view of snow-clad peaks is to be seen. " On all sides there was nothing visible but an ocean of snow. Innumerable snowy peaks touched with their white heads the pale leaden sky where stars were shining. The rattling roar of distant avalanches was frequently heard; but after having succeeded in crossing the loftiest of snowy passes, I felt too transported with joy to be frightened by their thunder." The next day's road is easier. The rhododendrons and junipers reappear. The frontier town of Tibet is apparently Tashirabka, where the remains of a high stone wall, erected by the Tibetans during the Nepalese war, are still visible. It crosses the whole valley, its ends being seen high up on the sides of the mountain. From this point Mr. Das's route lay in Tibetan territory.

A reference should be made here to the Sharpas who live in this district, and from whom the various expeditions for the climbing of Mount Everest [1] were largely drawn. The praise which both Norton and Odell have bestowed upon these Sharpa porters will not soon be forgotten in England, while Odell's very gallant rescue of a small body of these men from a height of nearly 27,000 feet, where they had fallen exhausted and were waiting for death, will never be forgotten by their kinsmen. During the exhibition, in 1925, of the films taken during this last attempt to scale Mount Everest,

[1] The frontier line between Tibet and Nepal runs over the crest of Mount Everest. The name given to the mountain by the Nepalese differs, but in Katmandu it is known as Chomo-Kankar, whether the name would locally be accepted as applicable to the highest peak or not. The name means " Lady White Glacier."

nothing has been more popular than the interlude in which a personal introduction was made to the audience of one of these Sharpas, of whose courage, tenacity, and loyalty the lecturer could not say enough. It was by these Tibetan Nepalese—and they are proud and jealous of their Nepalese nationality—that work was done for the expedition, which, for endurance and loyalty, has never been equalled on any other mountaineering enterprise. It may also be added that the Sharpas would unhesitatingly refuse to render these terrible services to any but the British, whom they had come to know and most absolutely trust. Without their help—which can never be secured by any but men with whom they are familiar, whom they trust in any emergency, and who have proved their willingness to risk their own lives in keeping faith with their porters in a desperate hour—it would have been impossible for the results to be secured which have already justified this attack upon Mount Everest, high as the price was that had to be paid for them.

Of other records dealing with this extreme north-eastern corner of Nepal there is the narrative of Mr. Douglas Freshfield who, in his journey round Kangchanjanga, crossed from Jongri, in Sikkim, to Kangbachen, in Nepal, by the Kang la. At Kangbachen he touched Sarat Chandra Das's route, but continued his journey through Lhonak to the Jongsong la to the north-east and so regained Sikkim. Sarat Chandra Das continued his journey through Yangma to Kanglachen.

The Buddhist temples in this part of Nepal are also designed on the model of the Tibetan sanctuaries, having been founded by the great Lama, Lha-tsun, of the Red Hat school. Apparently Walang is the senior temple and Kangpa-chan second. The Manding Gompa—which is the monastery near Yangma—is of a special sanctity. Elsewhere he asserts that the Yangma and Walanchun districts belonged at one time to the Raja of Sikkim.

To return to the great east and west track of Nepal. The road between the Arunkosi and the Dudh-kosi crosses a range of mountains, and at Kumdia passes within three miles of a well-known temple—Halasi. I could obtain no description of this place, which is held in great repute in eastern Nepal as one of the abiding places of Padma Sambhava.[1] Beyond the

[1] In A.D. 747 this man was sent for from India by Thi Srong Detsan, King of Tibet. On his arrival he reorganized the Buddhist church, founded Lamaism, and established the Sakya monastery. In the course of much travel and many surprising miracles, the Most Precious Teacher visited Boddhnath and the cemetery called Shun-grub-brtsegs-pa in Nepal. Waddell notes that Halasi is on a continuation of the Siwalik range and contains the characteristic fossils of that formation. Among these are the remains of the "sabre-toothed tiger" which is almost peculiar to this range. It would be an interesting study to compare the figures assumed by devils in animistic or semi-animistic regions with the fossils to be found in them. To Padma Sambhava is due the credit of having introduced in Tibet the Tantric form of Buddhism, which quickly spread into Nepal; Lamaism, the

Dudh-kosi the track makes its way across numberless tributaries of the Sunkosi and the lesser mountain streams which only deserve the name in the rains, but are then impassable. The Tambakosi is crossed not far from Rajgaon; here the southern track, which has been ascending the right bank of the Sunkosi, is seen beyond the river, which is crossed at Bhataoli, and the two merge into a path along which a day's march will take the traveller to the wide and well cultivated plain of Dumja. This is a town of some local importance, but it is of course dwarfed by its



ARGHA

The residence of the Rajas in Lamjang

proximity to the Valley, the edge of which is only about nineteen miles distant. Barley and rice grow in the plain, but it cannot compete with Katmandu, though in extent it ranks second or third in Nepal. The road runs through Charangphedi and Banepa to Bhatgaon, and so on to the capital. The Valley is entered at Sanga, a little town on the north-eastern slopes of Ranichok.

The road through eastern Nepal has been of the same character throughout. Here and there passes have to be crossed, as at Chakawa (6,870 feet), Kumdia (6,300 feet), Wakhaldunga and Kanjia (4,620 feet), but a poor track

particular form of sacerdotalism that he created, has never taken root there, either in the form of the Red discipline or the Yellow.

for the most part winds up and down round mountain spurs well clad with small woods and cultivated in sheltered recesses.

From Katmandu, the west-bound traveller may pursue the path that I have already described through Gorkha to Ridi, though a rough track to Palpa, crossing the Kali Gandak at Kibrighat, is actually shorter. A third track and perhaps the best, though less interesting, runs down the left bank of the Trisul Gandak through Maisiduhan to Bichraltar, where a cut across fairly level country is made to Deoghat.[1] Here the river is crossed, and three stages more will bring Palpa into view. Ridi lies eight miles on.

Thence the track makes its way to Piuthana, which lies about one hun-



JHARKAN

dred and twenty-five miles west of Katmandu as the crow flies, a route of steep ascents and descents crossing the Chitrabasi near Wangle. Here there was at one time a considerable musket factory. Large quantities of gunpowder were made, the saltpetre required being taken from the village of Musinia Bhanjyang not far away. The manufacture of arms and ammunition is now almost entirely concentrated in the Valley of Katmandu. From here in about five stages, Salyana is reached. The Madi river is crossed at Kimulchaur. Salyana, like Jajarkot, was at one time the capital of a small mountain clan, which, like all the others in this district, was finally absorbed by the Gurkha conquerors towards the end of the eighteenth century. Salyana is of interest because it is the capital of the province in which the more privileged of the refugees of the 1857 Mutiny were allowed to find

[1] On the way the fort of Upardangarhi is passed.

temporary shelter. Jajarkot contains a fine ruined castle which was once the stronghold of an aristocratic chief claiming Rajput descent, with the descendants of whom the Prime Minister's family has intermarried.[1]

With the exception of Jumla, Salyana is the most western of the important civil headquarters in the west of Nepal. Other centres, such as Dipal, Dailekha, and Baitadi, the extreme frontier post confronting Pithoragarh, are chiefly military stations. Owing to the difficulty of transit among these never-ending hills a certain amount of independent authority is conceded to the Subas and other officials in the small towns, constant reference to the capital being difficult. The road from Salyana threads its way along mountain sides and crosses the Sanubheri river before reaching Dailekha. This is the centre of the district of that name. Reference to the census figures[2] will show the relative importance of these sparsely populated areas. Not far from Dailekha is a pass—the Kachal la—which has been described to me by a Nepalese as one of the most impressive and beautiful of all the passes of his country. This praise was the more remarkable because natural beauty is not the matter which appeals first to a Nepalese, or indeed to any Oriental in describing his own country. One may ask a Nepalese about the length of a journey, the difficulty of the track, the number and nature of the different stages, what will be found at the villages along the route or should be provided when a river has to be crossed or an unusually steep ascent or descent has to be made—and in general you will receive plain and trustworthy replies. But the scenic beauty of Nepal is less regarded by them. Although these highlanders live in the midst of the most magnificent scenery in the world they would, I am convinced, prefer to cultivate the orderly but somewhat dull levels of northern India, could they but bring with them their independence, their climate, and, above all, their government.

From Dailekha the road runs through to Bilkhet on the eastern bank of the Karnali river. From this point one track runs up in a northerly direction—and chiefly on the right bank of the river—through Banda and Simikot to the Tak la, which has already been referred to in this chapter. The western road from Bilkhet crosses the Bheri at Sanpiaghat and, proceeding westwards, threads the military centre of Dipal or Silgarhi; thence again it pursues its way among passes and along occasional river flats to

[1] The following are the heads of a few of the chief families resident in outer Nepal.

Salyana. Raja Sham Sher Bahadur Shah.

Jajarkot. Raja Upendra Vikram Shah. (He is married to the niece of the Prime Minister.)

Bajhang. Raja Devi Jang Singh. (Ex-Raja, was son-in-law of Prime Minister. He has left the country and is now living at Bangalore.)

Bajhang. Raja Jai Prithwi Bahadur Singh.

Bajura. The widow of Raja Dip Bahadur Shah.

[2] Appendix VII, vol. i.

Chuma[1] and Baitadi. From here it is but a short stage to the Kumaon frontier of India.

A rival track, leaving the frontier at Bargaon twenty-five miles north of Baitadi, and one that is said to be more often used though it is much longer and impassable in the wet weather, runs—roughly parallel to and north of the track that has just been noted—eastward through Banda—where it crosses the Tak la road—and Jumla, a considerable administrative centre. From Jumla it makes its way first over high passes and then along the tortuous Bheri river to Charka among the snows, and thence to Kagbeni



THE GAHRAUN KOT

These kots or forts are built on the tops of hills commanding towns in the west of Nepal

on the Kali Gandak, where the eastward path to Muktinath climbs up from the river. This road is in its lower parts fairly well wooded, but some of the passes exceed fourteen thousand feet.

From Kagbeni northwards there is a track which has in the past been used as a route into Tibet over the Photu la but is now almost impassable. As has been suggested elsewhere, the traffic over all the Nepalese northern passes has fallen off to a great degree since the engineers of the expedition to Lhasa of 1904 completed the regrading, and for the most part the reconstruction of the roads running over the sister passes, the Jelep la and the Nathu la, from Sikkim into the Chumbi Valley. Bad as the roads soon

[1] Dadheldhura, a military post, lies in the hills about five miles south of Chuma.

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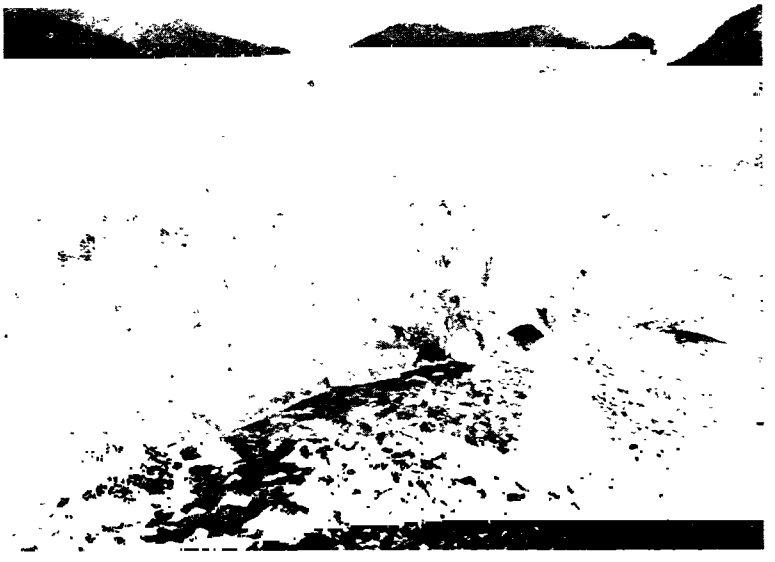
became, they were and still are so superior to the Nepalese passes that the merchants of Nepal have found it cheaper to send their goods down into India to be transferred by rail through Siliguri to the Tista, where the routes to these passes begin.[1] To this inevitable drift of traffic along the line of least resistance is due one of the existing difficulties in the relations between Nepal and Tibet. By treaty Lhasa may not charge customs upon Nepalese goods crossing the passes into Tibet. It is apparently not sufficiently stated in the agreement whether the passes of Nepal only were referred to. The Lhasa Government is now taking up the attitude that Nepalese goods, accompanied by Nepalese merchants—which are franked duty free through India and Sikkim by the Indian Government—are liable to the Tibetan customs at Yatung, because they have not entered Tibet directly over Nepalese passes. Against this action Katmandu protests most vigorously, but the matter is one which, were it the only difference of opinion, could be settled in a friendly way. But there is no doubt that at this moment the slightly unstable conditions that prevail between Lhasa and Katmandu are not rendered easier by this desertion of the Nepalese trade-routes. The Photu la was never of great trade importance, though it possesses, close to the Tibet frontier, a couple of mountain military posts.

These northern uplands of Nepal are inhabited by the quasi-Mongoloid tribes, to which reference is made in Appendix XVII. They are comparatively few, and the cultivation of crops is, as we have already seen, attended with much difficulty, even at a lower altitude. Until the level of perpetual snow is reached, the rocky buttresses and ridges, which hold up the enormous heights of the Nepalese Himalayas, spread themselves out like the sticks of gigantic fans dividing streams frozen for a certain part of the year and always of the clouded whitish green of snow water—which, by the way, gives its special name to the Dudh-kosi, the river of milk. These ridges are sparsely overgrown with small timber. That much could be done to improve the forestry of Upper Nepal is no doubt true, but a serious obstacle is that in the urgent need for fuel, undergrowth of any description is naturally, if not always lawfully, regarded as the perquisite of the nearest village. Life among these mountains is one of hard work and inevitable monotony, but the racial distinctions are kept up with a pride that would seem worthy of a better object. In conclusion, among these cold mountain ravines life is scarcely more than a long struggle for existence, and it is to the lasting credit of these mountaineers that by common consent they remain true

[1] Sir Charles Bell (*Tibet, Past and Present*, 1924) remarks: "Through the Chumbi valley, as through the neck of a bottle, is poured half of the entire trade between India and Tibet. The trade of all other routes, west and east from Kashmir to Assam, a distance of nearly two thousand miles, totals barely as much as that which passes along this one road."

to the Tibetan tradition of hospitality which they have kept alive in spite of their exile from their original homes.

In these two chapters nothing more has been possible than a description of the more important centres of outer Nepal and a general picture of scenery and road characteristics that do not vary very greatly. The photographs with which I am able to add to the interest of the narrative have been selected with the view of illustrating the chief localities of interest. Outside the limits of the more important towns and shrines the scenery of Nepal is of uniformly beautiful character, so much so that it almost becomes monotonous.



THE SETI RIVER DISAPPEARING UNDERGROUND

CHAPTER XIII

MAHARAJAS RANA UDIP, BIR, AND DEVA—GENERAL DHIR SHAM SHER

§ 1

ALMOST the last action of Jang Bahadur had been to send a messenger to Rana Udip Singh warning his brother of his own approaching end and delivering into his hands the control of Nepalese affairs.

It may be convenient here to explain the manner in which the office of Maharaja, Prime Minister, and Supreme Commander-in-Chief descends in the Rana family. Jang Bahadur during his lifetime made an arrangement somewhat similar to that of descent through the eldest agnate which prevails in Mohammedan countries.[1] By this scheme, which is in force to-day, a Maharaja is not succeeded by his eldest son—as is the case at the demise of the crown in Nepal. The Prime Ministership descends, in order of birth, from one brother to another, or one cousin to another, until all the survivors of a generation have succeeded in turn. On the death of the last brother, the succession passes to the earliest born son of the deceased males of the previous generation. Thus the descent from one generation to the next is not necessarily to the eldest son of the eldest brother.[2] The descent of the office in this second generation is throughout decided by priority of birth. The plan was devised by Jang Bahadur to insure that at no time should the government of Nepal be left in the hands of an immature member of the family. On the other hand, two defects are latent in the arrangement. One is that mere age is no guarantee that the eldest survivor of any generation is necessarily fit for the responsibilities of the post. The second is, that this rule of descent is likely to cause jealousy and foster a perpetual state of family intrigue. Moreover, it may well be that at some future date the dignity of Maharaja will pass in turn from one member to another of distant branches of a numerous family, not all the members of which can be expected to have had the special training needed for such high

[1] The orders of succession drawn up by Jang Bahadur and the present Maharaja may be seen in Appendix III, vol. i.

[2] At the present moment there is an illustration of the working of this rule. After the death of the present Maharaja's youngest brother, and certain of his elder nephews, the office of Prime Minister will descend not to his own eldest son, but to General Padma, the son of a younger brother, the present Commander-in-Chief, because General Padma was in point of time born before any of the sons of the Maharaja.

office. We shall see later that the former difficulties soon made themselves felt.

On the death of Jang Bahadur his eldest brother, Badri Narsingh, was as a matter of fact still alive, but it will be remembered that he and his son had been cut out of the succession; consequently Rana Udip succeeded. He was the fifth brother of Jang Bahadur and the sixth son of Bala Narsingh, and had been born on the 3rd of April 1825. In spite of his own *jeunesse orageuse*, Jang Bahadur had consistently done his best to educate and train his young brother during the turbulent years that led up to his grasp of the supreme power. Thereafter Jang naturally took the first opportunity of distributing well-paid offices of high responsibility among his brothers. During his visit to Europe Rana Udip was entrusted with the government of the Eastern and Western Provinces of Nepal, and on the discovery of Badri Narsingh's plot was charged with the duty of bringing the Mahila Sahib, Prince Upendra Vikram, to hear his sentence of imprisonment. In 1855 Rana Udip became Master of Ordnance during the Tibetan war, an office practically identical with that of our Quartermaster-General, and in 1857 he accompanied Jang Bahadur into India as second in command. In 1863, on the death of his brother, Krishna Bahadur, Rana Udip became Commander-in-Chief in Nepal[1]—a position which he held until his succession.

The new Maharaja, as his pictures and statue suggest, was a genial, easy-going man, but an excellent worker when under the strict supervision of his brother. On more than one occasion he had proved himself a loyal and capable lieutenant of Jang Bahadur, but there was entirely lacking in him his brother's magnetic personality. This was the more natural as it had been impossible for anyone in the kingdom to take any initiative in any direction during the late Maharaja's administration—especially, perhaps, for the brother who was destined to follow him in his office and dignity.

On hearing the news of his brother's death, Rana Udip acted with celerity. He secured from the King a formal ratification of his succession to the office of Prime Minister, summoned a strong military guard, and then broke the news to the sons of Jang Bahadur. He sent the sanction needed for the latter's cremation and the sati of his widows to Patharghatta by General Dhir. His promptitude was justified by the fact that Jang Bahadur at his death left ten sons who were, of course, in the order of succession and who, from the position of high dignity and authority they had enjoyed during their father's lifetime, had begun to assume among themselves that the descent of the Prime Ministership would in practice become a matter of primogeniture in the same manner as that of the royal dignity. There

[1] On 1st January 1876 he was invested as a K.C.S.I. by the Prince of Wales—afterwards the King-Emperor Edward VII. This was a belated recognition of the services rendered by Rana Udip during the Mutiny.

was another reason also for prompt action. During the long ministry of Jang Bahadur a younger generation of Thapas had come of age, and these cadets were sullenly awaiting an opportunity to revenge the death of Mathabar Singh at Jang's hands. With them were ranged the relatives of those who had lost their lives during the massacre of the Kot. More-



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over, the effect of women's intrigue was once again making itself felt in the affairs of state. The Jitha Maharani [1] and, strange to say, the second wife of Rana Udip himself, were both in league with the latter's enemies.

From the first the new Prime Minister, now an easy-going, middle-aged, childless man whose delight was in personal comfort and domestic life, depended largely upon his younger brothers. Jagat Sham Sher, the Commander-in-Chief, and the next in succession to the Prime Ministership,

[1] Jitha Maharani was the eldest wife of Prince Trailokya Vikram, step-mother of King Prithwi Bir Vikram and own sister of Jagat Jang.

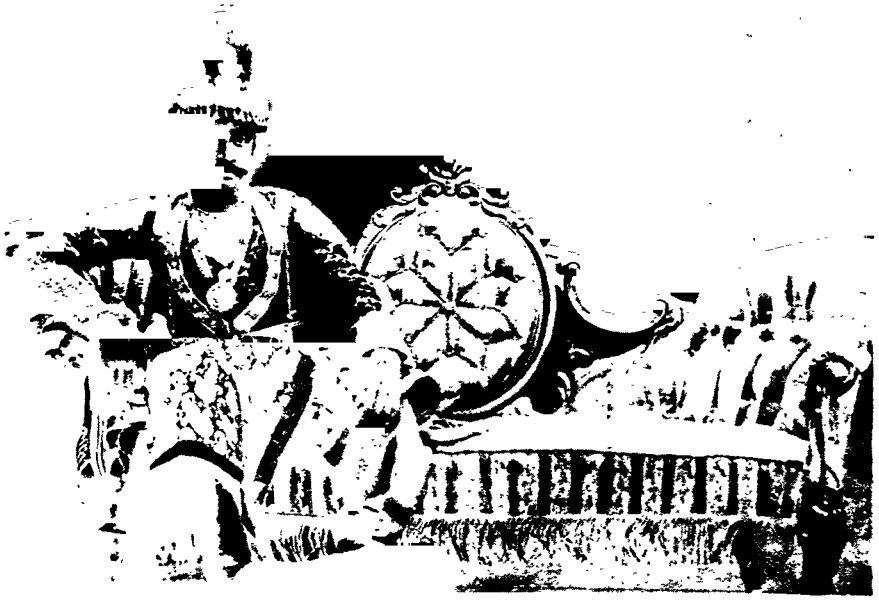
died, however, in 1879. This raised Dhir Sham Sher to the position of Commander-in-Chief, and the indolence of the actual Prime Minister forced him to become in many ways the Chief Executive of Nepal. As will be seen later in this chapter, Dhir was a hard-working, capable, and far-visioned man. He had served so long and faithfully with Jang Bahadur that he understood better than any the special needs of a State like Nepal, which was still hovering between the old regime and the new. His personality was strong, and his influence in the administration of affairs of state soon became evident.

It was not long before the sons of Jang Bahadur began to intrigue against the authority of their uncles. Like many other great commanders and leaders of men, Jang Bahadur had not sufficiently taken into consideration that the world in which he lived and which he controlled so autocratically would not die with him. He seems to have allowed his sons to grow up without discipline beyond subservience to himself, and without any adequate preparation for the life that sooner or later they might be called upon to lead. It was perhaps to the knowledge that their father would be succeeded by their uncles and not by themselves that much of the inclination of Jang Bahadur's children to live a more or less free and easy life was due. There was discouragement in the knowledge that for many years after his death they would be allowed to have no share in the government of the State; they may even have felt that, as the children of a man who had so long kept out of office the new ruler, any endeavour by them to take a prominent part in public affairs would by no means be encouraged by the authorities. This lack of discipline was quickly apparent. The eldest son of Jang Bahadur, Jagat Jang, soon allowed himself to mutter complaints against the descent, not only of the office of Prime Minister, but of the title and estates that accompanied it; and almost at the same time the Jitha Maharani began to raise her head in revolt. Rana Udip was, however, loyally helped by his brother the Commander-in-Chief, and for a time the trouble was kept in hand, though the death of the heir apparent, Prince Trailokya Vikram Sah, in 1878, and the devolution of his royal rights upon his infant son opened another easy channel of intrigue.

In 1880 Rana Udip imitated his brother by making a visit to India. He had not Jang Bahadur's tact, however, and created some needless inconvenience by taking with him a retinue of almost four hundred persons. This number of guests did not matter much in the larger towns, but it was a cause of much trouble in smaller places such as Rameshwaram, and as soon as their accommodation became difficult it was clear that there was little or no organization to control these followers. In itself it was a small matter, but it indicated an inability on the part of Rana Udip to handle a minor situation that was soon to be reflected on the larger stage of his Nepal authority.

§ 2

Immediately after his return to Katmandu Rana Udip was confronted by a situation caused by the death of King Surendra. Jang Bahadur would have instantly put upon the throne the six-year-old grandson of the late King, and placed the still surviving Rajendra under surveillance. But Rana Udip was of a weaker mould. He was not strong enough to overbear the querulous opposition of the ex-King Rajendra, and a quarrel ensued which, however, was ended by the sudden death of this perpetual aspirant



KING SURENDRA

to long forfeited royal honours. On the 1st December 1881 the child, Prithwi Bir Vikram Sah, was formally placed on the throne.

Soon after, Jagat Jang thought himself strong enough to protest against the assumption of power, place, and property by Rana Udip Singh, though there was not the slightest legal ground for his action. No doubt whatever exists that Jang Bahadur, when accepting for himself the title of Maharaja of Kaski and Lamjang, endowed the title with those two estates, and laid it down once for all that in future they were to be the appanage of each successive Prime Minister in turn, whoever he might be.

But Jagat put forward the right of primogeniture, and was supported not only by his brothers, but by others whom the existing system had disappointed. The exact character of the plot that was concocted was not

known at the time, but enough has since leaked out to make it clear that both the Maharaja and Dhir Sham Sher, the Commander-in-Chief, were to be put to death by the conspirators. Jagat Jang, it is said, had also bought the assistance of the Jitha Maharani by promising to place her daughter upon the throne in the place of the boy King. But he was not alone in the field. This antagonism within the Rana family had the inevitable effect of encouraging the hopes of the descendants of Mathabar Singh also, to whom the Bashniats and other people with grievances soon joined themselves. Their programme was drastic indeed. The intention of these new conspirators was to throw out the existing king and to put in his place his uncle, Prince Narendra, the brother of Trailokya, the late heir apparent. They proposed to destroy the Ranas of both factions. Neither Rana Udip, nor Jagat Jang's party, nor Dhir's family were to be left alive. But the close intermarriage of the few distinguished families that exist in a State like Nepal has always proved the bane of palace revolutions. Through a nephew by marriage Jagat Jang received complete information of the Thapas' plot, and the policy he adopted, however savage, was not without shrewdness. He intended to allow their scheme to mature, but to hold himself in readiness, when the latter should have put Rana Udip and Dhir's family to death, to set upon the Thapas in a fury of simulated justice and destroy them also root and branch. On the other hand, should the scheme of the Thapas fail and the party of the Maharaja gain the day, then Jagat Jang proposed to intervene with his full strength and make a clean sweep of his kinsmen.

The 6th January 1882 was fixed for the execution of this scheme. The murder of the Commander-in-Chief and several of the members of his Council was to be first carried out; assassins were afterwards to be sent to finish off the Maharaja—who was then in the Tarai—and the sons of the Commander-in-Chief. Jagat Jang was kept fully informed of every detail of this intrigue; but he remembered that his own life was threatened also, and with a timidity that one would hardly have expected from his father's son, he dared not await in Nepal the issue of the conspiracy, but made the best of his way with a few friends into India, leaving subsequent action in the charge of Bombir Vikram.

But the usual traitor was forthcoming. A grandson of Gagan Singh betrayed the plot to the Commander-in-Chief, who had no small share of his great brother's promptitude and thoroughness. He at once arrested all the conspirators that were to be found in Nepal. He caused a searching enquiry to be made into the charge of complicity brought against Jagat Jang, in the course of which the other conspiracy was brought to light. A document was found signed by many of the conspirators and setting out in full the object and course of the plot, whereupon some of the guilty ones made a full confession of the crime. Jagat Jang was then summoned from

India to clear himself, but this he prudently refused to do. As a result of this enquiry, twenty-one of the leading councillors of state were put to death. Prince Narendra and General Bombir Vikram were, as usual, handed over to the Indian Government to be interned at Chunargarh, and the names of Jagat Jang, Padma Jang, and Bombir Vikram were erased



STATUE OF MAHARAJA RANA UDIP SINGH

from the succession roll. The accident of the destruction of certain papers enabled other guilty brothers of Jagat to escape punishment. Padma Jang was interned, but through the influence of his sister, the mother of the King, he was ultimately replaced in the succession. Thus, thanks to the strong action of General Dhir, the forces of rebellion were scotched if not killed, and the Nepal Government had leisure to press forward certain much needed reforms.

Shortly afterwards Rana Udip started the militia system which still remains part of the military organization of the country and proved to be of the greatest use in the enlistment of tens and even hundreds of thousands of recruits into the regiments that were raised for the late war. It was not, however, originally established for such a purpose. The ill-inspired but not infrequent requests of the British Residents in Katmandu that the country should be opened to European development were the immediate cause of this military provision. Although the subject has already been explained in other chapters the present seems a fitting occasion for a further reference to the Nepalese policy of seclusion. It is not to be wondered at that Nepal has always been steadily opposed to the intrusion upon her territory of Western men and Western manners. It is only within the memory of living men that Japan and China themselves have been opened up for Occidental travel and residence. Tibet and Bhutan are still to a large extent closed countries. Different reasons have contributed in different countries to this prejudice. Probably at the root of it is a religious jealousy that is found in a greater or less measure in all creeds. Certainly the tradition that seals Nepal against visitors had its origin in a natural intolerance of the presence of infidel Europeans at or near her holiest shrines—and all Nepal is holy in the eyes of the Nepalese. But there has always been a practical inducement also to keep the gates of Nepal shut. The Nepalese have had long occasion to watch the gradual extension of English power in India. They saw how, from a small settlement at Cuddalore and a glacis only so wide as a musket ball might carry from the petty fortifications of the town, the English had lengthened the cords and strengthened the stakes of their authority over more and more and yet more of the land of India. In the course of a century from Plassey the proudest States had gone down before them. Nepal's neighbour Audh had fallen, and the widow of Ranjit Singh was a refugee at Thapathali to remind them that the best fighting races had been subdued, and that indeed, as Bhim Sen had once said, "England is a power that crushes thrones like potsherds." The recent Mutiny, which would have thrown out a lesser race, had resulted only in the final extirpation of the Imperial name at Delhi and the confirmation of English rule, absolute and unquestioned, throughout the entire peninsula. Is it a wonder, then, that Nepal—the only state of Indian sovereignty which had survived this slow but certain conquest—believed that by any concession in this matter of exclusion she was sealing her own ultimate doom?

The Nepalese frequently quote a well-known saying that the musket follows the missionary. There was no real fear of differences with the Indian Government on the score of religion, for Jang Bahadur himself, in one of his communications with an Indian prince, roundly asserted that the charges of insulting religion which had been brought by his correspondent against the English, were totally and notoriously untrue. But the

question of trade was one that even the loyalty of Jang Bahadur looked upon with suspicion. He traced the spread of English influence—this time not in India alone but over the entire world—and saw how the English had first introduced their goods, their trading stations, and their trading rights, and had afterwards, when necessary, supported the latter by force of arms. Therefore with a wisdom it is difficult to overpraise, he peremptorily forbade the entrance into Nepal of any visitor of any Western race unless he had both the invitation of the Nepal Government and the guarantee of the Indian Government. Nor was the visitor permitted to see any part of Nepal except the Valley of Katmandu and the road to it. The Resident himself and the Residency surgeon Jang Bahadur was indeed obliged, by the Treaty of 1816, to admit. The Resident had, and has, a small native escort, and it is necessary that a British officer should proceed to Katmandu yearly for some months to train these men. Moreover, from time to time technical experts connected with the Indian Public Works Department make brief appearances in Katmandu for the purpose of reporting upon the fabric and any necessary improvements at the Legation. Besides these formal visitors, the Nepal Government recognizes the necessity for the assistance of European engineers in the instalment of electricity, water power, telephones, ropeways, and other modern conveniences which tend to increase the comfort, capacity, and strength of the Nepalese people. It is not certain how soon this custom began, but it is clear that the Gurkha dynasty invited a Frenchman to install and direct an arsenal at Katmandu as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century.[1] Besides these classes, there are the rare guests of the Maharaja and the guests of the Envoy. In a very real sense the latter are also the guests of the Nepal Government, for the Maharaja has the right, which he would not hesitate to use, to refuse admission even to guests suggested by the Envoy.

In an appendix will be found a list of those to whom official permission to visit Nepal has been accorded in the last forty-six years.[2] It is therefore a list which includes practically all living Europeans who have made the journey, and it is not without interest to glance at its composition. It will be seen that no Viceroy's name appears in it. This omission is best explained by a story. Lord Curzon, during his period of viceroyalty, was naturally anxious to pay a visit to a country that had so loyally befriended

[1] Even earlier than this Prithwi Narayan enlisted the services of Francis Neville as head of the arsenal in Katmandu. He is generally called a Frenchman, but as a matter of fact was a half-caste. He was assisted by another white, or semi-white man, M. Dilbensee, and was making cannon on the river "Tookihur," a mile south-east of Katmandu. This is the stream Tukhucha which runs through and under the royal palace ground and finds its way into the Bagmati beside Thapathali. No magazine exists on its banks to-day. It is said that M. Dilbensee had with him a French colleague whose name was Vincent.

[2] Appendix XXIV.

India, had so often occupied his attention in the sphere of foreign affairs, and possessed such beautiful cities. His great interest in antiquarian research also prompted him to suggest to the present Maharaja that he would like to have the opportunity of making the acquaintance of the Valley of Nepal. Chandra's answer was courteous but unmistakable. He expressed his gratification at the suggestion, and assured Lord Curzon that the very day after he ceased to be Viceroy he would be welcomed in Katmandu—welcomed if he would allow it with all the ceremony and honour that could be accorded to him were he to pay the visit as Viceroy. But His Highness regretfully explained that so long as Lord Curzon remained Viceroy, it was impossible to extend to him an invitation. A precedent would have been set, of which subsequent Viceroys would most certainly have availed themselves. A visit to Katmandu is the most interesting of all expeditions in or near India, not only for the reasons that have been suggested in the introduction to this book, but because the welcome of the Maharaja and his warm hospitality in everything that can in any way minister to the comfort of his guest are things that seem to belong to another—a past and almost a lost—period of Asiatic life.[1]

Whether the Residents in Katmandu, who, in the nineteenth century, expressed their hope that Nepal would allow its great natural wealth to be developed by Occidental methods, were acting on the direct instructions of the Indian Government, it is hard to say. At the present moment, however, such a policy would be at once disowned by Simla. The Government of India recognizes, and recognizes with gratitude, the policy of isolation which has been more strictly enforced than ever during the last half century. The rare invitations of the Darbar are extended on the understanding that the visitor is on his honour not to attempt to traverse

[1] But the same reserve did not apply to the Commander-in-Chief in India, and it is curious to notice the visits of "His Excellency Sir F. Roberts" in 1892, and of Lord Kitchener in 1906. Lord Rawlinson, the late Commander-in-Chief, was more than once invited to shoot in the Tarai, and was on the point of paying a visit to Katmandu at the time of his sudden death in 1925. Of other visitors it is interesting to note the names of Sir Richard Temple, who is put down as having visited Katmandu as the guest of Mr. Girdlestone, Resident between 1872 and 1888—the exact year is not recorded; Sir Charles Elliott, also Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, November 1894; "Colonel W. R. Birdwood, Military Secretary," November 1906; Mr. R. E. Holland, 1907 and 1919; "The Honourable C. Hobhouse of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation," January 1908; Mr. Percy Brown, the Principal of the Government School of Art, Calcutta, October 1910, the author of a very attractive and well illustrated book, *Picturesque Nepal*; Prince Antoine d'Orléans, April 1911; Lady McMahon in March of the same year; Mr. Kawaguchi, 1913; Baron and Baroness Maurice de Rothschild, 1913; Dr. Thomas, Librarian of the India Office in London, 1921; and, of more importance to Nepal perhaps than the other distinguished persons whom I have mentioned, M. Sylvain Lévi, 1898 and 1922. The full list is worth the study of anyone who is interested in the relations between Nepal and the outer world.

beyond the precise limits which the Maharaja opens for his friends and visitors.

Rana Udip sent a Mission to Lord Dufferin in 1885 to offer the military services of Nepal to the Indian Government should the rumour prove true that the Russians intended to continue their advance through Afghanistan. Lord Dufferin returned his warmest thanks for the offer which, in the form in which it reached him, he felt himself obliged for the moment to decline. But the incident raised a question which was not in the Maharaja's mind when he despatched his representatives. The Viceroy, in his reply, invited the Nepal Government to assist the Indian Government in obtaining recruits for the Gurkha regiments that were included in the Indian Army. This had always been rather a thorny question. The original Gurkha battalions had been formed at the time of the Nepal war with ourselves, 1814-1816, and in 1885 there were nine Gurkha regiments in the Indian Army, but the necessary recruiting for them in Nepal was a matter upon which the two Governments had never seen eye to eye. Rana Udip recognized the advantages to both countries of an understanding in this matter, and a general permission to enlist in the Gurkha regiments of the Indian Army was published from Katmandu. As a collateral understanding attached to the Treaty of 1923, this consent was ratified and confirmed in the fullest manner.

But the days of Rana Udip's quiet rule were now threatened.

§ 3

In 1884 General Dhir Sham Sher, Commander-in-Chief and the power behind the Prime Minister, fell sick, and after a brief illness passed away, and with him all hope of the continuance of peace. This good servant of Nepal deserves more recognition than is suggested by most writers, though the especial honour done to his memory by the erection of an equestrian statue on the maidan in Katmandu is proof that by his own people he alone is counted worthy to rank in honour among the Maharajas of his country. Politically, he was the arbiter of Nepal; personally he was one of the most attractive of his family, and had won from them the nickname of "Sannani." Laurence Oliphant records his own impressions in the following words: "Colonel Dhir was the most jovial, light-hearted, and unselfish being imaginable, brave as a lion—as recent events in Nepal have proved—always anxious to please and full of amusing conversation. . . . I know of no one I would rather have by my side in a row than the young Colonel, and his brother Jang evidently thought so too when he chose him to assist in the capture of the conspirators in the attempt on his life."

In an especial degree Dhir had always been the selected companion of Jang Bahadur in all his most important adventures and trials. In many

ways General Dhir was the finest soldier that Nepal had produced since the days of Amar Singh, Ochterlony's opponent in 1814, and the part played by him in the expedition against Tibet has already been referred to. Kuti was captured by Dhir without the loss of a single life. In it was taken a large amount of stores and the young General received from his brother the warmest official congratulations. " Your occupation of Kuti," ran the despatch, " has been a brilliant piece of work. For it detracts somewhat from the credit of a commander when a battle gained is attended with heavy casualties among the soldiers under his command; while you have



STATUE OF COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF
DHIR SHAM SHER JANG BAHADUR RANA

saved your troops and have won a great victory at the same time. I have been immensely pleased with the valour and wisdom you have displayed in taking possession of Kuti."

This success was followed by an advance upon Suna-Gompa (the Golden Temple), a fortified post commanding the road between Shigatse and Nepal. By a display of tactics to which the Tibetans were entirely unused Dhir overcame an obstinate resistance and occupied the fort. His victorious advance was only checked by orders from Jang Bahadur that an armistice had been arranged at the request of the Chinese Amban. In a letter ordering the return of Dhir's troops from the foot of Bhairab Langur to better protected winter quarters, the Maharaja again expressed his great satisfaction with the work of Dhir.

Negotiations between Jang Bahadur and the Tibetans were interrupted by a sudden attack delivered by a large Tibetan force upon Jhanga and Kuti during the absence of Dhir in Katmandu.[1] The result was disaster for the Nepalese troops. General Dhir immediately hastened from Katmandu with a small force to the relief of his men. He met the fugitives and out of them was able to reorganize five regiments, which, added to the five regiments he had brought with him from Katmandu, made up an expeditionary force of some size, the prestige of which was increased by the fact that it was led by the General whom the Tibetans had almost come to regard as invincible in the field.[2] The Tibetans fell back before him to the outskirts of Kuti. Outside the walls of that place Dhir delivered an allocation of singular force which deserves record in these pages. He praised the troops whom he had asked to undergo one of the most rapid and most difficult marches in the history of Nepal. He reminded them that as die they must one day, death on the field of battle, bringing to them not only earthly glory but heaven itself, was far more to be desired than a lingering death on a sick bed. He said that the Maharaja had ordered him to retake Kuti at any cost, and he pledged himself before them all that if he failed he would not leave the place alive, but would immolate himself in the ruins of Kuti as satis did on the funeral pyres of their husbands. Dhir placed in the van the very men who had fled from Kuti but a few weeks before, telling them that they had been given the place of honour in order that they might have an opportunity to rehabilitate themselves; and he added a grim incentive to valour by assuring them that if any one of them attempted to fly he would at once be shot down by the ranks in the rear. It was a great assault. The dispositions of Dhir were made with skill, and he ordered his men to hold their fire till the Tibetans had discharged their muskets, and then to clear them out of their entrenchments with the kukhri and the bayonet. These instructions were carried out, and the Nepalese only fired upon their enemies as the latter began to retreat. Not only was Kuti retaken, but General Dhir reported with satisfaction the recapture of everything in the place that had been lost, except part of the store of the wood and rice which had been consumed by the Tibetan garrison. Once again he received from his brother a letter of the warmest congratulation, in which the note occurs: " You have been true to the salt you have taken of your sovereign. You have studied to good purpose the manners and

[1] This tendency of Tibetan authorities to renew action while terms of peace were being discussed was later exemplified in 1904 when Col. Younghusband's Mission at Gyantse was besieged without warning by Tibetan troops while an armistice existed for the purpose of negotiations with the central Tibetan authorities, and peaceful—even friendly—relations prevailed between the expedition from India and the inhabitants of the Gyantse plain.

[2] From the rapidity of his movements he had earned among his opponents the title of "The Flying Kazi."

customs of the English in England itself. You have achieved great glory by adopting the military tactics by which the great commanders of Europe made their conquests and routed their enemies with very little loss to their own forces." [1]

References have already been made to the services of General Dhir during the Indian Mutiny. It was under his command that Ambarpur was taken and all the rebels who stayed to defend the fort cut down to a man. The subsequent work of General Dhir in India has been recorded by Malleson and other writers of this period. On the return of Jang Bahadur to Nepal General Dhir was left in command of the Nepalese army co-operating with the Indian troops. He was given by the Indian Government a personal salute of thirteen guns for his services at this time.

After the Mutiny he was employed in sweeping out the rebel fugitives from the Tarai, and the courtesy as well as the efficiency with which, for that purpose, he co-operated with Brigadier-General Holdich was mentioned in the latter's despatches. It is worth noting that Dhir Sham Sher protested strongly against the line that Jang Bahadur took up against the Resident, Lieut.-Col. Ramsay. The position that the Commander-in-Chief then held in the country cannot be better expressed than by a letter written by Ramsay to Dhir after the former's return to England. " At the time of my departure from Nepal, when I had gone to bid adieu to Maharaja Jang Bahadur he told me that it was only you who had advised him not to take any steps or make representations to the Government of India against me and for my withdrawal from the Residency, as that would bring nothing but humiliation to him. How very true your words subsequently proved to be. I admire your wisdom and forethought and hope you will continue to assist your able brother in his administration with your wise counsels and suggestions.'

Internal affairs now claimed the attention of General Dhir, and an increasing share in the administrative work of the country fell to him. We find that the first serious attempt at public school education was inaugurated by him. He also caused the old road from Churia to Bhimphedi to be built; and made special provision for the education of poor Brahman children.

In January 1877 General Dhir was sent to represent the King of Nepal at the Imperial Darbar at Delhi. On his return to Katmandu in the middle of February he found that Jang Bahadur was absent in the Tarai. The news was sent to him of his brother's illness, but he could not reach Patharghatta until after Jang Bahadur's death. To Dhir was

[1] An incident occurred at this time which is characteristic of both the brothers. One Major Pahlwan Singh had behaved with such conspicuous gallantry on this occasion that General Dhir, defying the military law upon the subject, created him a colonel on the spot. Jang Bahadur confirmed the appointment, but at the same time imposed a heavy fine on his brother. This was subsequently remitted.

entrusted the supervision of the cremation ceremonies of Jang and his three wives. He was strongly opposed to the practice of sati and had done his best to dissuade the Maharanis from immolating themselves, but he found it impossible to move the determination of the senior Maharani and two of the secondary wives. The senior Maharani, however, joined Dhir in forbidding the two younger Maharanis to sacrifice themselves.[1]

As has been said, Jang Bahadur's brother, Jagat Sham Sher became for a short time Commander-in-Chief after the succession of Rana Udip, but Jagat's death soon promoted Dhir to the official position of Commander-in-Chief, and practically also to that of Prime Minister. The duties of the Commander-in-Chief in Nepal are not confined only to military affairs. He has many civil functions to perform, and the lack of administrative and organizing faculties which the new Prime Minister soon betrayed left many grave decisions in the hands of Dhir. Burdensome as this double office was, the Commander-in-Chief found occasion to give his children a first-rate education, and he imposed on them a kindly but iron discipline; in short, to the utmost of his power he gave them the training which Jang had so signally omitted to give to his own sons. There can be little doubt that from the moment of the death of Jang Bahadur, General Dhir could have imposed his authority upon the country as Prime Minister had he wished to do so. Rana Udip and Jagat were weak and comparatively unpopular characters; and the sons of Jang Bahadur were wholesomely afraid of this idol of the army. Never for a moment did Dhir entertain the thought. It was not perhaps to his country's good that he should have so loyally accepted the arrangements made by Jang Bahadur, and in particular the Order of Succession that his brother had settled, but Dhir never swerved from what he conceived to be the path of his duty. With all his severity he had a share of that greatness of vision which led both his brother Jang Bahadur and his son Chandra to overlook and pardon even gross acts of disloyalty. He did not live to assume the highest honours—earned by the work he had performed so long and so honestly. He died on the 14th October 1884, and with his death the inevitable crisis was precipitated that had overhung Nepal so long and had been averted only by Dhir's strength and foresight.

§ 4

The removal of the Commander-in-Chief's strong hand led at once to the resuscitation of Jagat Jang's intrigues. Rana Udip had been unwise enough to consent to his nephew's return from exile and his reinstatement in the roll of succession, and at once the old political groups began to dominate and overcloud the situation. There was no great change in the

[1] The ceremony of sati has never since been performed in the Rana family, and it is now forbidden by law.

parties or their leaders, except that Bir Sham Sher took the place of his father, the late Commander-in-Chief, as head of the Sham Sher party, and the Narsingh adherents, realizing that unaided they could never hope to achieve their end, were soon persuaded to unite their forces with those of Jagat Jang, son of Jang Bahadur. The issue was thus narrowed down to the struggle between the latter and the sons of Dhir Sham Sher.

Jagat Jang's course was, however, not so easy. His recall and his intemperate intrigues had caused dissensions in his own party. His younger brother, Jit Jang—who had automatically become Commander-in-Chief after the death of Dhir—resented the possible reinstatement of Jagat Jang and did not come back to Nepal from India, where he had gone for medical help, prior to the latter's return. From Allahabad he wrote a remarkable letter to Rana Udip in which, after protesting against the apparent lack of confidence in himself shown by the recall of Jagat, he adds that, if his supersession were insisted upon, he would prefer in future to reside in peace in a sacred place and sing the praises of God.[1] In his letter Jit quotes the following curious words used by the late Jang Bahadur: "I have salvaged the Nepalese ship of state, which had been sunk by the Panres, the Thapas, and the Sahis by putting their trust in outsiders to the exclusion of their own near relatives. I have established a constitution unknown in the annals of Gods or Emperors by setting up a covenant, and you should not think of acting in contravention of the Order of Succession. Even if your superior and master takes to tying up goats to elephants' posts or *vice versa*, or to paying no heed to merit, do not oppose him, but rather forsake the country and retire to a sacred place. Let your mind dwell upon no other course of action and do not act thoughtlessly."

In order to prove that he had not acted in an underhand way, Jit Jang reminds Rana Udip that when he and Her Highness, his august aunt, were in the garden osier house, he had represented the impossibility of carrying on the duties of Commander-in-Chief in a restricted manner. "It is not wise to repeat the same thing over and over again to the mighty, but . . . I laid this supplication before you not once but time and again, whenever I had the opportunity both out of doors and indoors." He therefore had falsely represented his visit to India as a mere temporary urgency. He concluded his despatch by an earnest prayer that if only to avoid bloodshed the Maharaja would still carry out the instructions of Jang Bahadur—and restore the Order of Succession established by him. It was clear that the nephews were prevailing over the weak uncle, and the ultimate result was the revolution of November 1885.

[1] During the illness of Dhir the Bada Maharani of Rana Udip, who had always been in sympathy with the aspirations of Jagat Jang, had made use of her position to bring about Jagat Jang's return to Nepal, and this, coupled with the probability of his reinstatement if he once came back, had caused great uneasiness in the mind of Jit Jang.

Before dealing with this violent rearrangement of authority in Nepal, it is worth while tc note the personalities of the party that thus found itself in opposition, both to Jagat Jang and to Rana Udip. They were the sons of the late Commander-in-Chief, Dhir Sham Sher. The eldest son was Bir Sham Sher, who was born on the 10th December 1852. His father was not a man of great wealth, and Bir Sham Sher had been practically adopted by his grandmother for many years. He spent some time at Doveton College in Calcutta, but does not appear to have attained to a knowledge of English, or indeed the power of writing and reading his own language fluently. But literary attainments have never been a guide to the innate character of either boy or man. Bir lived in an atmosphere of intrigue, and had inherited from his father not only a considerable military capacity but a power of striking at the right moment, which, in those unrestful days, was perhaps more valuable than any other talent. He married in early life the daughter of the traitor Mahila Sahib Upendra, the next brother of King Surendra.

In Nepal, although the practice is now being relinquished, there was no surprise when a man of high position married more than one wife. Nor was it in any way implied thereby that the junior wives belonged to a lower class or caste. This custom did not escape criticism in India, but it has remained as a characteristic—and it may be added a complication—of the succession of the Maharajaship to this day. Elsewhere[1] will be found a chart pedigree to which a note is attached indicating three recognized classes of wives. The first are those of equal caste with their husbands. These have not been distinguished in the chart by any accompanying symbol. Below them are wives taken from a caste which had every right of association with the caste of the husband other than that of eating rice together. The third class consists of wives drawn from castes with which no eating in common is possible. In the interests of all concerned, and certainly that of the country, the present Maharaja has only permitted those to be added to the roll of succession who are children by wives of the first class. But he has been unable to make this decree retrospective: he has not amended the list of succession which he received from his predecessor. It will therefore be seen that in the line of near succession to the Prime Ministership are three candidates for the highest office in the State who do not fulfil the qualification laid down by Chandra for future observance. These are the sons of Maharaja Bir Sham Sher by wives who were not of the same caste as his own. In view of the new and stricter conception of the descent of the title and powers of the Maharaja, it is obvious that difficulties are not unlikely to arise when these candidates have a claim to assume one of the senior offices in the State.

At the age of eighteen Bir Sham Sher was chosen by his uncle, Jang Bahadur, to act as the representative of the Government of Nepal in

[1] End of vol. i.

Calcutta—and Jang Bahadur did nothing idly or without purpose. So far as that lonely man could be said to be so with anyone, he was, as we have seen, on terms of friendship with, and indeed of all his relatives relied most upon, Dhir Sham Sher; and it is not unlikely that the great Maharaja deliberately trained the latter's son with an eye to the certainty that some day he would hold high, and perhaps the highest, rank in the State. His own children had disappointed him. They had been unable to bear the heavy trial of being the sons of a great man. It was therefore to the sons of Dhir—it will be remembered that Rana Udip had no children—that Jang Bahadur naturally looked for the ultimate maintenance of authority in the State; and there could be no better training for Bir Sham Sher than to be in charge of the relations between Nepal and India for a twelvemonth. Two years later he was sent to succeed the notorious Badri Narsingh as Governor of Palpa. We need not credit Jang Bahadur with powers of divination in thus watching carefully the development and supervising the training of a boy who early showed a definite personality and was, in fact, destined to influence in no slight degree the history of Nepal. We may, perhaps, also see in this attention a silent criticism of his own sons.

Bir remained at Palpa for five years. After Jang Bahadur's death he returned to Katmandu, and acted as Chief Secretary to his father, the Commander-in-Chief. On the death of his father the whole position was reversed, largely owing to feminine influence at headquarters. As if conscious that Dhir had been the real Prime Minister and autocrat of Nepal, Rana Udip, freed from his restraining influence, took the opportunity offered by his brother's death to make a change in the national policy that, had he been alive, would have been opposed vigorously—and successfully—by Dhir Sham Sher.

On the return of Jagat, Jit Jang abandoned his position as Commander-in-Chief, as we have seen, and the feud between the two parties was openly recognized by everyone in Nepal. We have noted the course that Nepalese politics had generally taken in the past, and the Sham Sher brothers—Bir, Khadga, Rana, Deva, Chandra, Bhim, Fateh, Lalit, Jit, and Judha—soon found themselves confronted with a flat choice. Either they must at any cost make themselves masters of the government of Nepal, or their lives would lie at the scant mercy of those whose hatred had been accentuated not merely by a sense of exclusion from authority in their early lives, but by the smarting recollection of a long exile in India.

These brothers were men of no ordinary mould. They deliberated upon the situation long and coldly. They watched the gradual increase of power of their bitter enemy, Jagat Jang, and his growing domination over their weak and therefore dangerous uncle the Maharaja. They decided to strike, and they allowed little time to be lost between the decision and the stroke. On the night of the 22nd November 1885 the Sham Sher

brothers went to the palace of Maharaja Rana Udip and put him to death. Jagat Jang and his son Judha Pratap Jang suffered the same fate. Immediately afterwards Bir Sham Sher and his brothers, taking with them the infant King and the Queen-Mother, hurried to the Tundi Khel. There, in the face of the army which had been hastily mustered, Bir Sham Sher proclaimed himself Prime Minister of Nepal.

It is interesting to know the evidence upon which Bir and his brothers acted. Of the general situation and of the reality of the danger that threatened the sons of Dhir there was no doubt. But precise details were only obtained after the *coup d'état.*

I quote from Nepalese official sources the following letter written by General Kedar Narsingh, son of Badri Narsingh, and nephew of both Jang Bahadur and Rana Udip. " I, Kedar Narsingh, do hereby declare that, with a view to setting up Jagat Jang who had once been cast off on a charge of conspiracy against the person and throne of His Majesty the King, the honour of Her Majesty the Queen Mother, and the lives of the Prime Minister and other bharadars, I, in collusion with Jagat Jang's brothers, Ambar Jang and Dhoje Narsingh, approached Her Highness the Bada Maharani [Maharaja Rana Udip's second wife] and won her over to the plot. Her Highness then secured the consent and approval of Maharaja Rana Udip also." Kedar Narsingh, truthfully or not, protested that he refused to join the conspiracy, and was given the option of going away with his family and property to India.

He became aware that Jagat Jang had been sent for with a view to reinstating him in the roll of succession to the office of Prime Minister, " some seven or eight days before the death of Maharaja Rana Udip." The second wife of the latter assured Kedar Narsingh of her determination to place Jagat Jang in power. To this Kedar opposed a natural protest in view of the fact that Jagat Jang had jotted down in his notebook a vow that he would " kill Kedar Narsingh and flay alive cousin Khadga Sham Sher." He was, however, reassured by Jagat himself and allowed it to be thought that he was on the side of the conspirators.

Two days later Rana Udip openly stated to Kedar his conviction that if free Jagat Jang would certainly kill General Dhir Sham Sher's sons, and harm the Queen Mother and her sister Kanchha Maiya, both of whom were in favour of General Bir.[1] In reply to Kedar's questions Rana Udip replied that he had made all arrangements to guard against any such revenge on the part of Jagat Jang and that he would look to it. This is just the inconsistent answer to be expected from a man of Rana Udip's weakness. After a few days Kedar, becoming more and more uneasy, joined with

[1] There can be no doubt that the Maharaja was on the point of reinstating in blood, privilege, and office both Jagat Jang and Jit Jang. But he had apparently convinced neither of his *bona fides*, and Jit Jang declined to return to Nepal.

Padma Jang and Ranbir Jang, and, at the Maharani's request, went again to Rana Udip to persuade him to reinstate General Jagat. The Maharaja was unwilling to say anything definite, and asked his visitors to submit a statement in writing of the advantages and disadvantages of the course they recommended, adding that he would consult the sons of Dhir. The statement was prepared and sent in, and on the following night a message from Rana Udip summoned Kedar to Narayanhiti. On arrival there, Dhoje Narsingh—who had thus used the Maharaja's name—informed him that the Maharaja was dead. Both men then took refuge at the Residency, where Ranbir Jang and Padma Jang joined them.

From the Residency a telegram was sent to Jit Jang in India, and another to the Resident at Sagauli to the effect that Rana Udip had been murdered: would he kindly inform the Viceroy? The senior Dowager Maharani then appeared at the Residency. She at once sent a telegram, apparently to the same address, saying that the Maharaja was murdered in her presence, and that she had taken refuge at the Residency. A little later Kedar Narsingh surprised the Maharani in the act of writing a letter to the Viceroy of a most indiscreet nature. Kedar prevailed with her not to send it. So far as can be made out from Kedar's rather involved narrative, the Maharaja, pretending that he had the willing consent of all of the Jagat Jang faction, said he would consult with Bir Sham Sher and Khadga Sham Sher as to the day for the departure of the Maharaja on tour. Two days before this departure Jagat Jang was to be sent as Governor to Palpa; no definite announcement would be made as to his reinstatement in the succession, but it was apparent that Rana Udip intended to reinsert his name. Dhir Sham Sher's sons consequently decided to act two days before the departure of Jagat Jang.

The actual death of the Maharaja Rana Udip was described by the senior Dowager Maharani in more or less the following words. The Maharaja at the time was lying on his bed with his breast on the pillow, and facing east had begun the familiar " Rama, Rama " that prefaces a letter. On the left the Maharani and three other ladies were seated. On this side also was Mahila Babu, and two maidservants were anointing the Maharaja's feet. Choutaria Babu then knocked at the door and said that Khadga Sham Sher wished to have an interview with the Maharaja on a matter of business. Rana Udip then told an officer to open the door. No sooner was the door opened than Dambar Sham Sher, Khadga, Chandra, Rana, and Bhim entered the room and, resting on his right knee, Dambar produced a rifle. He made the apparently nervous comment that it was a rifle of a new pattern, and at once fired at the Maharaja. Whether the wound was fatal or not could not be discovered, for Khadga Sham Sher fired also, and his action was followed by others of the Sham Sher brothers.

This is the Maharani's story. On another occasion she accused the

present Maharaja of having incited his brothers to kill her as she was attempting to fly. It is impossible that Chandra should have suggested this outrage against the divine law of Nepal which in the most categorical manner classes the killing of a woman with the unspeakable sacrilege of killing a Brahman. It is to be noted that Kedar is careful to make a distinction between his own knowledge and the statement made by the Maharani. It has been denied that Chandra Sham Sher was present in the room at all. I think it only right to say that he has, in the fullest manner, placed at my disposal the various official records referring to this palace revolution. The matter is not one of the first importance. Chandra Sham Sher, whether he actually fired or not, would be the last person to deny that, after the fullest consideration of a situation which must end in the death of one party or another, he was entirely at one with his brothers in the action they found themselves compelled to take.

Mr. Digby records that soldiers were then sent to Manaura where Jagat Jang was living, and to Thapathali, the residence of Judha Pratap Jang. Both of these men were put to death. There is some doubt here of the action of the Resident, Colonel Berkeley, at this crisis. Mr. Digby asserts that the refugees from Katmandu were treated with great harshness, and that the King's uncle, Narendra Vikram, was refused shelter. Mr. Digby was avowedly a partisan of the family of Jang Bahadur, and his book was written as a criticism of the Indian Government's action in not intervening on behalf of Jang Bahadur's descendants. If allowance be made for this undoubted bias one may perhaps understand that Colonel Berkeley, like his predecessors, maintained the strictest neutrality possible in the circumstances.

The new Maharaja Bir Sham Sher set to work at once. Naturally a large number of changes were made in the personnel of the higher offices; he also cancelled the roll of succession drawn up by Rana Udip, and exiled a large number of partisans of Jagat Jang. With a constitution such as that which prevails in Nepal, there is no other course open to the autocrat who establishes himself by violence but to secure his position by the absence of those whom he has indeed expelled from power, but whose resentment and intrigues would entail a wearisome and probably ineffectual surveillance were they permitted to remain in the country.

Like his uncle Jang Bahadur, within sixteen months of his assumption of power Maharaja Bir discovered another conspiracy directed against himself and the young king. This time it was headed by his own brother, Khadga Sham Sher, the Commander-in-Chief and heir to the Prime Ministership. Khadga was inclined to overrate both the services he had rendered to the new regime and his own capacity. He was a vain man and had already begun to assume greater authority than his position justified. In March 1887 Khadga and his maternal uncle, Kesar Singh, joined with



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Kanchha Maiya, the sister of the Queen-Mother, in a plot which resulted in the internment of Kesar at Salyana and the exile of the lady to a hill district in eastern Nepal. He was a man of curious contrasts—a bully and a keen student of antiquarian research; useless as a leader he was a capable enough man in carrying out readily and efficiently a scheme thought out by another and entrusted to him for execution, as had been seen in his share in the plot against Rana Udip. But his impatient vanity was such that there are on record against him no less than four separate attempts to overthrow a Prime Minister of Nepal. Khadga was interned in a hill district near Palpa, of the name of Thada. It was not a severe punishment for his disloyalty, and two years later, by that curious mingling of mercy and mercilessness which so often characterized the Nepalese, he was appointed Governor of Palpa. In that position, it may be remembered, he offered willing and effective service to the explorations conducted by Dr. Fuhrer and others in the district of Rummindei and Tilaura Kot. But intrigue was in his bones, and we shall see later that he caused trouble both to Maharaja Deva and Maharaja Chandra.

Bir Sham Sher continued his policy of expelling from Nepal or interning therein all those who were likely to cause him trouble; in some cases this was accompanied by confiscation of property.[1] These were difficult days for the new Maharaja. It may be conceived that, if his own brother was willing to lead a plot against him others would be found to do the like. Early in 1888 Ranbir Jang, son of Jang Bahadur, led a foolish and easily crushed expedition into the Tarai from India. He was defeated at Butwal. At the same time he induced his nephew, the son of Jit Jang, to start a mutiny among the garrison at Palpa. The latter movement resulted in the immediate arrest of its ringleader. He was sent to Katmandu. Of those involved with him, numbering in all fifty-four, five were sentenced to death; a certain number of Brahmans, who may not be put to death for any cause whatever, were either imprisoned or—a far more terrible thing—had to submit to the hideous rites which accompanied their defilement and degradation from caste.[2]

[1] In November 1887, according to Mr. Digby, Dhoje Narsingh, who was the adopted son of Maharaja Rana Udip, sent in a claim to the Nepal Government. He asserted that his losses included a head-dress or pagri of brilliants and rubies valued at 250,000 rupees, and a necklace of fourteen large emeralds valued at 72,000 rupees. He also complained that silver plate sufficient for 170 guests had been taken from him, and adds the curious charge of 51,000 rupees for "emeralds supplied by my late mother [wife of Badri Narsingh] for the King's head-dress—not paid for." He also demanded one year's undrawn allowance belonging to the late Maharaja at the time of his murder. It is not clear whether this sum represents the revenues of Kaski. Altogether he claimed no less than 13,535,040 rupees

[2] Captain Vansittart states that another plot was discovered early in 1888, and that after its failure the conspirators were put to death. But this is denied by the present Maharaja, and may perhaps be a misreading of notes connected with Ranbir's rising.

After the deposition of Khadga, Rana Sham Sher, as next in succession, held the office of Commander-in-Chief until his death in 1887. He was then succeeded by Deva Sham Sher. Considering the unhappy use that he afterwards made of the position of Prime Minister, it is only fair to note that General Deva seems to have carried out his work as Commander-in-Chief with willing co-operation in the matter of the recruitment of Gurkhas for the Indian Army. A proclamation issued jointly by him and the Maharaja states quite frankly that men who have acquired military training in British regiments will be in a position to help their country on their return.

In February 1888 Maharaja Bir Sham Sher was received in Calcutta by Lord Dufferin with full honours. On his return he sanctioned the arrangements for the marriage of the King of Nepal to two more wives. The King had been married for the first time in 1887 to two queens from Rajputana. Bir now wished the King to marry his two daughters by his Kanchha Maharani. The senior Dowager Maharani, however, wrote to the Viceroy to protest on behalf of the Nepalese refugees in India. In her letter she asserts that the mother of the intended brides is a woman of very low caste whose children under the Hindu law of marriage are absolutely ineligible for marriage into the superior castes, much less into a Kshatriya or royal family. As the senior member of the reigning family of Nepal, she asked Lord Dufferin to intervene. At the same time she charged the Prime Minister with having concluded a secret treaty with China which was opposed to the interests of the British.[1] But Lord Dufferin replied with the utmost correctness and reserve. The old Maharani seems to have been implicated at this time in a good many other intrigues in India, all directed against the existing regime in Nepal.

In 1889 the Maharaja received the decoration from the Chinese Emperor of T'ung ling ping ma kuo kan wang. In the following year Prince Albert Victor, Queen Victoria's eldest grandson, visited the extreme western end of the Tarai jungles for a shooting expedition. In the same year a German named Otto E. Ehlers came to Nepal with the request that he might be allowed to climb Mount Everest from the south. In the friendliest but most unmistakable manner, the Maharaja declined to give him this permission.

Much progress was made with the supply of water to the Valley during Maharaja Bir's period of office. The new works were put in hand in 1888, and the opening ceremony took place at Katmandu in the autumn of 1891. Bhatgaon was supplied four years later. In the winter of 1892-3 Bir Sham Sher paid a visit to Lord Lansdowne at Calcutta. He made an extended tour as the guest of the Government of India, and in the

[1] It may be remarked that in this letter the Maharani asserted that the Nepalese allegiance to China was nominal.

following autumn was invested by the Resident with the insignia of a K.C.S.I.

After spending some years in useful administration of the country and improving the educational, sanitary, hospital, and traffic requirements of Nepal—among his constructions being the suspension bridge at Khuli-khani and the clock-tower on the Tundi Khel—he turned his attention to a general supervision of the efficiency with which the existing law was carried out. In June 1897 he was given the Grand Commandership of the Star of India, and in 1899 he paid another visit to Calcutta to meet Lord Curzon.

A little difficulty was raised by the attitude of the Indian Government towards their guest. Nepal had always insisted that the head of a Nepalese Mission on such occasions should be recognized as an Ambassador from the King of Nepal; the Indian Government regarded the visit as a "complimentary mission to Lord Curzon." Nepalese opinion perhaps regarded the matter in too serious a light. There could have been no reason for any change of attitude towards the State of Nepal. But the essentially watchful attitude that has always characterized, and still characterizes, the relations of Nepal with all neighbouring countries, saw in a description of this journey as a complimentary mission to Lord Curzon, a derogation of the position and dignity that had always surrounded the rare visits of the Prime Ministers of Nepal to Calcutta. These subjects of misunderstanding have now been finally rectified, and the relations of Nepal to India run no risk of alteration so long as Great Britain retains her responsibility for the government of the peninsula.

For the remainder of Maharaja Bir Sham Sher's rule he devoted himself to internal affairs, and he continued to discharge this primary duty until the end of his life, which was not long delayed. At the beginning of the new century his health suddenly failed, and on the 5th March 1901 he died from an aneurism.

He was a capable and earnest ruler. In moments of emergency he acted with rapidity and firmness. There was no particular occasion during his rule to emphasize either the military strength of Nepal or the constant friendliness which existed between Nepal and India. There was indeed only one threat of war during his time of office. Once again the Tibetans proved hostile. The occasion was insignificant—a mere dispute about a supply of salt. The only important aspect of the matter is the fact that as a result of this trifling difference the Tibetans continued to maintain an attitude of suspicion towards Nepal.

Bir Sham Sher died in peace, a matter which was regarded by his own countrymen as a proof that he had earned the approbation and the confidence of his own people. Were one entirely certain of the cause of Jang Bahadur's death in 1877, Bir Sham Sher might be set down as the second Prime Minister of Nepal who had died a natural death. As it is, there are

some who think that the privilege may be claimed for him of being the first. He was a great builder and no mean musician. His house at Narayanhiti is a fine building based upon Government House in Calcutta. Of his nominal other tastes Lord Roberts writes: "The Maharaja is extremely musical, and has several well-trained bands taught by an English bandmaster."[1] He was equally devoted to the encouragement of Indian music.

The following description of General Bir Sham Sher by one who knew him and his work well, is not an unfair estimate of the personality of one who helped to fill in the interval between the two great administrators of modern Nepal. "In personal appearance General Bir Sham Sher just fell short of what might be called a heavy man. He was endowed with a sound common sense, which he brought to bear upon every question before him and thus helped him to a solution which, though it might not have been brilliant, was in most instances on the right side. Reserve was one of his special characteristics even to the point of making him appear grave and rather gloomy."

§ 5.

Maharaja Deva Sham Sher.—In strict accordance with the roll of succession, Bir Sham Sher was succeeded by his brother Deva Sham Sher. His period of office was so short that it is not necessary to record of him more than one or two of the outstanding facts of his life and work.

He was born on the 17th July 1862. He was a well educated man, and spoke English fluently. His character seems to have been unmarked by any of the vices that proved so great a temptation to some of his relations. Unfortunately it was also unmarked either by strength, judgment, or foresight. He was a frivolous man. As a second-in-command he had done his work sufficiently if not remarkably well. He had been brought up as the adopted son of the wife of General Krishna Bahadur. Jang Bahadur's brother, who had lost all her own children. His adoption was, however, merely nominal, for he continued to live in his father's house. The opinion entertained of him by his more active brothers may be gleaned from the fact that in 1885 he was allowed to have neither part nor lot in nor even knowledge of the conspiracy which placed Bir Sham Sher on the Prime Minister's throne. In 1887 Khadga's misbehaviour and dismissal thrust greatness upon Deva Sham Sher. He became Jang-i-lat or Senior Commanding General.[2] But, as we have seen, General Rana Sham Sher,

[1] *Forty-One Years in India*, p 536. For an account of a great Jalasa held by him at Bagari in the Valley, the reader is referred to a report in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 7th February 1900.

[2] In India the title "Jang-i-lat" belongs exclusively to the Commander-in-Chief. In Nepal it is not the Commander-in-Chief but his immediate junior in the succession who takes this title. This is largely due to the fact that the Commander-in-Chief has other duties, which make it impossible for him to devote his time exclusively to military work.

Commander-in-Chief, died only three months later, and Deva succeeded to that post and thus became immediate successor to his brother.



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Under the direct supervision of Maharaja Bir, Deva seems to have exercised his functions satisfactorily. During the fourteen years of his control of this office, he introduced considerable improvements in the Nepal Arsenal at Nakhu. He also laid on water for the use of travellers to

Katmandu along the main route from India. Between Simra and Bichako he constructed five tanks fitted with hydrants. He did the same at Bhimphedi. He built at his own cost two good rest-houses, one at Bichako and the other at Bhimphedi.

But despite his adequate administration of the office of Commander-in-Chief, Deva himself remained a luxury-loving and lazy man. Immediately after his succession he wasted both time and money in a series of darbars, triumphal processions, and other celebrations. The magnitude of the task entrusted to him was never realized. He spent his time in sport and amusements, and left the government of Nepal without any directing head.

Deva Sham Sher was a man of kindly and useful tendencies. He was, however, wholly inadequate to the position which he was now called upon to occupy. An ill-balanced man, he sank the administrator in the prince, and sought to magnify his office, less by vigorous and unceasing work than by devising new splendours for his frequent days of ceremony. Then, tired of these inaugural pomps, he abandoned his capital and chiefly devoted himself to a life of easy sport at Nagarkot.

When he did introduce a measure it was unfortunate and often premature. By a stroke of the pen his thistledown wit inaugurated thirty primary schools in the country. A third of these died out within a few months. It is to the credit of his heart if not of his head that he anticipated the present Maharaja in an immature scheme to free the slaves of Nepal. But like his other work it was based upon nothing more substantial than mere sentiment. Hastily and without foresight he attempted to emancipate female slaves, not only in the states of Kaski and Lamjang, over which he had immediate and personal control, but in Katmandu itself. The time was not yet ripe for such a measure, and an uproar arose which compelled the withdrawal of the scheme.

Among other defects Deva Sham Sher had no sense of the reticence which must be observed by the governing authority under such a regime as that of Nepal. No man could suggest a reform for his consideration without the fear of its being published to the world on the following day; and, though perhaps he has been hardly judged as one who took pleasure in the humiliation of others, he alienated the confidence as well as the affection of all classes alike—and his brothers, who from the first must have regarded his succession as a hazardous experiment, rapidly decided that he must be replaced by a man of greater dignity, breadth of view, industry, and, above all, of greater strength of mind.

The end soon came. On the 26th June 1901 Deva was invited by his brothers to go to the palace of Bir Sham Sher to settle a domestic dispute concerning the partition of the building among the sons of the late Prime Minister. Once inside the house, his brothers presented him with an ultimatum. Deva promised to reform and made a desperate but ineffectual

attempt to retain his place; one account says that he was actually in tears when he at last consented to sign his abdication in the presence of the King. He was of course succeeded by the eldest and ablest of his brothers, Chandra Sham Sher, the present Maharaja.

Deva was interned for a short time at Dhankuta, but shortly afterwards was allowed to escape to India. He lived for the most part of his remaining years at Mussoorie.[1] He accepted his new life with philosophy after having—like other exiled Nepalese officials—made an almost traditional attempt to murder his brother, the new Prime Minister. He took advantage of Chandra's attendance at the Darbar in Delhi in 1903 to launch this plot. He met with no support, and the perfectly informed Indian Government—the good-natured gaoler of all such Nepalese offenders—interned him at Benares so long as Chandra remained on Indian territory.

Four years later the two brothers met in Calcutta, and Deva, with his weak and loquacious good nature, assured Chandra that he was glad of his deposition, because, he was good enough to say, Nepal under him would never have become what she was under Chandra. This did not, however, bring about any permission to return to Nepal, and on the 20th February 1914 the ex-Maharaja died in India. His sons were admitted by the present Maharaja to fitting posts in the army, and their family property was restored to them. A well-written and judicious estimate of his personality that I have received from a Nepalese source, ends with these words: "Such is Maharaja Deva, whose tenure of office as Prime Minister was of short duration; the only prominent relic of his ministry which survives in the country to this day, is the midday gunfire that was first ordered by him."

[1] Chandra sent his weak brother down to Mussoorie with 4,000 rupees a month pocket money. It was the latter's wife who conceived the idea of supplying water to travellers on the Bichako-Simra-basa road, and as she died before the idea could fructify, Deva started and completed the works in memory of her pious desire. The artist had the happy inspiration of modelling the lever which releases the water in the shape of her wrist and hand.





MAHARAJA CHANDRA
In Chinese Robes.

CHAPTER XIV

MAHARAJA CHANDRA SHAM SHER

EARLY LIFE—PERSONALITY—INDEPENDENCE OF NEPAL—LHASA MISSION OF 1904

§ 1

CHANDRA SHAM SHER, who thus succeeded to power, consolidated his position by rapid and judicious action. He at once held a reception of the military and civil officers of the Government, and their instant welcome convinced him that the country entirely endorsed the *coup d'état* which had just been carried out. As may be imagined, his advent to the supreme office was received with enthusiasm not only by the hierarchy of Church and State, but by the rank and file of the army also, with whom and for whom he had worked for years.

The King at once confirmed the new situation by a formal act and, as a final endorsement of the ministerial regime under which Nepal has prospered so well, it is interesting to note here the large extent of the authority thereby conferred upon the new Prime Minister and Marshal. The proclamation runs thus:

"He is given full authority in respect of passing sentence of death, deprivation of caste, imprisonment for life, confiscation of property, banishment or deportation, conferring or deprivation of honours, control of the Treasury, together with plenary powers in all affairs of the State." No ceremony of state was omitted. He was installed in the high office of Prime Minister; the status of a Maharaja was confirmed to him together with the title of Marshal. The King formally agreed that he would in advance accept all public acts done by him as having the full royal approval. By another edict of the King, the whole Nepalese people were conjured to be active in their loyalty to the new minister. Those who showed themselves remiss were to be regarded as disloyal, and Chandra Sham Sher was enjoined to punish such persons by decapitation or death, by deprivation of caste, by disgrace, by imprisonment for life, by confiscation of property, and by deportation or banishment. Intimation of the change thus affected was at once sent to the Government of India through the recognized channel of communication, the British Resident in Katmandu.

Furnished thus with absolute power Maharaja Chandra assumed supreme control of all things Nepalese, and began the work in which he is to-day as vigorous and as unlimited in his authority as at the time of his



H.H. MAHARAJA CHANDRA SHAM SHER IN CORONATION ROBES AS MAHARAJA OF KASKI AND LAMJANG

accession. Henceforth the history of Nepal is the history of his administration, his reforms, and his policy in all things, foreign and domestic alike.

The following estimate of *The Englishman* in 1905 deals fairly with Chandra's appointment to the highest office in Nepal: " The manner of his accession to power was a pleasant contrast to that of many of his predecessors. He acquired his position, not by the sacrifice of other lives in order to satisfy personal ambition, but because his ability, high character, and good qualities marked him out as the best man for such a position of responsibility."

Before dealing with the record of Chandra Sham Sher's long administration as Prime Minister of Nepal, his earlier years require some notice. He was born on the 8th July 1863. He was the fifth of the legitimate sons of Jang Bahadur's youngest brother, General Dhir Sham Sher, who, as we have seen, held for a long time the actual office of Commander-in-Chief and practically that of Prime Minister also. At the age of nine he began the study of English under Nepalese tutors, and no doubt he owes the unusual clarity and flexibility of his spoken or written words to this early introduction to the language. English is now spoken by the chief personages of Nepal with fluency, but when Chandra was a child it was rare to meet with any of his countrymen who possessed more than a halting acquaintance with the English tongue.

Like his uncle Jang Bahadur, Chandra, as a boy, was carefully and rigorously trained in the manly and military sports that then took the place of the athletic training which Nepal has now adopted for her own soldiers from the system of the army in India. His general progress was as satisfactory as even his father expected. In the year 1878 he was married to a bride from a Thakuri family, and not long afterwards, before completing his nineteenth year, he had an opportunity of showing the stuff of which he was made. Jagat Jang's plot of the 6th June 1882 was prevented by the strong hand of Dhir Sham Sher, and his father's successful action was admittedly due to some extent to the decision, courage, and discretion of young Chandra. Immediately afterwards he went down to Calcutta to go through a course in English and other subjects, and in 1883 the annual speech of the Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University contains a reference to " a young student who holds a high military command in the army of Nepal, and has shown on this occasion that he can handle the pen not less efficiently than the sword." He was the first of his family to matriculate in this manner, and his success stirred him to further academic ambitions. But the sudden illness of his father compelled him to abandon his schemes. He returned to Nepal and remained by the bedside of Dhir Sham Sher until the end came in 1884.

The death of his father proved the turning-point of Chandra's life. The administration of his uncle Maharaja Rana Udip had been almost

wholly directed by Dhir and proved uniformly successful so long as the stronger nature of the latter was there to assist the judgment and galvanize into action the easier nature of the elder brother. As has been related, Dhir's death immediately released the intrigues and backstairs work which had been crushed during the administration of Jang Bahadur and the earlier years of his successor.

Not long after the *coup d'état* of 1885 which ended the dangerous situation caused by Jagat Jang's ambition and Rana Udip's weakness, the important position of Senior Commanding General was inherited by Chandra on the death of an elder brother. The duties of the Senior Commanding General, as has been explained already, are similar to those of the Commander-in-Chief in other States. In his charge are the supreme services of recruiting and training the Nepalese army. Chandra was thus placed, by incident and accident alike, into a position of responsibility that was of especial importance in a country where the ultimate sanction of the Government lies greatly in the efficiency and loyalty of its troops. In Chandra's case the work to be done was scarcely less than the entire reorganization of the military forces of Nepal, but it was work after his own heart, and in 1892 Lord Roberts noted the excellent drill and discipline of the Nepalese regiments that were reviewed by him at Katmandu. He says that he had been informed that Chandra Sham Sher had almost lived on the parade ground for weeks before his arrival, and just as Sir Henry Lawrence, fifty years earlier, had noticed the promise of Jang Bahadur, Lord Roberts seems to have been impressed with the vigour and capacity of the twenty-nine-year-old director of the training of the Nepalese army. To the end of his life the aged Field-Marshal remembered Chandra's *cri de cœur* on that occasion. "We have forty thousand soldiers ready in Nepal, and there is nothing to fight." But Lord Roberts did not die before he had seen the opportunity of great work given in full both to the army of Nepal and to the man who uttered this proud complaint. It was not only in this field of service, however, that Chandra was attracting attention. Owing to Deva Sham Sher's lack of initiative, although the Prime Minister, Bir Sham Sher, on the occasion of his visit in February 1888 to Lord Dufferin in Calcutta, left the acting prime ministership of Nepal to the former, he showed a greater trust, not in his next brother and heir apparent, but in Chandra, whom he appointed to look after his personal interests and household, and whom he requested to live in the Prime Minister's Palace for the whole period of his absence from Katmandu.[1]

So it came about that shortly afterwards Chandra, at his own request, attacked the thorny problem of public education in Nepal, and to this task

[1] This was the beginning of his prominent association with the Prime Minister in nearly all administrative work from this time onward, and was the first public indication of the opinion of the Rana family as to the relative capacity of Deva and Chandra.

the Prime Minister soon added the administration of much of the work of the Nepalese Foreign Office. Of the matters that occupy the attention of this department, the relations between Nepal and India are of course by far the most important. At the moment of his taking over control of the office, Chandra found that a certain formality characterized the relations between the two countries. No complaint could be made that India was interfering in any way in the internal affairs of Nepal, and Chandra not only saw the advantage of establishing a more cordial feeling, but a way to do it. Naturally enough he had recourse to the field in which he had won his first laurels, and which to this day is probably nearer his heart than any other department of his supreme administration. At that time the number of Gurkha regiments in the Indian army was nine. Chandra at once provided for the enlistment of four more, and in 1891 the total was increased to fifteen.[1]

During the tours of inspection annually carried out by the Prime Minister of Nepal, it was Chandra who was summoned to accompany the Maharaja. We can therefore understand that little by little Chandra became not merely his brother's right hand, but almost an equal associate with him in the government of Nepal. This practical equality of responsibility if not of status was, of course, known only to a comparatively small circle. Chandra's loyalty to his elder brother was unfailing, and in public, whatever his real credit, he willingly surrendered it to the Maharaja and took a secondary place. Thus the great project for the supply of water to Katmandu that has been already mentioned as the work of Bir Sham Sher, was in fact largely carried through by Chandra's activity. The same remark applies to a large portion of the public administration and to some of the foundations that marked the government of Bir. The hand was the hand of Bir, but the voice was the voice of Chandra.

His next experience was concerned with the foreign relations of his country. For some time there had been trouble in Sikkim. The Maharaja of that State, prompted by his friends and co-religionists in Lhasa, had assumed an attitude of scarcely veiled hostility towards the Indian Government, and had even attempted to prevent the establishment of a British political officer at Gangtok. This phase was brief. The Indian Government gave Sikkim to understand that no nonsense would be tolerated, and in 1889 the Maharaja of Sikkim fled from Gangtok. He attempted to make use of Nepalese territory, though it is not clear whether he did so to obtain shelter or merely as a convenient means of communicating with his friends in Lhasa. The Prime Minister of Nepal at once turned him out. His action was courteous enough, but the princely escort which Bir provided

[1] At the present moment there are twenty battalions of Gurkhas in the Indian army, this number having been reached by the addition of battalions between 1902 and 1908, for which also, of course, Chandra was responsible.

for the return journey of the Maharaja did not conceal from Sidkeong Namgyal that no support of his action against India was to be expected from Katmandu. The behaviour of the Nepalese Government at this time, strictly correct though it was, is thought by some to have left its traces in the uneasy relations that still exist between Nepal and Lhasa. But those relations are due to deeper causes, though the unmistakable determination of the Gurkhas not to be drawn into any quarrel with India should have been remembered by the young Dalai Lama who very soon afterwards took into his own hands the government of Tibet.[1] Chandra, as director of the Nepalese Foreign Office at this time, had therefore considerable knowledge of the internal affairs of Tibet when, in his turn as Maharaja, he offered the assistance of Nepal in connection with the Younghusband Expedition of 1904-5.

In 1892 Bir and Chandra visited India. The illness of the Prime Minister compelled his younger brother to take his place on many occasions, and Lord Lansdowne admitted to the latter his knowledge that it was he rather than his elder brother who was responsible for the large reforms that had been carried out in Nepal, and that Chandra was perhaps the better qualified of the two to explain the existing position in that country to the Indian Government. Characteristically enough, the first result of this visit to Calcutta was the receipt in Nepal of about eight thousand Martini-Henry rifles and a few mountain guns, which the Nepal Government were allowed to purchase in response to Chandra's plausible argument that the Gurkhas could not come effectively to the assistance of India in any emergency unless they had been trained in the use of modern weapons. The Sikkim trouble broke out again shortly afterwards. This in itself was dealt with quickly and finally by Katmandu, but the aftermath was a renewal of the old dispute with Lhasa which gave Chandra the opportunity of once more overhauling the military efficiency of Nepal, though there was no actual breaking off of relations.

In return for the constant service received from Chandra, the office of "Senior Commanding General" was raised in dignity and a special flag and special salute were granted to it, and when on 5th March 1901 the sudden death of Maharaja Bir put an end to a loyal and useful alliance in the service of Nepal, it was obvious that only Chandra was qualified to take over the heavy responsibilities of the office of Prime Minister, though in

[1] There is a curious note to be made here. For several generations the Dalai Lama had not lived long enough to come of age and take into his hands the autocratic administration of Tibet. In plain words, during the nineteenth century the Regent and Council of Four at Lhasa had retained their authority by putting the Dalai Lama to death. When Tubdan Gyatso, the present Dalai Lama, attained his majority about 1893 Tibet was claiming independence of China, but not by an open denunciation of the suzerainty of the Emperor. Had a new reincarnation taken place at this time it would have necessitated the submission of the infant's claim for ratification by Kuang Hsu or a refusal to submit it, which meant open rebellion. So Tubdan Gyatso was allowed to live.

point of precedence Deva was technically senior to him and was permitted, as we have seen, one or two months in which to prove his incapacity.

§ 2

Personality of Chandra.—Before attempting to describe the far-reaching changes that have been effected by the present Prime Minister of Nepal and the incidents of his administration, it is almost essential to have some idea of the presence and personality of this strong man in Asia. Of Chandra's administrative power, his foresight, and his devotion to the purposes of his life—the vindication of his country's complete independence and sovereignty and the steady improvement of the conditions of life and work among his people—sufficient evidence will be found in the pages of this volume. Nor will it be less clearly shown there that in him, in a degree equal to that possessed by his famous uncle, are to be found the personal ascendancy, foresight, and tenacity of purpose which alone can maintain and develop the interests both internal and external of a kingdom like Nepal. He has been accustomed throughout his entire period of government not merely to deal in detail with the affairs of his State and of the more important classes therein, but to make himself thoroughly acquainted by personal and unofficial contact with the lives of the poorest of his compatriots.[1] In him alone in the world to-day an absolute autocracy is vested: almost alone also is his insistent and minute observance of everything that goes on in the houses of the poor and in the fields of the peasant. Nothing is too small for his notice, yet his grasp of the greater questions that affect Nepal is broader and farther sighted than that of any man who has directed her affairs. He is at once the most accessible official in his own country and the most removed from all possibility of coercion or rivalry. He is his own parliament, and the powers that were given to Jang Bahadur in 1858—powers so great as to constitute him the master, guardian, and tutor of every soul without exception from the Kali river to the frontiers of Sikkim—have been maintained intact in his hands. Nay, use and tradition have helped to make his position stronger than was ever that of his famous uncle. I am inclined to repeat here what I wrote seventeen years ago, that of the force of his personality there can be as little doubt as of that of Cecil Rhodes.

In person he is somewhat above the stature of the aristocracy of Nepal. His figure is still strong and wiry, and though he has been obliged to abandon some of the more vigorous exercises of earlier days, he is capable of as hard a day's work on the hills or in the jungle as any of his own sons. A glance at the illustrations in this volume[2] will show his personal character-

[1] His friend Scindia, Maharaja of Gwalior, who died in 1924, had much of this resemblance to Harun-er-Rashid in his character.

[2] The coloured pictures of the Maharaja in full dress and in his Chinese uniform give a fair, but not, perhaps, a flattering portrait of him.

FAMILY GROUP

istics—the broad forehead, the steady glance of the penetrating eyes, and the determination that is marked in every feature. Few who have met Maharaja Chandra will ever forget the geniality of his smile and conversation; yet the former probably deceives no one into thinking it a sign of easy acquiescence, and the courtesy of the latter is the courtesy of a strong and certain mind. His manners, his discourse, and, in a singular degree, his letters are alike graceful. He gives the impression of a man who has never thought it worth while to lose his temper about anything; and though at times he has found it necessary to take off the velvet glove, it is probably true that his judgment has never been affected by anger or the disappointment of the moment. In general he dresses quietly in a kind of undress frock-coated uniform, and does not, except on the greatest occasions, use the magnificent diamond head-dress or the other insignia of his high office.[1] His clothes have the plainness of distinction, and it is no doubt in recognition of this dignity of simplicity that the King himself rarely appears except in similarly restrained garb. His Majesty's portrait appears as the frontispiece of this book attired in the State robes proper to his rank, but on the rare occasions when he appears in public he is generally dressed in a plain double-breasted European suit of dark blue, wearing the triple emerald necklace, a crescent of huge stones on his breast, and a jewelled badge upon his cap. He wears ear-rings composed of a single large diamond and ruby.

In conversation the Maharaja has the power of setting any man at his ease, and his manner is as good as his manners. He is far from that type, common to the West as well as the East, which after providing the fullest hospitality for his guests, is content therewith. He anticipates their wishes and provides to the utmost of his power for the satisfaction of their curiosity, or the carrying out of their researches. Beyond the domain of his own work and interest he is ready to discuss with adequate information and with shrewd sense most of the social and nearly all of the political problems of the West.[2] Yet no man presumes upon this good humour and grace. Liberties are not taken with the Maharaja of Nepal.

The scope of his interests is wide. It is to be regretted, however, that though he recognizes that in the Western world the study of the past has become an absorbing passion, his practical mind does not allow him to attribute more importance to it than the material and religious needs of his

[1] Instead, he often wears a scarlet peaked cap with gold embroidery, carrying, not infrequently, a diamond bow, once a favourite jewel of his late Maharani.

[2] Lord Morley, when Secretary of State for India, received the Maharaja. He writes: "I had an ordinary round of talk with him. He is certainly much more than an ordinary man. His little speech to the King [Edward VII] was admirable and the King was much taken by it." This testimony from a man as unwilling to recognize distinction in other living men as Lord Morley, and from such a supreme judge of human nature as the late King, will be sufficient for any man who had the fortune to know either.

country suggest. But he puts no obstacle in the way of such investigations as may be carried on by foreign archaeologists within the Valley and in the Tarai. It will, of course, be understood that the value of the remains, architectural, cultural, and epigraphic, in those two districts is probably many times greater than that of all the rest of Nepal put together. Certain places exist, however, of which we have no adequate knowledge, and it would be of great interest to the world if, failing European expert assistance, qualified Indian natives were permitted to make a thorough examination of such centres as Muktinath, Butwal, Gorkha, and Dhankuta.[1] In giving any such permission, the difficulty with which Chandra Sham Sher is confronted is no doubt that with which he has always had to deal in effecting any reform. No man has been more scrupulously careful not to offend the religious susceptibilities of any of those for whom he is responsible. As we shall see later the conventional Nepalese eye has at first looked askance at some of his reforms. That convention, which is characteristic of all Nepalese life and thought, may be said to be a deeply rooted—and from the point of view of those who find their plans miscarry, an over great —fear of permitting strangers or the customs of strangers to enter Nepal. That this is largely based upon religious prejudice is clear, and the due respect which the Maharaja has always paid to this obsession has delayed many of his reforms though it has not prevented their achievement. The story of the abolition of slavery which is told in another chapter is a good illustration of the manner in which these special problems are dealt with by the Maharaja. He is tireless in presenting and pressing the case for a reform, but in that presentation he has not failed to be just to those whose assent he could not at once obtain.

By a mere stroke of the pen Chandra might have introduced many of his reforms. The army is with him to a man, and there is no one living who can gainsay his authority. But he has not read history in vain, and the peculiar descent of authority in Nepal renders any change that is not freely accepted by the people and by those who are destined to succeed him only too likely to fade out after the reformer's death. With all things pertaining to the sovereignty, security, communications, trade, and general well-being of Nepal he can deal without hesitation and he does so. The preservation of law and order, the prerogative of mercy, the maintenance of an efficient and loyal army, and the collection of the national revenues and their expenditure are matters within the scope of his personal authority. He listens readily to suggestions, but to no man does he delegate his final authority. Where it is necessary to enlist the co-operation of his people,

[1] Other places than Katmandu have been at one time or other centres of government, religion, and art, and their exploration might throw light not merely upon the tangled and contradictory chronicles of Nepal, but upon the origin of the many races that compose its population.

he takes them with him in a manner that admits of no misunderstanding. A story was told to me by one who had long been associated with the Residency, that several years ago it was found that the " white ant " was increasing its ravages in the Valley. Chandra was advised that the plague could be arrested if measures were taken instantly. He therefore caused numerous exhibits to be made showing the nature of the " queen " of the white ants. These little carcases were officially sent round the Valley to every house and the inhabitants warned that the severest punishment would await any man who did not personally take steps to discover and destroy every queen that was to be found in or near his buildings. This method of making every householder sweep the street in front of his own door was effective. Thousands of the prolific little beasts were killed, and as the remedy is one of permanent application, the Valley now may be said to be almost free from one of the curses of the East—a curse of double potency in a land of wooden houses. Chandra is a well read man and believes in the saving grace of education. His own library probably affords him the greatest pleasure of his few spare hours and the personal notes with which he corrects, amplifies, or illuminates his volumes are often terse and poignant.[1]

His daily life is simple. He rises between six and seven and after a religious service begins with his secretaries to prepare the work of the day. In the early morning he gives audience to any officials who may present themselves, or be summoned, for special instructions. Then come the petitioners whose cases have been already inquired into and passed as worthy of his attention. These cases have been summarized carefully and impartially by the Niksari Commission, and the Maharaja's decision is given rapidly and finally. After this audience he deals with letters and despatches till about ten o'clock, when he performs the daily religious rites of his caste. He goes to his first bath of obligation where soap is used that is of ceremonial purity. After being anointed by purified pastes, he enters a new bath into which a few spoonfuls of the sacred Ganges water have been poured. He then goes to the room set aside for his spiritual observances and there makes his daily symbolic offering to Brahmans of five rupees and eight annas—which represents the nominal price of a cow—and a cup of bell

[1] I may perhaps be allowed to give an illustration. Dr. Oldfield was the guest of Jang Bahadur on a shooting expedition, and had remarked to his host that he had had no breakfast that morning. At once Jang sent off a messenger to Thapathali, and a hot breakfast of stewed and curried fowls, pork cutlets, pilaw of pheasant, eggs, cracknells, chapattis, and fruit was prepared and despatched to meet the returning party. Unfortunately Dr. Oldfield, in recording the incident, notes that after breakfast he distributed cheroots, "of which the Nipalese are very fond, especially when they do not have to pay for them." Many different comments might have been jotted on the margin of this page, but it would be difficult to surpass Chandra's quiet pencil note, " Did Oldfield pay for the breakfast?"

metal containing about four ounces of ghi, or clarified butter. He then repeats his prayers and goes to his breakfast.

After a short rest he sees the Kazi [1] and the heads of the more important departments such as the Commander-in-Chief or his secretary, the Senior Commanding General, the General in charge of the Council office, the Foreign Secretary, and others who come in fixed rotation. This work continues till three or four in the afternoon. At four o'clock in fine weather he sits on the lawn and takes up appellate cases. In the presence of both the appellant and the respondent the clerk presents the facts of the dispute, appending to it the decisions of the courts that have already dealt with the matter. Native judgment and long experience enable him to deal rapidly and justly with the issue of the moment. A certain number of high officials are generally in attendance and he does not hesitate to consult them whenever matters affected by local custom are involved. Few complaints of the justice of his final decision have ever been made, but one result of this national confidence in their ruler is a large increase in the number of appeals. Some vicarious administration of this final court must soon be devised. Attractive as paternal administration of justice in the open air is, the sphere of civilization which Nepal has now entered will soon make it impossible for the Prime Minister to continue to bear this growing burden. Saturdays are for him a holiday; and it is this weekly day of rest and such recreation as big game shooting during his annual tour can afford that form the only relaxation in a life of hard and unending work.

The Maharaja's private tastes induce him to live in a simply furnished suite of rooms in the palace that he has erected. As can be imagined, he is a strict disciplinarian and exacts scrupulous obedience from those who are *de facto*, if not *de jure*, his subjects. Admired and loved as he is by the people, few of the Nepalese ever enter his presence without a sense of respect in which awe plays no small part. He examines work done for him impartially and thoroughly and is not easily pleased or displeased, for he has sound intuition about men and rarely makes a bad choice. He is rigorous with himself as with others. He was an inveterate smoker until the age of forty-five, when within twenty-four hours he abandoned the practice for ever. It would be impossible to close this estimate of the Maharaja without referring to the story which is told elsewhere of his having at last given in to the continued requests of his dying wife and taken a secondary wife for a short period. It is to be regretted that the example of monogamy which Maharaja Chandra has for a long time shown to the

[1] There were originally four Kazis or state councillors, but of these only one now remains, Marichi Man Singh. Bharadars are councillors and are generally drawn from the highest civil and military officers. Sardars are officials both military and civil and have a diamond in a gold badge. A Mir-Suba or major has seven jewels in a gold badge, and a Suba or captain has two jewels in a gold badge.



H.H. MAHARAJA CHANDRA SHAM SHER AND HIS SONS

Nepalese should not as yet have borne its full fruit. Still the custom is spreading and it is to be hoped it may become the universal practice of the country. In order to lead the way in a campaign against drink—once the curse of the Valley—he has become the strictest of teetotallers.

That Maharaja Chandra is popular with the officials at Court, with the soldiers in the field, and with the merchants in the cities is true—so true that one would almost be glad to have a note of criticism from one or other of these sections of his people, but of such criticism there is none.

At his own repeated request I have, in using the full material that he has placed at my disposal, written what I believe to be the truth, and I have not hesitated to record his direct complicity in the plot against his uncle Maharaja Rana Udip. But the English as a nation as well as individuals are an undemonstrative race, and when all is said, Maharaja Chandra remains the man whom the British Empire has delighted to honour above all living foreigners.

§ 3

The Rana Family.—A note of the personality of the Prime Minister's family may not be out of place. An important personality requires first notice. The Maharaja's next brother, Bhim Sham Sher, the Commander-in-Chief, is his natural successor as Prime Minister. It is difficult to form a personal opinion of this man. He is naturally less accessible than the Maharaja, and his work, all important as it is, is concerned with less conspicuous matters than those which his brother has to decide. But he is the Maharaja's trusted adviser and should he survive Chandra, by common consent he will prove a worthy successor. Full of dignity and a man of resource, he has contributed to his brother's work the most loyal and efficient help that any Prime Minister of Nepal could desire. In some respects he is probably less inclined than Chandra to press forward the introduction of the conveniences and comforts of Western civilization, and those who look for any relaxation under his regime of the present strict exclusion of foreigners from Nepalese territory are likely to be disappointed. His heart is in his brother's work and in his hands the great structure built up by Chandra will be worthily and efficiently maintained. A word must also be said of General Padma, his son. He occupies a position of importance not only because in the roll of succession by the accident of an earlier birth General Padma precedes his cousins, the sons of the Maharaja, but because of the excellent work that was done by him in India as Commander of the Nepalese troops in that country during the Great War, and the indefatigable way in which he has thrown himself into matters of such primary importance as the carrying out of Maharaja Chandra's schemes for the development of mechanical transport in Nepal. Those who know



THE THREE BROTHERS

(Maharaja Chandra Sham Sher, Commander-in-Chief General Bhim Sham Sher, and Senior Commanding General Judha Sham Sher)

him best expect most from him, and in the not distant future he may play a very great part in the fortunes of his country and in her relations with India.

The third and last brother of the Maharaja, Judha Sham Sher, who is now Senior Commanding General and enjoys the title of Jang-i-Lat—a dignity which, though equivalent to that of Commander-in-Chief, is not used by General Bhim, the heir apparent—is naturally less in the glare of publicity than are his two elder brothers, and it is enough here to note the confidence with which the Maharaja has entrusted to him the supervision of the Nepalese army.

Chandra's eldest son, General Mohan Sham Sher, is responsible for the organization and smooth running of all matters within the Singha Darbar, and if success on a smaller stage is a test of what a man can do on a larger one, there is much to be looked for from General Mohan should he succeed in due course to the high office that his father holds. General Mohan possesses the order of K.C.I.E. The second son, General Baber Sham Sher, who is perhaps the best known to Europeans of all the second generation, bears upon his breast sufficient testimony to the high regard in which both India and England hold him. He has been invested with the G.B.E. (Military Division), the K.C.I.E., and the K.C.V.O., besides minor decorations. Elsewhere his work in India is referred to, and the position he holds in the Valley has been bestowed upon him by his father after long trial of his capacities. His hospitality is proverbial, and the intimate relations which he maintains with his friends at home and in India is a good index of a cosmopolitanism which is perhaps more characteristic of him than of his brothers or cousins. The third son is General Kaiser, who combines an astonishing width of reading, knowledge of the world, and general culture with a reputation as a first-class shot and an expert knowledge of the fauna of Nepal. He has been commissioned to make the arrangements for the great big game shoots which take place from time to time in honour of distinguished visitors, and if the organization of the camps and general sporting strategy of that which was attended by the Prince of Wales in 1922 is an indication of General Kaiser's capacity, his future career will be watched with no little interest not only by India, but by Western Asia. The Maharaja's fourth and fifth sons, General Singha Sham Sher and General Krishna Sham Sher, are not as yet entrusted with any civil administrative work, though they are carefully trained for their high positions in the army. The three younger children, sons of the second Maharani, Vishnu Sham Sher, Shanker Sham Sher, and Madan Sham Sher, are too young to have given proof of any special aptitudes.

§ 4

Chandra in office.—It was usual and not unnatural that each previous *coup d'état* in the chronicles of Nepal had been followed by a wholesale

change in the officers and officials by whom the Government had been carried on. But Chandra made no such sweeping revolution. During the three months of his Commandership-in-Chief he had had time to check and amplify an estimate of the work of these officials based upon a far longer experience in the highest administrative service of Nepal, civil and military; and in a certain measure the composition of the non-commissioned ranks in that service already reflected his own judgment and experience. To assist him in his work of regeneration he appointed commissions to inquire into the more pressing reforms that were needed; of which the first began its sittings in May 1902, eleven months after his accession to power.

It was a great work that confronted him. Apart from the general question of the standard of purity in public affairs and the extirpation of corruption in every branch of the administration, Chandra found it necessary to reorganize many of the existing departments of State, redistributing the work and, in many cases, establishing new offices for the handling of certain public services that were either created for the first time by the new ruler or were judged by him to be inconsistent with the scope of the department to which they had hitherto been entrusted.

During the early months of unremitting and often ungrateful work the new Prime Minister found his time and talents fully occupied by this internal reorganization, of which the fruits will be found recorded in their proper place on many pages of this work. Of domestic incidents there were few. The people of Nepal accepted with unconcealed relief the advent of a strong and far-sighted ruler, and there was a comparative absence of those counterplots and family intrigues which in the past had always clouded the early months of a new administration in Nepal. But reference should be made to the unwise activity of his brother Khadga Sham Sher, who had for some years been Governor of Palpa, and whose absence from the centre of Nepalese life had perhaps led him to misinterpret the solidity of the new regime. Whatever the real intentions of Khadga may have been, his military energy at this moment laid him open to suspicions that would have been more than enough in other days to bring about immediate punishment. But it is only the uncertain who are compelled to have recourse to drastic action, and Chandra was so sure of his ground that he dealt with the situation with a courteous diplomacy that deceived no one less than his unwise brother. A request was sent that Khadga's crack regiment, the Sabuj corps, should be sent to Simra-basa to take part in certain manœuvres that the Prime Minister had ordered. An intimation was also given that, owing to Chandra's impending visit to India, it was advisable that the strength of the military organization in Katmandu should be increased by the subsequent presence of the Sabuj regiment. At the moment Chandra had not before him full evidence of his brother's

intentions, and it was the immediate flight of Khadga to India that set the seal of confession upon a foolish and hopeless intrigue. The plot itself collapsed and Chandra, after reviewing the facts, found justification for the dismissal of a small number of junior officers. He treated his brother with generosity, and made arrangements by which Khadga could live in retirement and comfort at Saugor in the Central Provinces.[1] A formal reconciliation took place between the two on the return of Chandra from England in 1908; and though Khadga was not permitted to return to his life and duties in Nepal, places were found for his sons in the administration, and he himself was allowed to pay brief visits to the country in order to meet the Prime Minister. Khadga, who seems to have turned his thoughts to other things in his advancing years, died on 22nd December 1921 at Benares, and but a few months before his death referred, not ungracefully, to his relations with Chandra by comparing himself to Balaram passing his time in spiritual meditation while his younger brother Krishna was ruling the kingdom.

The accession of King Edward VII was celebrated with full honours in Katmandu on the date that had been arranged for his coronation in Westminster Abbey—26th June 1902. It is a curious comment on Nepal's remoteness even in these days of rapid communication between all parts of the world that the news of King Edward's sudden illness, two days before the "solemnity" should have taken place, did not reach Katmandu until after the 26th, and that therefore in this capital alone of all civilized centres, the prearranged ceremonies were carried through in their entirety. Shortly afterwards, an invitation was received by the King from the Government of India, informing him of the coming Imperial Darbar at Delhi on 1st January 1903, and requesting the presence of a Nepalese representative at this high ceremony. In reply His Majesty intimated that his "other self," the Prime Minister, would attend the Darbar on his behalf. The story of the Darbar of 1903 is one that belongs to Indian history, but the presence of Chandra Sham Sher among the representatives of other independent states such as France, Portugal, Holland, Siam, and Afghanistan[2] lends to it a special interest for the student of Nepal's steady consolidation of her position among independent states.

§ 5

Foreign Relations.—Before proceeding with the record of the representation of Nepal at the King-Emperor's Darbar it will be as well to discuss the

[1] Maharaja Chandra presented his brother Khadga with certain terms, and offered in the event of their acceptance that his children should be restored to the succession. This offer Khadga refused, and therefore his children are excluded from the succession.

[2] The full independence of Afghanistan and the relinquishment by India of all responsibility for her foreign relations followed the Third Afghan War in 1920.

question of the relations between Nepal and India, but it may be pointed out here that there never has been any real misunderstanding on this point on the part of either the British or the Indian Government. It is true that a singularly unfortunate mistake was made by the compiler of the 1907 edition of the Official Gazetteer of India,[1] but that blunder has been atoned for, and the complete and sovereign independence of Nepal is now a recognized international fact. It is, however, one thing to have this matter settled once for all as an international fact: it is another to make the individual understand it. It is scarcely an overstatement to say that not more than one-half of the officials in the Foreign Offices and Chanceries of the diplomatic world could offhand state with precision the exact relations between India and Nepal; and it is certainly within the mark to say that the same proportion of non-English writers on international affairs, either out of carelessness or ignorance, generally discuss a situation in south central Asia as though the English possessed the right to control or at least to advise upon the foreign action of Nepal. The English have not this right and have never had this right. At the treaty of Sagauli in 1816 there was no pretence whatever that the agreement then made was other than a contract between two independent parties—and the spirit that governed that agreement has governed that of 1923. It is to be regretted that certain other countries which, had they controlled India themselves would probably have taken advantage of the geographical position of Nepal to let their influence weigh at her council-board, seem unable or unwilling to believe that Great Britain has no more power to guide the policy that Katmandu may think fit to adopt towards Tibet, let us say, than she has to advise the Dutch about their affairs in Sumatra.

While dealing with this question of the complete independence of Nepal, it is as well to note her relations with China. These have been regarded by some interested persons as affecting her status as an entirely sovereign kingdom, but, as will be seen from the following record, there is no justification for this view.

In 1792, after her unsuccessful war with China, Nepal agreed to send once every five years a Mission to Peking, bearing to the Emperor the good wishes and gifts of the King of Nepal. I have before had occasion to note that the progress of this Mission through Tibet was at times accompanied by hardship and even by the intentional ill-treatment of the Tibetans; but the Mission continued to exist, though at times it was nearly two years before the survivors of the party regained Katmandu. The Mission was not without its commercial side, for the members of it enjoyed the special privilege of exemption from *likin* and customs duties of all kinds during their passage to and from Peking. Moreover, the Emperor of China distributed among its members gifts far more valuable than those which they

[1] Vol. iv, chap. iii, p. 501.

had brought from Nepal. So far then as profit was concerned the Nepalese had the best of these exchanges, but China is China and for some time there remained a sense that the outer world regarded Nepal as being in tributary relations with China—of which the bitterness was largely mollified by the consideration that this nebulous tie with Peking, which exacted nothing but a profitable giving and receiving of presents, could be always invoked were it necessary to impress the Indian Government with the absolute disconnection of Nepal from India.

It is perfectly true that the gifts from Nepal were officially described as tribute. No doubt in their origin this adequately enough represented the views of the Celestial Court, but the extreme vanity of the Chinese Emperors induced them to apply the same phrase to presents brought or sent by the Envoys of other States, such as Great Britain, or the princes of Magadha. The Maharaja's opinion on this matter is worth quoting.

" This claim—that the deputation proved the vassal character of Nepal —is not only an unwarranted fiction but is also a damaging reflection on our national honour and independence. The missions that proceeded from this country to China were of the nature of embassies from one court to another and have invariably been treated with the honour and consideration due to foreign guests, and their expenses were entirely borne by the Chinese Government. The presents they carried for the Emperor can never be regarded as tribute, as they are mere sougats bringing forth counter-presents from the Court of China. They are merely channels by which we tried to keep up our friendly intercourse with distant China, to express our regard and respect for the Celestial Emperor and to cultivate the good-will and friendly feeling of the Chinese Government, especially on account of our heavy stakes in Tibet." [1]

The last Mission to Peking was received by the Emperor in 1908. It was really regarded there more as a picturesque anachronism than as representing any real bond between the Chinese and the mountaineers, and the Waiwupu was not anxious to lay stress upon any supposed vassalage. Since the establishment of the Republic, no Mission has been sent by Nepal. When I was in Peking in 1924 I asked the then Foreign Minister, Dr. Wellington Koo, what the present attitude of China was towards this visionary Nepalese tie. He said that he would have to look up the matter,

[1] The Mission sent by Nepal to Peking was in no sense one implying vassalage. Presents were indeed exchanged and a nominal offering of money presented to the Imperial Court. But this is no more than prevails in the relations of other Oriental countries.

Indeed, it seems that the only danger Nepal has to fear from China is that the reassumption of Chinese power in Tibet would give the Celestial Republic the power to cancel the ex-territorial and other privileges enjoyed by Nepal within Tibet.

and a few days later I received from his secretary at the Waichiao Pu the following letter, dated 7th March 1924:

" Waichiao Pu,
" Peking.

" DEAR SIR,

" Referring to your letter of February 22nd and my reply of February 25th, I beg to say that the last tribute from Nepal was in the 34th or last year of Kwang Hsu in the 3rd month [April 1908]. No tribute has come under the Republic. In the early days of the Manchu dynasty tributes came once in five years, but on account of the distance between Nepal and Peking it was agreed that they should come once in twelve years instead.

" Yours sincerely,
" W. P. WEI.

" Perceval Landon, Esq."

It will be seen that the Chinese, true to their policy of surrendering no territory over which they have ever had even a transitory influence, have invented a mutual agreement to enlarge the interval between the Missions to twelve years. Of this agreement the Nepalese Government knows nothing, as of course no such agreement exists; but it is only right to say that when I discussed this matter with the Prime Minister of Nepal in June of the same year, he admitted that, were the old conditions in China to be restored, Nepal might think once more of sending the traditional mission of courtesy.

That this Mission involves no condition of subordination to China is evident. The nominal suzerainty, which China thought she had forced upon Nepal in 1792, has long vanished. Moreover, the revolt of Tibet against China has created an entirely new situation by severing all geographical connection between Nepal and the Chinese Republic.[1]

There is no question of anything but a complimentary exchange of gifts between China and Nepal, and any tie that may have existed in the past must now be regarded from the Nepalese side in much the same light as the " tributes " which Burma was allowed by Calcutta to send to Peking long after the British annexation;[2] and from the Chinese side in the same light as the nominal claim, put forward by Britain until 1801, that the

[1] This loss of a very large portion of their territory has not of course been officially accepted by the Chinese. But, as I was assured at Loyang in 1924, those who are chiefly responsible for the military policy prevailing in the Chinese Republic have practically ceased to take Tibet into their consideration either as a Chinese province or even as a tributary State.

[2] Both Burma and Hunza-nagar in the north of Kashmir sent political missions to China after they had admittedly come under British rule.

King of England was also King of France. To this day similar shadowy claims are to be found. Thus the King of Spain, whose territories are very precisely and notoriously defined, still claims to be King of the two Sicilies, of Jerusalem, of the Eastern and Western Indies, of India, and "du Continent Oceanien." But these matters are taken more seriously in the East, and though there was but one more mission sent to Peking after the Darbar of 1903, and though Chandra expressly denied to the Indian Government that any state of vassalage was thereby either symbolized or implied, it was a good thing that the representative of Nepal should make his formal appearance at the Imperial Darbar among the accredited envoys of independent powers.

Chandra took a deep interest in this mighty Soenair, and himself contributed much to the universal picturesqueness of the occasion.[2] But it need not be said that he regarded this definite assertion of the independence of his State as the most important matter in the glittering ceremonial, and he was right in so doing. The Viceroy was not slow to recognize the importance of this friendly but wary mission, and later in the same year, 1903, the Maharaja received an invitation from Lord Curzon to pay him a visit in Calcutta.

He arrived on the 25th January 1904, and was received with full honours in the Indian capital. Hastings House had been specially arranged for his reception, and on the following day formal visits were exchanged between the Viceroy and the Maharaja. The visit was not entirely one of courtesy or informal diplomacy. To Chandra, not the least interesting of the incidents of his visit was a thorough examination of the Calcutta Mint, for the coinage of the Nepalese currency was and is still a matter in which he takes a more than usual interest. During his stay in Calcutta he and Lord Kitchener met more than once, and the mutual respect of the two strong men found expression in a practical form when, ten years later, the employment of Gurkhas far and wide in the theatre of war was arranged between them.

At this time the Tibetan mission under Colonel Francis Younghusband was still awaiting the opportunity of moving forward from the cold plateau of Tuna. Several questions involved by this determined attempt to come to an understanding with Lhasa were discussed between Lord Curzon and the Maharaja.

§ 6

Lhasa Mission of 1904.—It is necessary here to refer to the relations between India and Tibet and recall the incidents that led up to the despatch

[1] Almanac de Gotha. This is a noble counter to the admission that another of his seigneuries—Gibraltar—is "temporarily in the possession of the King of England."

[2] The Maharani accompanied her husband to the Darbar.

of Younghusband's Mission. It will be remembered that in 1792, and again in 1856, definite treaties between the Nepalese, the Chinese, and the Tibetans respectively had reduced to some sort of order the relations between the three countries. In 1890 the Chinese acknowledged the British claim to Sikkim and settled the boundary of that State so far as Tibet was concerned. Three years later a trade agreement was signed between the two Empires regulating the exchange of goods through the Chumbi Valley and opening official markets at Yatung and other places.[1] In 1895 the Tibetans, already filled with a spirit of self-determination, refused to abide by these agreements on the ground that they had been no party to them. An attempt was made by India in that year to delimit the 1890 frontier by the erection of pillars. But these were at once thrown down by the Tibetans and an acute cause of trouble arose in June 1902 when the raids of the Tibetans upon Sikkimese grazing grounds and the loss of Sikkimese life caused thereby created a problem that could no longer be left unsolved. The Viceroy's letter to the Dalai Lama was returned to him unopened. Representations to the Chinese Government met with the usual explanation that the Tibetans were really very tiresome partners, and that the blame was entirely due to them and not to any slackness on the part of Peking. However, the Chinese Government consented to appoint a special Imperial Resident to discuss the matter with the British at Khamba Jong in Tibet in July 1903. But no Commissioner arrived, and nothing could be done with the Tibetans in their existing mood. They were determined to challenge Chinese suzerainty and did not consider the task of defeating the British Empire also beyond their power.[2] In this they were encouraged

[1] The Yatung Maritime Customs Station was opened in May 1894, and closed, as a Chinese post, in 1912 by order of the Lhasan Government. As a Tibetan post it continues to control the traffic of the Nathu la.

[2] There is a touch of humour in the fact that when the Dalai Lama was awakened from his attitude of apathy or contempt, he asked what and who these English really were. He had just sent back Lord Curzon's letter unopened, and may have had some qualms. The reply that he received reassured him though it would probably have been accepted by no other ruler. It is known that the Indian Government has long made to the State of Bhutan the allowance of a certain number of thousands of rupees a year in return for her keeping order along the frontier between herself and Bengal and Assam. The Dalai Lama was now informed that the British Empire was a vassal of Bhutan, and was obliged by that miniature State to pay tribute regularly every year. But in June 1910 the Chinese Government waxed more arrogant still. It claimed Nepal and Bhutan as feudatory states. But by this time the treaty between the Indian Government and Bhutan had been completed, and with the aid of Nepal the Himalayas were definitely established as the limit of Chinese influence. The suzerainty of China over Tibet was neither admitted nor denied by Simla. In December of the same year Sir John Jordan informed the Chinese Government in Peking that Nepal and Bhutan were both independent of China, and that since the conclusion of the Treaty of Bhutan, the latter's external relations were under the British Government, which would tolerate no attempt by China to exercise influence over either of these states.

by the support that was promised to them by Dorjieff, a Buriat Lama who produced an extraordinary effect at both ends of a long line of travel. In St. Petersburg he made the Emperor believe that His Majesty was regarded by the Lamaic Church as Maitreya—the expected reincarnation of the Buddha: in Lhasa the Dalai Lama was assured that the Tsar was a convert to the Buddhist faith—and in both he averred that no real difference in aim and morals existed between the Christian and the Buddhist churches. On one occasion he displayed before the doubtless astonished eyes of Tubdan Gyatso the full pontificals of an Orthodox Bishop, which had been sent to His Holiness by the Tsar's personal order. Convinced of the effective help of so mighty an ally, the Tibetans hardened their hearts and refused to allow anyone, Tibetan or Chinese, to deal with the English. Therefore Younghusband went back from Khamba Jong into Sikkim and waited.

Now these things were of primary importance to Nepal. A clear head and a strong hand were needed to keep the situation free from complications and indeed from danger. By the Treaty of 1856 it will be remembered that Nepal had undertaken to come to the help of the Tibetans were they unjustly invaded. On the other hand Chandra saw, better probably than anyone, that the military strength of China would certainly not be exerted in favour of the Tibetans in their existing mood, and he had also conceived a very clear idea of the slow but practically invincible strength of the Indian Government in such a matter as this, and he had no wish whatever to disturb the friendly relations with Calcutta which it had been his chief aim at his Foreign Office to strengthen and consolidate. In short, he was in no mind to be drawn away from the great policy of friendliness to India which has throughout his administration been the backbone of the Maharaja's handling of foreign affairs.

Soon afterwards Great Britain received an astonishing communication from the Russian Government to the effect that any alteration in the *status quo* in Tibet that might be caused by the Younghusband Mission would be of such gravity as to oblige St. Petersburg to take measures to protect Russian interests in those regions. This was going altogether too far. The despatch did more than justify the expedition; it made it necessary. The British Foreign Office naturally asked for an explanation, and in reply the Russian Government, without any longer pretending to possess interests in Tibet, declared that they wished the *status quo* to be maintained there, because it was an integral portion of the Chinese Empire. What the Dalai Lama thought of this manner of championship has never been known, but it was too late now for him to reconsider his brave words against India. The Mission was reorganized and again set forward through the Chumbi Valley to Gyantse and eventually to Lhasa. After a vain attempt by Chandra to avert the trouble by a letter of advice to Lhasa and

an explanation of his position to Calcutta, it became evident that Nepal could not entirely disinterest herself in the crisis. The clause in the Treaty with Tibet (1856) in virtue of which the Tibetans demanded the help of Nepal against India, runs as follows: " Tibet has become solely a dwelling place of Lama-monasteries and celibate religious hermits, therefore from now onwards when a war maker from another Court arises in Tibetan territory the Gurkha Court shall protect Tibet as far as possible." [1]

There was a small section in Nepal that felt that on whichever side the right happened to be, help should be extended to the Tibetans. To this the Maharaja was opposed, and after careful examination he set the matter before his Councillors in the form of four questions: (*a*) Was there justice on the side of the Indian Government? (*b*) Did the Mission intend to annex any portion of Tibetan territory? (*c*) Would the utmost effort of Nepal prevent the English from achieving their object? (*d*) Would such intervention by Nepal place that country for the future in a disadvantageous position as regards its relations with India? These questions he could answer in only one fashion. He believed that the Tibetan Government had insulted and was intriguing dangerously against British interests; after communication with England and India he was convinced that those Governments had no intention of annexing one acre of Tibet; he did not believe that armed assistance sent from Nepal could in the long run prevent England from coming to terms with the Grand Lama in some place and at some time, however long the delay might be—nor did he wish to prevent such an understanding; and finally, he viewed with grave misgivings the exchange of a policy of friendliness and confidence with India which had secured so much already for Nepal, for one that must involve strained relations for many years between Calcutta and Katmandu.[2]

It was clear therefore that this determination of the English to have an agreement with the Dalai Lama could scarcely be called an invasion, and in the circumstances did not call for the intervention of Nepal. At the

[1] The full text of this treaty with the variations between it and the Nepalese text and comparisons between the translations and comments of Sir Charles Bell, Mr. C. U. Aitchison, and the Nepalese Government will be found in Appendix XXII.

[2] The following quotation from Sir G. S. Baker's edition of H. W. Halleck's *International Law* is of some importance. "In a defensive alliance made before the war, *casus foederis* does not take place immediately on one of the parties being attacked by an enemy. The other contracting party has the right, as indeed it is his duty, to ascertain if his ally has not given the enemy just cause of war; for no one is bound to undertake the defence of an ally in order to enable him to insult others or to refuse them justice. If he is manifestly in the wrong, his co-ally may require him to offer reasonable satisfaction; and if the enemy refuses to accept it, and insists upon a continuance of the war, the co-ally is then bound to assist in his defence." Perhaps the simplest illustration of this rule is the fact that Italy, in spite of the Triple Alliance, declined to co-operate with the Central Empires during the late war.

same time the Maharaja was indefatigable, both in his advice and warnings to Lhasa and in his intercessions with the British. He decided to adopt what was indeed the only possible attitude for him to adopt—one of benevolent neutrality. Any acquiescence by India in Russian influence in Tibet would merely have transferred to Nepal's north-eastern frontier the anxieties with which Afghanistan had been watching the slow advance of Russian territory towards her own frontiers, and Chandra's attitude was well understood by the Government in Calcutta. The words of an official despatch written on the 8th January 1903 are worth recording.

"We believe that the policy of frank discussion and co-operation with the Nepalese darbar would find them prepared to assist our plans most cordially. Not the slightest anxiety has been evinced at our forward operations on the Sikkim frontiers,[1] and we think that, with judicious management, useful assistance may confidently be expected from the side of Nepal. Our anticipations on this point have been confirmed by a recent interview between His Excellency the Viceroy and the Prime Minister of Nepal, Maharaja Chandra Sham Sher, at Delhi. The Nepalese Government regards the rumours of intrigue in Tibet with the most lively apprehensions, and considers the future of the Nepal State to be primarily involved; and further, the Maharaja is prepared to co-operate with the Government of India in whatever way he thought most desirable, either within or beyond the frontier, for the frustration of designs which he holds to be utterly inconsistent with the interests of his country."

Shortly afterwards Chandra wrote to the Viceroy a letter in which he sums up once for all the policy of Nepal towards the Government of India. It may be taken to represent his constant and determined attitude, and it may also be said that it is as true to-day as when it was written. "I shall take this opportunity of assuring Your Excellency's Government that I shall always deem it a sacred duty and a valued privilege, not only to cultivate and continue unimpaired the friendly relations subsisting between the Government of India and Nepal, but to strengthen and improve them, so that we may realize all those expectations which the association with a Power like that of England naturally raise in our minds. I am fully conscious that our interests can best be served by the continuance of friendly relations between India and Nepal." These cordial assurances were greatly appreciated at home, and through the Viceroy a letter of thanks was sent to the Government of Nepal. At the same time it was

[1] This is perhaps an over-statement. I have received information in Katmandu which shows that some of those who were in the confidence of the Maharaja viewed with mistrust the movement of an armed Mission through Sikkim. The Nepalese, as we have already seen, are prone to suspect the complete altruism of the Indian Government, and there were misgivings in certain quarters; some being even inclined to suspect in it the intention of the Indian Government to render Nepal helpless against a subsequent attempt to deprive her of her sovereign status.

clearly understood that Nepal did not intend to support the advance of the Expedition by any military operation whatever. Still the Maharaja not only permitted the Indian Government to purchase yaks in Nepal, but he made a present of 2,500 animals to that Government for the purposes of Younghusband's Mission. Both sides were permitted to purchase material from Nepal. The first and second yak corps, numbering 2,300 beasts, the gift of the Nepalese Government, set out to join the Mission in the autumn of 1903. A third yak corps of about 1,700 followed them. Ultimately of these 4,000 animals only 150 survived. Anthrax, rinderpest, foot-and-mouth disease not only laid them low in hundreds, but the fear of contagion compelled Capt. Wigram, who was in charge of them, to use unfrequented and dangerous paths. Many hundreds died from heat in the comparatively low Sikkim valley. Forage was inadequate and little could be bought along these solitary tracks. A somewhat unfair jibe of the time suggested that the Indian Government believed that yaks were capable of sustaining life on pure snow. In 1904 the Nepalese Government furnished many thousands of highly efficient porters for carrying our supplies upon the long line of communications.

In February 1904 Lord Curzon telegraphed to the Secretary of State the opinion of the Maharaja about the Mission. His prophecy turned out to be more correct than that of other observers. " He informed me that the Tibetans would oppose the Mission, and he expressed the opinion that we might be compelled to proceed to Lhasa to conclude a treaty, unless the Tibetans made an attack upon us and received severe punishment, in which case they might be willing to negotiate at Gyantse."

But Chandra had not confined his advice and help to the side of the Indian Government. From the beginning he sent instructions to the Nepalese Envoy in Lhasa, Captain Jit Bahadur, to convey to the Dalai Lama and the Council of State the necessity of meeting the British delegation early on their journey in order to prevent the serious consequences that might otherwise ensue. But the replies of Jit Bahadur were by no means encouraging. He said that he was given no opportunity of conveying the Maharaja's message to the Dalai Lama himself, and that the Council of State was too weak to deal with the question, urgent as it was. He had indeed obtained an assurance that the rumour of an agreement between Russia and Tibet was untrue, and was of the opinion that it had been set on foot to create friction between Nepal and Tibet.

The Envoy in Lhasa having failed to secure the attention of the Dalai Lama, the Maharaja wrote directly to the four Kazis of Tibet in the autumn of 1903 before the advance of Colonel Younghusband's Mission to Gyantse. After reproaching the Tibetan Government with its failure to send plenipotentiaries to Khamba Jong and Tuna and with the silence with which his own representations had been received, he went on to offer the Tibetan

Government serious and well-informed advice. He accepted the assurance made to the Nepalese Envoy by the Kazis that there was no truth in the reported agreement between Tibet and Russia, but his letter did not leave them in any doubt of his view that the treaty between his country and that of the Dalai Lama justified him in gravely warning the Tibetans of the folly of their action. It was improper, contended the Nepalese Prime Minister, to declare that the treaty of 1890 was not binding upon the Tibetans because it had been made by the Chinese and not by themselves. It had, he said, been settled at a time when the foreign relations of Tibet were entirely in the hands of the Chinese. Unless the Tibetans were willing to face the results of a rebellion against China and a total repudiation of all treaties entered into on their behalf by Peking, Tibet was bound to carry out the agreement of 1890. The Prime Minister of Nepal also pointed out that the experience of his own country had convinced the Nepalese of the fair dealing of Britain. The observance of the terms of the treaty of 1816 by both sides had been advantageous to the Government of Nepal; and, he added, their religious interests had not suffered in any way. Since that treaty was made the British Government had on different occasions restored to Nepal territories lost in the war of 1814-16 which were now producing a revenue of many lakhs of rupees. The British had consistently helped the Nepalese to maintain the independence of their country, though if they had wished to act in an unjust manner they might without doubt have deprived them of it. A notable feature in the relations of the Nepalese with the British was that the latter had held sacred all Nepalese religious and social prejudices. Hence, if the Tibetans would even now take time by the forelock, settle the questions in dispute, and behave to the British in a friendly manner, he was sure that Tibet would, like Nepal, derive much benefit from the alliance. That the British Government had any designs upon the independence of Tibet was supported by no evidence, and was contrary to common sense. " It is well known that the sun never sets upon the British dominions, and that the sovereign of such a vast empire should entertain designs of unjustly and improperly taking the mountainous country of the Tibetans should never cross your minds." The Maharaja followed up this sage advice by an unveiled warning that should it be neglected by the Lhasa Government, he would decline to assist them in the trouble which would inevitably ensue. The Indian Government, he said, was acting within its rights and it was as unwise as it was unjust to treat Colonel Younghusband as an enemy. He concluded with the remark that the Tibetan Kazis were assuming a heavy responsibility in rejecting the counsels of the Chinese Amban, or Resident, in Lhasa.

The Tibetans refused to send an envoy of any description to treat with Colonel Younghusband, and despatched troops to oppose by armed force the forward movement of the Mission at the Hot Springs near Tuna, in

Red Idol Gorge, in the Gyantse valley, and on the Kara la. The most serious danger consisted in the persistent bombardment from Gyantse Jong of the Mission in Chang lo post during the absence in India of a large part of the escort and at a time when an armistice had been agreed to by both sides. This was continued for two months, and rendered it impossible for the British Government to accept any other issue of the Mission than a thorough understanding with the authorities in Lhasa.

The Maharaja saw the gravity of the situation thus produced and informed the Resident that he had received a letter and some presents from the Dalai Lama, who, however, made no reference to the Mission. This omission led Chandra to think that the Dalai Lama was kept in ignorance of what was going on,[1] and he wrote an outspoken answer. He did not hesitate to warn the Tibetans of the folly of challenging a great Power like India, and suggested, though with diplomatic correctness, that the incarnate Buddha had not been made fully acquainted with the facts of the situation. Once again he asked that a fully authorized representative should meet Younghusband and bring about a peaceful settlement. From the point of view of Nepal it was, as Chandra saw, essential that Tibet should not be so weakened by a struggle with Great Britain that China should find her an easy prey.

But the Tibetans hardened their hearts. They insisted on the return of the Mission to Indian territory before negotiations should begin. The British naturally replied that they had waited many years in their own territory for the promised negotiations, and saw no reason to suppose that the Tibetans had any greater intention then they had had before of dealing seriously with the diplomatic questions that had arisen. Chandra made yet another attempt to bring the Tibetans to reason. In June 1904 he wrote a personal letter to the Dalai Lama. In it he referred to the advice which he had tendered in the previous year and which the Lhasan Government had rejected; and he again represented the folly of attempting wantonly to oppose the manifest weakness of Tibet to the strength of the British Empire. He went on to say that he could not believe that His Holiness had been given proper information on either of the points in dispute between India and Lhasa, or of the hopelessness of opposing the Mission by force. But the Dalai Lama proved as obdurate as his councillors, and the result of his obstinacy is a matter of history. Once the British expedition had arrived in Lhasa the Nepalese representative rendered invaluable service in the cause of peace and a better understanding between Tibet and Simla. On his return to India Colonel Younghusband wrote officially to testify to the goodwill shown by the Nepalese Envoy during the con-

[1] We have since discovered the political and diplomatic capacity of Tubdan Gyatso, and it is not now believed that ignorance of any kind explained His Holiness's action at this or any later period.

versations which led to the signature of the treaty, and this appreciation was followed by expressions of gratitude from the Government of India and from Lord Curzon.[1]

A little known but amusing incident of this campaign was the attempt of the Tibetans to make the British expedition believe that Nepal had sent its Gurkhas to the assistance of the Tibetans. The latter dressed up about five hundred of their own troops in an imitation of the Nepal uniform, and though the imitation was of no great accuracy, the British Mission was actually in some doubt about the matter. Representations were accordingly made in Katmandu, and the Resident was of course told that, on the face of it, the supposition that any Gurkhas had been sent to the aid of the Tibetans was absurd.

The formal thanks of the Government of India and the Viceroy's congratulations on the large part he had taken to bring the Tibetans to their senses were duly sent to the Maharaja. It is curious to note that, shortly before his flight, the Dalai Lama sent a despairing message to Chandra asking for the despatch of an experienced Nepalese official to assist in concluding the treaty. It was, however, too late to do this, and Jit Bahadur therefore acted upon the general instructions of the Nepal Government.

This was the first occasion on which the diplomatic insight and political prevision of Maharaja Chandra Sham Sher were highly tried. His position had at times been one of extreme difficulty, and from first to last he made no false step. Throughout the long expedition the part played by him was of good augury for the future. He maintained an impartial attitude. In trying to obtain for the British a peaceful hearing and a settlement of the points at issue with the Tibetans, he in no way forfeited the friendship and esteem of the latter. Indeed, towards the end of the negotiations in Lhasa the counsels of Chandra were admitted by the Tibetans themselves to have had great weight in the settlement which was then made.

It is the more to the Maharaja's credit that he undertook this office of peacemaker, because there is no doubt that one of the results of this settlement, the opening of the direct Chumbi Valley route between Tibet and India, has to a great extent diminished the volume of trade that had

[1] I may perhaps be allowed to quote here a reference to this Envoy which appears in my book *Lhasa* (1905):

"The Nepalese Resident met us when we reached Lhasa. . . . His overcoat was one of the most gorgeous pieces of Oriental embroidery that I had ever seen. Quietly dressed in all other respects, and personally an unassuming man, his outer garment made him recognized at the distance of a mile. It was of delicate pink satin sewn all over with silver and gold lace and imitation pearls, latticing down some really very fine embroidery in myrtle green and rose. He is a shrewd man and we owe him a debt of gratitude for the commonsense advice he always gave the Tibetans."—P.L.



HOUSE FRONT, KATMANDU

hitherto ebbed and flowed along the Kirong or Kuti roads through Nepal.[1] Nor was the Marshal blind to the probability that as a result of the expedition and the consequent weakening of Tibet's power of resistance the Government of China might be aroused, and might even re-establish its waning authority in that country in a manner that would not fail to affect the interests of Nepal. But confident, not merely in the military strength of his country but in the excellent relations which had been established between Nepal, India, and Tibet, Chandra did not hesitate to adopt the policy of intermediation which has been described. He was justified in his decision by the event, for though an immediate, and temporarily successful, effort was at once made by China to re-enforce its suzerainty over Tibet, the internal upheaval (1911-12) which resulted in the establishment of a Republic in China made it impossible for any efficient control to be permanently exercised over this remote province. It is indeed merely the pride of the Chinese which refuses to admit the diminution of their territory by an acre which still maintains their claim to the sovereignty over this organized state, of whose determination to vindicate her independence against all comers there is no question. At another time the collapse of the Celestial Empire would almost certainly have entailed the vigorous intervention of Russia. But the outbreak of the Great War and the subsequent Soviet revolution paralysed for the moment all effective interference on the part of Moscow. Even now there seems to be a new orientation of Russian interests in China. After long continued effort and the most careful and expensive propaganda the Soviet goal, as the result of its recent successes, seems to be nothing less than China proper. It need not be said that the absorption by the way of outer and inner Mongolia and of Sinkiang and Kansu will be none the less complete when Russia has time to consolidate her new territory. But at the moment she is entirely taken up with her penetration into the valley of the Yangtse and the Yellow River, and has neither time nor ability to deal with the Tibetan problem which she regards in exactly the same light as that in which she looks upon Afghanistan—as one of the two postern gates of India. Indeed, it was always rather the personal credulity of the late Tsar than any considered imperial policy that smoothed the way for Dorjieff's strange intrigue. With China Nepal remained, and remains, on friendly terms. Shortly after the assumption of power by Maharaja Chandra the Emperor of China conferred upon

[1] In discussing the effect upon Nepal of the establishment of direct relations between India and Tibet, Sir Charles Bell remarks how that Nepal's friendliness has at times led to her own injury. "Her trade routes have suffered; her position as an intermediary is gone. Still she treats these matters as side-issues and remains our true friend and ally. She allows us to recruit twenty thousand soldiers for the Indian Army, and that army knows no better soldiers than the twenty battalions of Gurkhas. During the world war some twenty per cent. of the adult males between the ages of eighteen and fifty were taken out of Nepal to aid the British and Indian forces."

him the honorary title of T'ung ling pingma kuo kan wang,[1] the highest rank in the Manchu army, and in 1903, on the occasion of the return of the quinquennial mission, special emissaries were despatched from Peking to Katmandu with robes of honour and other presents.

It may cause surprise to students of Asiatic history that at this moment there should be any need for anxiety in Nepal about the strenuous efforts that Tibet is making to free herself from the last trace of Chinese suzerainty or influence. If the matter is looked on from a military point of view, Tibet would have little chance should it come to actual war between herself and Nepal. It is true that a few Tibetans have been trained in elementary drill in Gyantse, and it is also true that the Indian Government has permitted the Tibetan Government to add to a small present of rifles the right to purchase a larger quantity. The policy of Simla in this matter is perfectly simple.[2] But the Tibetans have no arsenals worthy of the name, the flouting of their traditional link with China prevents them from obtaining the least military equipment from that country, and the experiences of the Mission of 1904 has proved the helplessness of Tibet against any invading force that can solve the problem of its own supply and transport. Therefore, with the deliberate intention of putting Tibet into a somewhat better position to defend its frontiers, and with an equally strong determination to interfere in no way with the internal affairs of that country, the Indian Government—now not merely a friend but the Power to which Tibet looks for its development and for its very existence—has conceded certain small privileges to Lhasa.[3]

The policy in foreign affairs which has been adopted by Maharaja

[1] See Appendix II, vol. i.

[2] The Indian Government could not disinterest itself in the avowed intention of Peking to turn Tibet into a Chinese province. Any such advance of Chinese military strength would have given India a North-Eastern as well as a North-Western question. Moreover, India was concerned in the maintenance of Tibet as a buffer State against Russian ambitions in India.

[3] A danger—"proximus Ucalegon"—that Chandra had foreseen as a result of the 1904 mission—the renewed predominance of China in Tibet—did indeed take place with startling rapidity. During the next few years Tibet, deprived of the presence of its Grand Lama, received such a double set-back to its self-confidence that the victorious Chinese re-asserted themselves in Lhasa. It was admitted by the Chinese Government that their intention was to reduce Tibet to the position of a mere province of China—and Nepal stood next in the line. It is difficult to foresee what the position might now have been had not the Chinese Revolution of 1912 upset all the calculations of Central Asia. As a result of that *coup d'état* the Chinese were obliged to withdraw their helpless troops from Tibet, and from that moment such apprehensions as still exist are concerned chiefly with an occasional threat of reprisals for Tibetan monastic arrogance on the frontier. It should, however, be borne in mind that the immunity from Chinese pressure that Tibet now enjoys is largely due to the internecine strife that is now (1927) distracting all China, and especially the province of Szechuan.

Chandra Sham Sher has just been dealt with at length. Briefly stated it is a continuation of the attitude of friendship and co-operation with India that his famous uncle originated. The vindication and maintenance in its last detail of the independence of Nepal has been the mainspring of her foreign policy for the past one hundred and ten years. For the last eighty years it has been seen that that end was best secured by a generous policy of friendship with the Indian Government and a readiness to lend the latter all possible support when, as has not infrequently happened, the mightier of the pair had sore need of the assistance of the lesser. This policy has now been crystallized in a Treaty which is given in Appendix XXIII.

With Tibet the relations of Katmandu have remained friendly. If it were not that the whole question of Tibet seems likely to be again discussed between the Indian and Chinese Governments, it might be sufficient to leave the story of Nepalese relations without further comment. But until the destiny of Tibet as an autonomous State free from interference by China is definitely and finally settled, Nepal will be compelled to keep a watchful and sometimes an anxious eye upon the fluid policy and chequered fortunes of Lhasa. That this is recognized by Great Britain is clear enough. It is perhaps necessary only to recall here the protest which was made on 26th February 1910 by the British Government.

" Great Britain, while disclaiming any desire to interfere in the internal administration of Tibet, cannot be indifferent to disturbances of the peace in a country which is her neighbour and on intimate terms with neighbouring States on her frontier and especially with Nepal, whom His Majesty's Government could not prevent from taking such steps to protect her interests as she may think necessary in the circumstances."

Here we have the root of the matter. There is not the slightest fear, so long as Chandra Sham Sher is arbiter of the destinies of Nepal, that any ill-considered movement against the interests of Tibet will be undertaken. But it is necessary to remember that should any policy, wise or unwise, be decided upon by Nepal, either during the Maharaja's lifetime or afterwards, the Indian Government would be unable to oppose it. At this moment [1] the exact position of Tibet still remains undecided and there seems little prospect that it will crystallize into any form of autonomy known to diplomacy for some years to come.

The Maharaja's first and last care has been the furtherance of the interests of Nepal. It is for that reason—the absence of all pretence on the part of the Maharaja that this has not been the touchstone and guiding principle of his life—that the Englishman trusts the Maharaja of Nepal as perhaps he trusts no other foreigner alive. Chandra has believed that in and through the English he could attain the security and prosperity for his people which are his only incentive and his only goal. When

[1] 1927

necessary he has maintained against the English a curious firmness, which has been as little misunderstood by Simla as he has misunderstood the occasions on which the British Government has been unable to respond fully to his wishes. The two Governments have faced each other as man to man and have spoken the same language. Brothers are they, and the bond between them now is so great that it cannot be broken.

In conclusion the situation may be summed up thus. Although India is anxious to make of Tibet an inviolable buffer against any hostile movement directed against India, she is as loyal as ever to the long tradition of alliance and friendship that has existed between herself and Nepal. As is said elsewhere, the only policy which she maintains towards Nepal is a policy of friendship, and we have already seen in what a generous spirit Nepal responds to this kindly feeling. We shall see in the next chapter that in a day of high trial Nepal, more perhaps than any other State in the long Allied line, gave, without hesitation and with full knowledge of the heavy blood tax that would be exacted from her, all that she had in men, in money, in food, and in Asiatic diplomacy, to help the English in the war for civilization.

CHAPTER XV

MAHARAJA CHANDRA SHAM SHER

DEATH OF THE MAHARANI—VISIT TO ENGLAND—KING-EMPEROR IN NEPAL—THE GREAT WAR—TREATY OF 1923

"Your magnificent response to the call to arms in this hour of trial will never be forgotten by me or my people."—KING GEORGE V (1914).

§ 1

ON the 11th February 1905 the Maharaja, to his intense and lasting grief, lost the companion of his life. The part played by women in the Orient is generally one of two things. Rarely it is one of dominating autocracy—almost universally it is one of complete insignificance. In the case of the Maharani it was neither. It is pleasant to remember that, secluded as she was, she had vindicated her personality far beyond the limits of her own home and had won for herself the cordial affection and reverence, not merely of the official circle that surrounded her husband, but of the inhabitants of the villages and fields of Nepal She was an unselfish, loving, and resolute woman, and she never showed her devotion to her husband more practically than in her determination, during the last few months of a life which she always knew to be doomed, to provide the Maharaja with a helpmeet for the time as well as with someone who should take her place as a worthy companion and colleague after she herself was gone. Marriage of the kind known in European royal circles as "morganatic" is an accepted practice in Nepal, but Chandra had never married more than one wife, and his disinclination for the left-handed alliances which were as common among the Nepalese as among neighbouring races, had no doubt helped to render the Maharani's married life happier than the bride of an Oriental potentate can always be certain of enjoying. A curious contest of wills therefore took place between the Prime Minister and his dying wife, each generously contending against the other's insistence until the illness of the Maharani won the day. Moreover she was able, twenty-four hours before she died, to obtain from the Maharaja a definite promise that her own place should be taken by a bride whom she had gone to great pains to bring to Nepal from Benares. The first Maharani's statue stands in Patan, which owes its pure water to her generosity, and her name is daily blessed by the people of this town for whose comfort she inaugurated the scheme at her own expense, though

one cannot help regretting that she died just before the fulfilment of her merciful idea.



THE BADA MAHARANI

In the same year Nepal suffered a keen disappointment. King George V, then Prince of Wales, repeated the visit to India which his father had made many years before. His Majesty is notoriously one of the best shots in Great Britain, and he had looked forward with keenest anticipation to

taking part in one of the great " shoots " of big game which Nepal, alone now of all the countries in the world, is able to organize in honour of a distinguished visitor. But this pleasure was to be postponed. During the months of preparation required for one of these great enterprises cholera broke out among the tens of thousands of beaters that had been collected. On hearing of this disaster the Prince at once recognized the necessity for abandoning the proposed sport, and in the letter in which he expressed his regret that the kindly intentions of the Maharaja had been defeated by circumstances beyond his control, he was careful to convey his sincere sympathy with those upon whom the pestilence had fallen.

Lord Kitchener, then Commander-in-Chief in India, paid a visit to Katmandu in the autumn of 1906. Reference has been made to the mutual friendship and esteem of the Prime Minister and Lord Kitchener, and it was a happy idea of the authorities of both Great Britain and Nepal that this visit should be made the occasion of exchanging between the visitor and his host the rank of General in the armies of which each was already so distinguished a commander. At this time Chandra was also made Honorary Colonel of the 4th Gurkha Rifles. General Woodyatt has written an account of Lord Kitchener's surprise at finding before him as he descended Chandragiri an intensively cultivated valley, dotted with flourishing little villages and houses that reminded him of Swiss chalets. Lord Kitchener, he says, in *Under Ten Viceroys*, had been carried down Chandragiri in a dooly—really a chair—while the present Commander-in-Chief, Sir William Birdwood, walked down—but couldn't raise his legs without pain for three days afterwards. Lord Kitchener's comment upon Katmandu is not without interest: " There I found marble palaces, lighted by electricity and full of Nepalese officers who are . . . always in uniform like a continental nation. The Maharaja was kindness itself, and meted out to us the most splendid hospitality, while his big review was excellently carried out by very soldierly-looking troops." A full parade of the Gurkha army was held in honour of the Indian Commander-in-Chief, who requited the courtesy with words that must have seemed to the Nepalese as great a compliment as the chary and discriminating Field-Marshal ever paid to any foreign corps.

" Should it fall to my lot to be appointed the leader of troops in case of serious war I should feel proud to have under my command the army of Nepal and to associate it with the Gurkhas of our army, who have long been recognized as some of our bravest and most efficient soldiers." The time was to come when his wish was fulfilled to the letter, and when the " Hampshire " went down with Lord Kitchener off the far northern islands, the minute guns in the Valley that paid him the last and greatest of military honours were ordered by one of his greatest admirers, and were sincere tokens of the regret that for a moment stunned Nepal as well as others of the allied States.

Early in 1907 the Prime Minister went down to Calcutta to pay a visit to the Earl of Minto. Full honours were again paid to him by the Indian Government, and he was once more lodged in Hastings House. The 4th Gurkha Rifles, his own regiment, took this opportunity to present him with an address, and begged his acceptance of a sword of honour.

§ 2

Visit to England.—But wider travel than this was in store for the Marshal. Recognizing that personal observation was the only means of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the civilization of the West, or of so much of it as could profitably be absorbed by his people, Chandra, like his uncle, suggested to the Indian Government that he should pay a visit to Great Britain. Besides the purpose just referred to, there were many points concerned with his external relations that he wished to see finally cleared up—points which could best be discussed in London directly between the British Government and himself. Above all, he wished to make clear once and for all the status of Nepal as an absolutely independent and sovereign state.[1] But more practical considerations were not missing. The Maharaja was also anxious to secure—and the Indian Government were not unwilling in this matter to have their policy reconsidered by the direct attention of the British Government—a continuous and unconditioned supply of ammunition and other munitions of war, for which the special assent of the Government in Calcutta had hitherto been necessary. Finally, in his anxiety to raise the standard of life and prosperity in his country, the Maharaja was also desirous of clearing the way for the free importation of industrial, agricultural, and scientific machinery into Nepal.

A cordial invitation from the British Government was at once received, and the news of the impending visit was published in London. The incident caused considerable interest in England. Other princes of Indian blood and religion had, it is true, visited England since Jang Bahadur. In most cases they had found it necessary to propitiate the prejudice of Hinduism which forbids the faithful servant of Vishnu or Shiva to cross the "black water." A justification, however, was readily forthcoming. The special

[1] In the fourth and the nineteenth volumes of the 1907 edition of the Imperial Gazetteer of India statements will be found which show that even then the compilers had failed to understand that the presence of a Resident in Katmandu was nothing more than the establishment of a diplomatic representative in the capital of an independent state. The mistake thus made did not, indeed, lead to any practical difficulty with the Indian authorities, who were well aware of the actual relations between themselves and the Himalayan kingdom. But it led to misunderstandings abroad in other countries, and was resented by the natural pride of the Nepalese. A technical difficulty due to a similar misunderstanding of the Maharaja's actual position as the ambassador of a sovereign state had arisen in connection with Chandra's visit to Calcutta in 1903.

relations between these princes and the British Government had been deemed to be a sufficient excuse for their travels, though in all cases the most stringent precautions were taken that the regulations of caste should be scrupulously respected. It was regarded in England as a more remarkable thing and a special courtesy to the King Emperor that an independent prince, who by birth, training, and personal preference was directly bound by the law and custom of his Hindu faith but was under no tie of allegiance or obligation, should attempt this enterprise. It is doubtful, however, whether anything of this growing interest reached the ears of Chandra, who had already established himself as one who, as a rule, did not encourage either compliment or criticism even from his immediate friends. To those who looked a little below the surface, the most remarkable part of this journey to Europe was, perhaps, the fact that the situation in Nepal was already so secure that the prolonged absence of the Chief Executive could safely be contemplated.

The Maharaja bade farewell to the King and to the Valley of Katmandu on the 6th April 1908 amid a scene of great enthusiasm. The occasion was graced by certain omens of a most auspicious nature. A local chronicler makes the note that whether these manifestations were indeed omens or not, " by the grace of a benign Providence, not one of the big party, which consisted of twenty-two members, had the least complaint—not even a slight headache—throughout the whole period of full five months' absence from home." The journey through India, which was characterized by a perfection of organization which a commander accustomed to good staff work must have appreciated, was so arranged as to afford an occasion of visiting certain religious and other centres which the Maharaja had not had the opportunity of inspecting hitherto. He broke his journey at several points and everywhere was received with full military honours. In Bombay he was joined by Major Manners-Smith, V.C., who had been detailed to act as his political attaché during the visit to Europe. He spent four days resting in a house close to the Governor's " village " at the extreme end of Malabar Point. On the afternoon of the 17th April a salute of nineteen guns announced his departure from India.

He had chartered the steamship " City of Vienna " for the voyage to England and had had extensive interior alterations made in her to meet the religious and social needs of himself and his staff. He took with him a suite of twenty-two persons, and the English section of the party, under Major Manners-Smith, numbered fourteen. It may be imagined that the passage of the Red Sea late in April proved somewhat trying to those of the travellers whose experience of hot weather had hitherto been tempered by the cool nights and mountain breezes of the Valley of Nepal. The " City of Vienna " arrived at Suez early on the 28th April, and Port Said was reached without any more serious accident than a temporary stranding in

the Canal. Here the Maharaja went on shore, more for exercise than for sight-seeing—most of all, perhaps, to avoid the unpleasantness of coaling. The original intention had been to approach England through Constantinople and the line of the Orient Express, but this had been abandoned for the usual sea journey to Marseilles—a change which enabled the Maharaja to visit Malta, where the Duke of Connaught extended the heartiest of welcomes to him. He landed at Marseilles on the 6th May. The day was spent there and in the evening the Maharaja entered his special train for Calais. London was reached late in the afternoon of the 8th. A royal carriage awaited the Maharaja at Victoria Station, where a large crowd had collected to catch the first glimpse of a man whose position, personality, and Oriental setting had awakened great interest in England. Mortimer House in Halkin Street, Belgravia, had been placed at the disposal of the Maharaja by the British Government and thither he and his staff were at once driven.

It would be far too long a task to retell in full the story of the interest which the Maharaja excited wherever he went and of the popularity he achieved. A large amount of the time was of course taken up with ceremonial visits and sightseeing. But Chandra did not forget the chief purposes of his journey, and achieved the main objects of his long travel. He received with good nature the information that some of his minor ambitions could not be realized at once. During his visit to London he had been persuaded to cancel a large order for maxims. He took a graceful revenge by the instant offer of a certain number of machine guns to the British army as soon as the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 had demonstrated the urgent need that existed for these weapons.

His Highness naturally saw much of the King and Queen. King Edward was immediately attracted by this man of men, who for a moment threw the almost forgotten light of autocracy across the humdrum and beaten tracks of constitutional Europe. It chanced that his visit coincided with that of President Fallières; and it is not unfair to that excellent statesman to say that the dominating personality of the Maharaja—together, perhaps, with the magnificent jewels that formed part of his official uniform—lent him in the eyes of London crowds a distinction that it was difficult for the civilized representative of a great Republic—permitted to make an official appearance whether by day or night only in the severest of evening clothes—to rival. It was not only the Occidental that suffered in this comparison. One or two Indian princes were in London at the same time as Chandra, but the leading London newspapers had no eyes for them. Public interest concentrated upon the jewelled head-dress which the Maharaja wore on occasions of high ceremony. "The gorgeous jewels in the turbans of the Indian princes," said one, "were as nothing to the diamonds worn by the Maharaja. A kind of helmet, with an enormous sweep of osprey feathers,

was one glittering mass of precious stones. The members of the Maharaja's suite wore almost as many jewels, so that even the most scintillating of the boxes at the gala performance of the Opera paled by contrast."[1]

On the 28th May Chandra visited Dover, where a fleet of about fifty warships was collected in honour of the visit of the French President. Soon afterwards the Maharaja inspected some of the great industrial centres. His visit to England was prompted by many motives, and though the organization of Nepal as an industrial state will be left for his successors to carry out, he thus obtained a clear view of the standards that would guide him in laying the foundation for such a development.

Among the pleasantest reminiscences of his stay in England were two visits that he paid to Wilton House and to Longford Castle, both near Salisbury. A casual reader might imagine that the life within these characteristic English country seats would be an entire novelty to the ruler of a remote Himalayan kingdom. But as a matter of fact, not merely in his own palace at Katmandu but, in a lesser degree, among the residences of his own relations and the princes of the blood royal, the comforts and standards of life have, wherever the regulations of caste permit it, been closely approximated to those of Europe.

Among other distractions the Maharaja's interest in horses and in the motors which have nearly superseded them, took him both to the race-track at Brooklands and to the May Day cart-horse parade in Regent's Park. Soon afterwards he went down to Aldershot, where field manœuvres were carried out in and around the Long Valley, and there was subsequently a review on Laffan's Plain of all the troops engaged. To Chandra not the least interesting sight of the day was that of a contingent of Sikhs and of certain non-commissioned officers from other native Indian regiments who happened to be going through their training in Aldershot at that time and were greeted by him with a few straight words of encouragement and remembrance. A visit to Windsor Castle, where he was once more received with especial honour by the King and Queen; a dinner at which all his old friends then in London, chiefly officers of the Gurkha regiments, were present; an examination of the Port of London and of Woolwich Arsenal —which probably interested him far more; an afternoon at the great annual gathering of racing society at Ascot; an exhibition of naval tactics, viewed from the flagship of the home fleet, H.M.S. "Dreadnought"— these by no means exhausted the full tale of his visits, nor, it may be added, interfered with the real purposes of the Maharaja's presence in England.

The King made Chandra a guest of honour at a garden party given at Windsor Castle, and by his side witnessed the international horse show at Olympia. The Maharaja visited Oxford during Commemoration Week,

[1] The feathers are not those of the osprey but of the bird of paradise, and the reporter omitted altogether the most remarkable and historical features of this coronel.

in order to receive the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law from the hands of the Chancellor of the University, his old friend, Lord Curzon.[1] In connection with this visit the words of the Oxford *Chronicle* may be quoted: "The Prime Minister of Nepal was introduced by the Public Orator as a statesman who had guided the foreign policy of his country and added to the strength of its military position; he had also been in his time a student and had successfully passed the examinations in the University of Calcutta, of which Lord Curzon was chancellor during the six years of his viceroyalty. The King and Queen had already received their distinguished guest with a welcome due to a friend and ally, and the University now willingly added its meed of recognition." The next day the Maharaja paid a visit to Hackwood, one of the late Lord Curzon's country houses. In the uniform of a Major-General of the British army the Maharaja attended the picturesque ceremony of trooping the colours on the Horse Guards Parade.

The Maharaja, about whom were quickly woven sumptuous legends of an Oriental wealth and power that Harun-er-Rashid scarcely equalled, was soon a familiar figure to the public, not of London only, but of the whole country. His visits to Edinburgh, Sheffield, and Glasgow afforded those in Scotland and the provinces an opportunity of displaying a welcome not a whit less enthusiastic than that which Chandra had received in London. At Glasgow the Maharaja made a happy reference to the notorious sympathy that exists wherever the Gurkha and the Highlander meet in camp or field. After acknowledging the reference made by the Lord Provost to the association in arms of the two races, he went on to say, "But my experience here to-day and during the last few days in Edinburgh shows me that the friendship of the Scot for the Gurkha has a broader basis than mere comradeship in the field." On the return journey to London he made a halt at Sheffield and inspected with especial interest and attention the works of Messrs. Vickers and Maxim.

The last week of the Maharaja's residence in London was as busy as the rest of his visit. Scarcely anything of the first importance in the capital was left unvisited by him, and as a fitting climax to a most successful stay among the British people the King conferred upon the Maharaja the Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath. For this purpose the Maharaja, attended by his suite, went to Buckingham Palace on the 21st July, and the formality of investiture was gone through with full ceremony. The incident received the last touch of grace by the fact that, in recognition of the loyalty and friendly spirit that had always been shown by the Maharaja towards the British Government, the King, as a most exceptional honour, had had the star of the Order which he then pinned upon the Maharaja's breast set in diamonds.

[1] Subsequently the Maharaja presented a valuable collection of Sanskrit MSS. to the Bodleian.

On the following day the Maharaja left London on his return journey. He did not go without distributing large sums of money as subscriptions to the chief charities of London. Besides large gifts to King Edward's Hospital Fund and Queen Alexandra's Home for Officers' Widows, it is pleasant to remember that he forgot neither the poor who lived near Mortimer House in the parishes of St. Peter's, Eaton Square and St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, nor the Children's Holiday Fund. At his departure Chandra published in the *Times* of the 21st July a cordial letter of thanks to the King and Queen, to the princes and officials with whom he had been brought in contact, and to the people of Great Britain.

" Wherever we have gone we have found everyone anxious to make us feel that we were friends. I have been able to-day personally to thank their majesties the King and Queen; and I want to, and do, thank the British people for all their kindness and friendship. Yours is a great country. I have seen with admiration your splendid fleet and am proud that it is the fleet of our ally. But to me the greatness of your country is best seen in the good it has done for our great neighbour, India; in the peace, security of life and property, justice, and numerous other benefits it has given to that country.

" So I take my leave, with the wish that God may prosper the people of this country and their work, and by again saying how much I and my people have enjoyed the kind hospitality which has been so fully extended to us and for which we are all so thankful."

Almost every newspaper in the country wished the Nepalese visitor God-speed as he set out upon his return to Nepal. This journey was broken at Paris, where the Marshal placed a wreath upon the tomb of Napoleon. Afterwards a pleasant travel across Europe introduced to the party the half-familiar mountain scenery of the Alps. They could hardly have guessed that ten years later by the shore of the Lake of Geneva there would be buried, beside his British comrades, like himself fallen in the war, a Gurkha soldier of their own kith and kin whose dying words in hospital expressed the pleasure that he had had in being cared for to the last moment among the ice-clad mountain ranges that brought back to him the memory of his own gigantic Himalayan peaks.

A halt was made at Milan and the Maharaja visited the famous cathedral. Later on, Rome detained him for a few hours, where St. Peter's and the Colosseum excited much interest. At last Naples was reached, where the " City of Vienna " was awaiting her passengers. An expedition was made to the site of Pompeii, and on the next day the Maharaja's party left for India.

Instead of Bombay, the goal on this occasion was Tuticorin, the extreme southern point of the peninsula. From this place an interesting journey was made by rail and boat to the island temple of Rameshwaram, where

the Maharaja with his whole suite went through the necessary ceremonies of purification. The utmost care had been taken throughout the journey that in no circumstances whatever should the rules of caste be broken. But according to the strictly orthodox view, which the Maharaja holds as relentlessly as any man, it was inevitable that such long travel as he had undertaken might involve some unnoticed lapse from the high standard which it is customary and indeed easy for Kshatriyas to maintain at home. After the ceremony the Maharaja rejoined his steamer and proceeded to Calcutta. No halt was made here, and on the 25th of August, exactly a week after the visit to Rameshwaram, the frontier town of Birganj, just across the Raxaul stream, was reached. By the afternoon of the 27th, a day earlier than had been arranged, the Maharaja was again among his own people in Katmandu.

Great festivities welcomed the returned Maharaja-Marshal. Troops lined the roads and guards of honour awaited his arrival at every point. An official welcome was accorded to Chandra by the King in the Darbar chamber of the palace of Hanuman-Dhoka, whereat the fullest ceremony was observed. It began about three o'clock in the afternoon with the presentation in new form of an autograph letter from the King-Emperor to the King of Nepal, while the guns outside fired a royal salute of thirty-one guns.[1] The letter was dated from Buckingham Palace, 20th July, and was as follows:

"My Friend,—It has given me great pleasure to receive the kharita which has been delivered to me by Your Highness's Prime Minister. I appreciate very fully Your Highness's expressions of regard and loyal devotion, and I am gratified by the friendly terms in which you recall the memory of my visit to Nepal in 1876. I have also to thank you for the beautiful and interesting tokens of friendship which you have sent for my acceptance.

"It is my earnest wish that Nepal may ever increase in prosperity, and that the friendly relations which have so long existed between my country and Your Highness's State may be confirmed and strengthened.

"To this end it has afforded me great pleasure to receive the visit from

[1] This unusual number of guns is peculiar to India. The highest Indian chiefs receive the usual royal salute of twenty-one guns. The additional number is said to have been due to the forgetfulness of those who drew up the scale of salutes. Having given the four great Indian chiefs, the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Gaekwar of Baroda, the Maharaja of Mysore, and the Maharaja of Kashmir twenty-one guns each, it became necessary to give a larger number to the Viceroy, who was accordingly given thirty-one guns, the same salute as that fired in honour of the King at royal ceremonies in India.

When the King-Emperor is personally present in India his salute is one hundred and one guns on all official occasions. At ceremonies of the highest importance, such as the Imperial Darbar of 1911, this salute is fired not by single guns but by batteries, each gun being then represented by a salvo of six discharges.

Major-General His Excellency Sir Chandra Sham Sher, Your Highness's Prime Minister, who will, on his return to Nepal, be able to assure Your Highness of my good will towards yourself and good wishes for the prosperity of your State.

" I am, Your Highness's sincere friend

" EDWARD, R. et I."

The welcome of the Commander-in-Chief and the Bharadars, Gurus, Prohits, and the people of Nepal in general, was then read. After briefly reviewing the facts and distinctions of Chandra's life this address recalled with appreciation the industry, foresight, and efficiency with which the Maharaja had raised the standards of Nepal in all departments. The speech was, in fact, a record of the Maharaja's State services with which this and the following chapters deal at greater length. The Maharaja replied in fitting terms thanking the people of Nepal for their enthusiastic reception and laying especial stress upon the ability with which his brother, the Commander-in-Chief, had administered the State during his absence and had maintained cordial relations with the Government of India. After a brief speech, in harmony with the surroundings, by Colonel Macdonald, the Maharajadhiraja completed the ceremony by a brief but warm address of personal congratulation delivered from the throne.

§ 3

In the early months of 1908 the relations between Nepal and Tibet had become more strained than usual, and the possibility of hostilities was present to the minds of both parties. Now, Nepal lies under a certain strategic disadvantage which must be borne in mind if her attitude towards Tibet is wholly to be understood. Her contention is that the existing frontier is unduly favourable to Tibetan operations of war because at the northern ends of the two great passes of Kirong and Kuti there is a considerable indentation of Tibetan territory which had been wrested from Nepal in 1792.[1] Nor is this the only, or indeed the chief, strategic difficulty

[1] There is a difference as to the delimitation of the common frontier between Tibe and Nepal at several places. This dispute has not the importance that it would have o1 any other border line in the world. The fact that the frontier has been properly surveyed for but one-third of its extent, that it runs along watersheds that have not been properly traced, and the loose way in which well-known names such as Gosain-than, Kirong, and Kuti have been used, add to the difficulty. But the fact that diminishes the importance of the actual line is that for more than three-quarters of the whole frontier it runs through rock and snow, glaciers and ice-fields, which are entirely uninhabitable for any period in the year. Some time ago there was a suggestion that the scaling of Mount Everest and the proper surveying of its vicinity might have political as well as geological and meteorological interests. This is untrue so far as political interest is concerned. A

by which Nepal is faced. The existing frontier is so drawn that the Tibetans could, at their leisure, overcome many miles of difficult mountain and upland track and muster their forces at the head, say, of the Kirong pass, from which point there is a short and not extremely difficult descent to Nayakot. The Nepalese would have no right to protest against any concentration of the Tibetans on Tibetan soil and, failing any legal right to protest against it, might be compelled to precipitate the issue. It might well be that Nepal could not help doing so should she be called upon to defend what could only be defended by an immediate offensive.[1]

But this was not the only source of trouble. Mr. Chang in the winter of 1907-8 was already stretching out his hand towards Nepal, whose representative he informed that Tibet and Nepal, "being united like brothers, under the auspices of China, should work in harmony for the mutual good"—a tentative assumption of Chinese suzerainty over Nepal to be pressed or disavowed later by Mr. Chang's Government according as circumstances might suggest. But at this time the last Mission sent by Nepal was nearing Peking, and it is noteworthy that Mr. Chang should have thought it necessary to make these overtures. In themselves they amount to a confession that no suzerainty over Nepal was implied by the sending of a Mission to Peking. Mr. Chang had urged upon the Maharaja the blending of the Five Colours—China, Tibet, Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan. He compared Nepal, Bhutan, and Sikkim to the molar teeth lying side by side in a man's mouth. Shortly afterwards China demanded the right to enlist in her Tibetan contingent the Nepalese-Tibetan half-breeds of which there are a large number in and near Lhasa. It will be seen that this claim also raised in an indirect manner the suzerainty of China over Nepal as well as Tibet. Chandra rejected the demand, not least because it had become of urgent importance in the Sino-Tibetan dispute. Moreover, he brought things to a definite issue by repudiating in other matters the Chinese claim to suzerainty over Nepal. In the course of communications with the Indian Government, the latter assured him that so long as the

survey from a much lower altitude has already defined the frontier, and it is partly for that reason that the map of Eastern Nepal in this book is of especial importance.

There is a frontier dispute at a place called Nya-nam. The Tibetan representatives eventually made an agreement with the Nepalese Government ceding the territory in question to Nepal. The Tibetan Government refused to ratify this agreement and suggested that a British officer should arbitrate. No doubt this was mere bluff, as the Dalai Lama was well aware that no British officer would be allowed on Nepalese territory. This offer was rejected by Nepal and the matter still remains unsettled.

[1] I do not wish to disguise from the reader my own conviction that in no conceivable circumstances could the Tibetans carry out an attempted aggression against Nepal. But it is necessary to record the fact that the traditional antipathy that exists between Tibet and Nepal has partly blinded the eyes of the Nepalese people to this obvious fact.

existing friendly relations between India and Nepal continued, the latter might count upon the assistance of her great neighbour should she be threatened—the phrase is to be observed—from Tibetan territory.[1] On 31st March 1911 China, then on the eve of the revolution that effectually checked imperial extension, again demanded the right of enlistment of the half-breed. On 24th May of the same year the British Government declined to recognize China's claim and said that it would resist any attempt on the part of Peking to enforce it. Lord Morley could not be induced to do more than express pious hopes that the Chinese should not station troops on the Indian frontier. He advised the Foreign Office, however, that China should be told that the British Government would protect the integrity and rights of Nepal, Bhutan, and Sikkim. This was done. About the same time China reminded Katmandu that another quinquennial mission was due to start in 1912. After consultation with the Indian Government the Maharaja replied that it would be better to defer the despatch of the mission to a more propitious date; at the same time he asserted in the clearest manner that its despatch had never implied and would not then imply any condition of vassalage.[2] China was informed that Britain would assist the Nepalese and would undertake the defence of Sikkim and Bhutan—with which little territory we had signed a timely treaty—and Chandra was advised accordingly. But China continued her encroachment[3] and a special supply of munitions of war was sent by Calcutta to Katmandu in December 1911. In April 1912 the Maharaja informed the Resident that Nepal wished to see Tibet restored to its proper status of practical independence and that Nepal would help Tibet to attain this by all means that were sanctioned by the Government of India. At the same time he observed that if England left China a free hand in Tibet and thus brought China down to the frontier of Nepal, the northern boundary of the latter country should be rectified so that it might coincide with the natural southern watershed of the Tsangpo. On this occasion also the reinclusion of both Kuti and Kirong within Nepalese territory and the matter of Nepal's strategic disadvantage was brought once more upon the *tapis*. In 1912 the overthrow of the Chinese

[1] Sir Charles Bell remarks that as the British, by their own action, had lost the means of making Tibet a bulwark for the Indian frontier, they had to fall back upon the barrier of the Himalayan States. It does not seem that this is a final statement of the policy of the Indian Government.

[2] It may be remarked that the Chinese Government temporarily abolished the extra-territorial rights of the Nepalese in Tibet during their short occupation of the country before the revolution of 1912.

[3] On the 22nd of December a letter from the State Council of Lhasa appeared in Katmandu. The four Kazis asked for help against the threatening attitude of the Chinese. The demand was repeated at the beginning of 1912, but the Prime Minister did not think it necessary to send troops to assist Tibet against a power which, as he had himself reminded the Council, still possessed certain rights over Tibet.

imperial regime encouraged the Tibetans to throw the Chinese out of the country and take over for themselves the Chinese Maritime Customs post at Yatung.[1] The undefeated optimism characteristic of the Chinese race was shown on this occasion.

During his somewhat ignominious retreat through India—as it was impossible for the Chinese force to return by any Chinese route the Indian Government allowed them the use of the road through the Chumbi Valley down to Calcutta; Gurkhas escorted them on their passage—the Chinese High Commissioner made an offer to Nepal.[2] But the Himalayas had not yet become the lower jaw of China. Maharaja Chandra returned him a most courteous and at the same time delicately sarcastic reply.[3]

But the friction between Lhasa and Katmandu did not end with the peace agreement of August 1912. Nepal demanded and ultimately secured compensation for the material losses suffered by her nationals during the Chinese intrusion.[4] But some heat had been engendered by the dispute,

[1] News of the revolution in China reached the Chinese troops in Lhasa, and in a spirit of Bolshevism which has not yet received sufficient attention from Chinese students, they immediately cashiered their officers and set up a pinchbeck Republic based upon what was scarcely less than a reign of terror. The action of the Tibetans was instant, united, and successful. They drove out the Chinese intruders with an ease which might have led to excesses. At once the Nepal Government intervened to prevent the only too patent danger of vindictive reprisals against their tyrants. The Chinese themselves had long recognized the influence that Nepal exerted in Tibetan affairs, and characteristically enough attempted to win over the Maharaja's sympathies by offering to bestow upon him the highest order in the Chinese Empire. This, however, was parried by the Maharaja with such dexterity that the point was never reached at which the offer had to be declined.

[2] General Chang sent the following note to Peking and communicated it directly to Chandra. "The present Maharaja is an exceedingly well-informed man and is doing all that is possible to secure for his country power and prosperity. His subjects are a million times happier than the Tibetans. But the country under His Highness is small and there is no navy, and if a union could be made with the five races of China, the prospect for the future will be very brilliant."

[3] With Oriental pleonasm he thanked the General for his good intentions but assured him that the ancient Hindu kingdom of Nepal could not for a moment entertain the idea of a union with the affiliated races which constituted the glorious Republic of China. Nepal wished always to remain on friendly terms with her neighbour so long as her independence was strictly respected. And it was natural for her to rejoice at the assurance of the continued amity of China, which, "no doubt," was the real basis of the well-meant suggestion that General Chang had made. The Dalai Lama when taking refuge in Darjiling denied that the relations between China and Tibet were of the nature of those between an overlord and a vassal. "The relations between the two," he said, "are those between a layman and his priest. The priest receives help from the layman but does not become his subordinate." His Holiness asserted also that China would not rest content with her control over Tibet, but would try also to draw Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan into her net.

[4] It is to the credit of the Maharaja that the amount claimed, 134,894 rupees of Tibetan mohar, was not in excess of the material damage that had been proved after the strictest inquiry.

and the Dalai Lama, now again on his throne in the Potala, countered by a revival of the Chinese claim—this time on his own behalf—to enlist the half-breeds. From China this pretension could be listened to if not accepted, but coming from Tibet, which had exercised no authority over Nepal since A.D. 880, and was still paying Katmandu ten thousand rupees a year as an indemnity for the war of 1856, it seemed to imply a deliberately hostile attitude.

The difficulty blew over for the time. But from the English point of view it is worth while to consider what would have happened had Chandra forestalled the Tibetans by announcing the occupation of the ends of the passes. Such a rectification would have affected only a few hundred square miles of cliff and glacier, and the Tibetans after a formal protest would probably have accepted the occupation while they denied the annexation. But a storm of outside criticism would have fallen upon England. She would have been represented by a world that is apt to be censorious where her Empire is concerned, as the real author and instigator of this enterprise, and our imperial history would have been ransacked for precedents of such high-handed procedure. As has been said the world does not fully understand that Great Britain has for many years recognized the complete sovereignty of the kingdom of Nepal.[1]

§ 4

The news of the death of King Edward VII on the 6th May 1910 was received in Katmandu with deep regret. The personal relations between the late King-Emperor and the Maharaja had been of an especially friendly description, and the memory of royal hospitality in England was fresh in Chandra's mind. One hundred and one guns were fired on the Tundi Khel as a last farewell to one of the best friends of Nepal. The Prime Minister sent a letter expressing his sorrow to the new King George. The latter, in his answer, referred to the friendly relations which had been so warmly established between the Governments of Great Britain and Nepal.

Not long afterwards the intelligence came that the new Emperor intended to visit India with the Empress in order to hold a Darbar and announce in person his accession to the throne. That meeting, which was held with the fullest state and the revival of a hundred Oriental ceremonies and symbols which could with propriety be used in the presence of the Emperor alone, took place at Delhi in December 1911. The Maharaja was glad to take this opportunity to renew the invitation to a great shooting expedition in Nepal, greater even than that which had been prevented by the outbreak of cholera in 1906. This invitation was conveyed to London

[1] M. Sylvain Lévi himself has recently fallen into the error of supposing that it is only since the Great War that the sovereign status of Nepal has been recognized by Great Britain (*Journal des Débats*, 3rd March 1924).

early in 1911, and in reply His Majesty expressed his sincere pleasure, and the work of preparation was at once put in hand.

It is difficult to suggest to a European the enormous size of these battues and the infinite care, industry, and expense which is involved in organizing them. An army of beaters is employed for weeks and even months before the opening of the sport in driving before them the beasts that infest the warm, damp, rich jungles of lower Nepal. Steadily and with minute care all the greater game over an area that in some cases may exceed a thousand square miles is beaten down towards the selected district in the Tarai. Under the close and searching activity of these long lines the jungle is combed out with a care that is possible only in such a country as Nepal and under the conditions that prevail there. Into the selected area are driven rhinoceroses, elephants, tigers, leopards, bears, wild boar, and indeed the entire fauna of this happy hunting ground of big game. Ultimately, within the chosen area, which may measure some thirty or forty miles in length and perhaps ten in depth, a multitude of animals is concentrated and allowed to grow accustomed to its new surroundings. The Nepal Tarai, where it has not been reclaimed, presents a scene of the thickest and most tangled vegetation to be found anywhere in the world. The very reeds and bamboo grass through which the elephants make their painful way are in many places eighteen feet high. Underfoot the going is treacherous. Swamps are frequent, and the natural prudence of the elephant, which mistrusts the effect of its own bulk upon any unsteady soil, adds to the difficulty of forcing a way through.

After the arrival of the Maharaja's guests, two score and more of points, according to the information received at headquarters, are arranged, where the kills are tied up, and news is immediately sent in of the presence of tigers and the other beasts the Maharaja has had beaten in for his visitors' sport. Part of the game thus collected is stalked or ridden down in the open. But the most characteristic feature, and that by which the Nepalese Tarai shoots are known to the outer world, is the enormous ring of elephants by which the tigers reported overnight from the various "kills" are encircled and held prisoner till the dawn and the arrival of the guns. At times as many as two hundred and fifty elephants are employed for one circle. As the tiger is approached, the ring is contracted until a living wall of elephants, side by side, prevents the escape of the brute from the enclosed jungle. Immediately upon the arrival of the visitors ten or a dozen specially trained elephants are introduced into the circle thus made, which may be anything up to two hundred yards in diameter. These proceed at once to form in line and march into the patch of jungle in which the tiger is hidden, snapping the smaller trees like matches and treading out the undergrowth. It is astonishing to see the skill with which the hemmed-in beast will often attempt to hide from this close search. But eventually,

of course, he is discovered—much perhaps to the dismay of the particular elephant that happens to rouse him from his lair—and in making a dash for liberty the brute has to run the gauntlet of the waiting rifles. In any case he has but a scanty chance, and a moment's halt or hesitation is fatal. Sometimes, indeed, a tiger will charge the ring of elephants, and may succeed in creating a momentary panic, in the course of which he slips through to freedom. Sometimes he will spring upon the head of one of them and force him back out of the ring; but an elephant, though he may be desperately mauled, is quite capable of dealing with a tiger, and in few cases does the latter manage to make his escape. Leopards more often succeed, as the fear displayed by the elephants seems to increase in inverse ratio to the size of the animal making for them. It is amusing to watch the squealing panic that will at times be produced along a hundred feet of the elephant ring by the unexpected appearance of some jungle-cat no larger than a Scotch wildcat.

Once again a disappointment loomed on the horizon. While the guns were still sounding their salute at Delhi His Majesty the King of Nepal, whose health had been failing for a long time, passed away. No one had taken more interest in the preparations that were being made for his imperial visitor than the King, Prithwi Bir Vikram Sah. He had watched with satisfaction and pride the skilful and vigorous planning of the camps, the construction of the new corduroy road, the installation of telephones, and above all the slow concentration within the desired territory of the great game of his Tarai. Though he knew that his days were numbered, his greatest hope was that he might be allowed to welcome as his guest the Emperor of India. But after a long illness the feeble life flickered out in the early days of December. Before he died, however, he sent to King George, through the Maharaja, an earnest and heartfelt appeal that his death should not be allowed to interfere with the great preparations which it had been the pride of Nepal to make in honour of the Emperor's visit. The question was indeed a difficult one for King George to decide. A profound unwillingness to realize one of the dreams of his life at a moment when the host who had extended the invitation so warmly was no longer there to greet him fought with a sense that the last wish of the dying man was sacred. Consideration for the disappointment that would be caused to Nepal eventually won the day against his natural wish that the usual honours to a departed sovereign should be exactly and meticulously rendered, and at the earnest entreaty of the Maharaja, His Majesty consented to fulfil his engagement, and in spite of the cloud that naturally hung over the occasion, there was for the Nepalese the proud satisfaction that never in their history had the work of this unrivalled shoot been carried out so fully or with greater success, and their enthusiasm grew as

the moment approached when, for the first time since the days of Asoka, an Emperor of India was to visit Nepal.

The camps were arranged at Sukibhar, about thirty miles west-north-west from the British frontier station of Bikhna Thori; one at Sukibhar itself between the Rapti river and the Riu river within four miles of the point where the two streams fall together into the Kali Gandak; the other was at Kasra, seven miles to the east of Sukibhar on the southern bank of the Rapti. The former is about one mile from the Indian frontier, and the



KING PRITHWI BIR VIKRAM ṢAH

latter is about four times that distance. This district was chosen as it was the best rhinoceros haunt in Nepal. Tiger, as is well known, may be met with in many places in India, but the rhinoceros, though found in Assam and in some parts of northern Bengal, is practically extinct elsewhere, and the only place within an easy distance where rhinoceros shooting may be had is in these royal preserves under the Sidhara range, just outside the Indian border.[1] As may be imagined, King George's special shooting camp

[1] Rhinoceros is regarded in Nepal as royal game *par excellence*, and may not be shot except with the direct permission of the State.

was furnished with all the comforts of civilization, including electric light and hot and cold water. A far more necessary precaution was to be seen in the barbed wire entanglements which entirely surrounded the compound As may be imagined, if every beast of prey within a distance of sixty miles has been concentrated in a small area, it is necessary to guard against a counter attack. The Maharaja's own camp was situated a little lower down the Rapti. It held accommodation for twelve thousand followers, besides the elephants, and two thousand attendants upon them. The elephants used on this occasion—including a certain number borrowed from India—numbered more than six hundred. Five days of the ten spent in Nepal were passed at Sukibhar and were fully occupied by sport from early dawn till sunset. King George's own bag on this occasion was twenty-one tigers, ten rhinoceroses, and two bears; the total, including those secured by his party, being thirty-seven tigers, eighteen rhinoceroses, and four bears.[1]

At the same time a valuable Christmas gift was made by the Maharaja to King George. This consisted not merely of a large collection of Nepalese curios and manufactures of all kinds, including ivory carving and old silver, brass and woodcraft, but a considerable number of animals characteristic of all parts of Nepal. These included a rhinoceros calf, a baby elephant, and a tiger cub, besides adult specimens of tiger, leopard, bear, and snow leopard. Most remarkable of all was a specimen of the almost unknown Tibetan stag, of the Wapiti class, of which the heads had once or twice been secured by travellers, but of which no living specimen had ever even been seen, much less shot, by any white man until the Younghusband expedition to Lhasa broke into the hitherto virgin recesses of the Chumbi Valley. Besides these there were other kinds of deer and many cattle such as sambhur, thar, gharal, nilghai, and yak. A pair of single horned sheep made an interesting addition. General Kaiser had been chiefly concerned with making this collection, and King George expressed to him his great pleasure and satisfaction in becoming thus the owner of so many of the animals that were destined to fill needed gaps in the collection in the Zoological Gardens in London.

On Christmas Eve King George invested the Maharaja with the insignia of a Grand Commandership of the Royal Victorian Order, and at the same time gave him a gold Coronation Darbar medal. A more practical gift was that of two thousand Lee-Metford rifles and five million rounds of ammunition. Upon the Commander-in-Chief was conferred the K.C.V.O. Maharaja Chandra had received the additional honour of a salute of nineteen guns on Indian soil—a salute which will be rendered to all future Prime Ministers of Nepal on their visits to India. On the 27th December

[1] When King Edward visited Nepal as Prince of Wales the entire bag, including those secured by his companions on this occasion, was twenty-three tigers, of which fifteen fell to the Prince's rifle.

some fighting elephants were exhibited and two Mutiny veterans of the Nepalese army were presented. On the following day King George returned to India after having inspected four Nepalese regiments. He was escorted to the frontier station of Bikhna Thori by the Maharaja. The telegram that His Majesty sent is worth quoting in full. "Before the day closes I must again thank you from the bottom of my heart for all that you have done to make my visit to your country so happy. You have omitted nothing that could give to me and my staff the greatest possible enjoyment. You have shown me the finest sport in the world, which I assure you I have greatly appreciated: and its experiences will always be most delightful remembrances. In both the charming camps I was as comfortable as if in my own home. Dear Maharaja, I know I can always count upon you and your people as my truest friends." That this was a personal composition of King George and expressed his genuine feelings of gratitude and pleasure there can be no doubt.

§ 5

Death of the King.—The death of King Prithwi Bir Vikram Sah, which has been referred to, had been foreseen for a long time. The relations between him and Maharaja Chandra had been of the friendliest description, and it is not without interest to note the conclusion of a letter sent in acknowledgment of Chandra's congratulations on the occasion of the King's birthday in 1909: "With the never failing love and regard of him who prays for your ever increasing happiness and prosperity, and desires the continuance of your unbroken, kind affection." Exchanges of compliments between the higher officials of this world are often common form, but it would not be thought that the phrases just quoted were drawn from any conventional source. That at least the Maharaja believed in their sincerity is shown by the fact that he has enshrined the letter in a silver frame and placed it in his own writing room. But a more impressive proof of the deep gratitude entertained by the King for his great and principal servant is to be found in the speech which, on his death-bed, King Prithwi read out to the principal officers and officials of his kingdom. It is too long to quote in full, but in unmistakable phrases the dying King records his admiration for the masterly efficiency with which Maharaja Chandra had steered the "ship of State." After referring to the professional and spiritual assistance that had been evoked by the Maharaja to prolong the ebbing life, the King went on: "If you do not succeed do not be sorry. His will be done. You have done your best for me, for my beloved mother and family, and I am sure you will continue to do so in the future. Myself, my mother, and those of my race to come will never be able to repay you for what you have done. Should it please God I may welcome you back



H.M. MAHARAJADHIRAJA TRIBHUBANA BIR VIKRAM SAH AND HIS QUEENS

after the shoot. It is an onerous work that you have undertaken, and I hope I shall be spared to hear of the success of this work to which you have devoted so much time and labour. More I would like to say. The mind urges but the body fails. So long as God grants me consciousness—and may it please Him to allow me to take with me memories of you into the spirit life—I shall not cease to pray for the prosperity of one who ministered to my comforts more than my own father could. Maharaja, you have won my eternal benediction. Commander-in-Chief, Generals, and Bharadars, serve Maharaja Chandra Sham Sher faithfully. Remember that is your one duty."

The present King, Tribhubana Bir Vikram Sah Deva, was crowned on the 20th February 1913, and four days later the British Resident, Colonel Showers, presented to the boy-King the congratulations of the Government of India. The occasion was celebrated by the giving of dinners to about fifty thousand poor, military displays, public decorations, and a general amnesty to prisoners convicted of lesser offences. His accession made no change of any kind in the full authority with which Chandra Sham Sher continued to direct the whole policy of Nepal, foreign and domestic alike. It was a good thing, not merely for India, but for the Allies, that the affairs of Nepal were at this moment in strong hands, for though few were then able to read it, the warning of the Great War was already written on the wall, and the following pages will be devoted to the consideration of a national act on the part of Nepal far greater both in its extent and in its results than any that stood before in the records of this Himalayan State.

§ 6

The Great War.—Earlier than many even of those who were at head-quarters in London the Maharaja-Marshal seems to have recognized the inevitable character of the coming conflagration in Europe. That the assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne was likely to lead to the long dreaded explosion of European rivalries was an opinion expressed by him more than once in the course of the month of July 1914. On the 3rd August he sent a letter to the Resident expressing his fears. In it, more correctly than even some of the members of the British Cabinet, he summed up the inevitable action of the people of Great Britain should war actually break out; and then followed the offer which will remain for all time as one of the finest expressions of friendship between two peoples, differing in religion and custom but essentially one in their standards of justice and right, of which the East holds record. " I have come to request you to inform His Excellency the Viceroy, and through him the King Emperor, that the whole military resources of Nepal are at His Majesty's disposal. We shall be proud if we can be of any service, however little that may be. Though far from the scene of actual conflict we yield to none in

MAHARAJA CHANDRA SHAM SHER WITH H.M. THE KING-EMPEROR IN THE SHOOTING CAMP AT KASRA, 1911

our devotion and friendship to His Majesty's person and Empire. We have spoken of our friendship on many occasions; should time allow, we speak in deeds. May I say I am speaking to you in double capacity: firstly as Marshal of the Gurkhas, and secondly as Major-General in His Majesty's army."

It was not until the 6th August that the news came to Katmandu of the declaration of war between England and Germany. The following words by a chronicler of Nepal express well the attitude of the Gurkha people. " The deliberate disregard of the recognized principles of justice and freedom by Germany, supported by elaborate preparations extending over a quarter of a century and guarded by well thought-out schemes, clearly indicated a speedy termination of the war to be out of the question, and naturally put a terrible strain for the time being upon the neighbouring state of England. German intrigue carried the flame of the European conflict to Asiatic soil. The Great War gradually extended its field of operations until it comprised a dozen theatres of conflict, from Flanders to China. In such a dark hour for England the cloud that hung over its political firmament was marked by a silver lining—the true consistency and splendid loyalty of all her subjects at home and abroad and the devotion to her cause of her friends and allies everywhere. Nepal, as a small friendly state outside the borders of India, rose to the height of the occasion under Chandra Sham Sher, and rendered every assistance and help that was possible, considering the limited resources she possessed. Her help adds more to her glory when we consider the spirit that moved her to action. That spirit has nowhere been more appropriately and admirably described than in the words of Mr. Asquith at the Guildhall meeting held on the 19th May 1915: 'It was not founded on obligation but upon goodwill and sympathy.'"

This time there was no false pride and no delay. The British Government at once accepted with gratitude Nepal's offer. The first step was a request for a loan of six thousand troops from Nepal for general service within the borders of India. The Maharaja at once organized the drafts required, and, characteristically enough, was better than his word. Seventy-five hundred men left for India on the 3rd and 4th of March, in two detachments under the direction of General Baber Sham Sher, the Maharaja's second son, who was appointed Inspector-General of the Nepalese contingent and was attached to Army Headquarters in India. These four regiments, under the command of Commanding General Padma Sham Sher, the Maharaja's nephew, proceeded at once to the north-west frontier, while two other regiments—the crack battalions which constituted the personal bodyguard of the Maharaja—were attached to another force stationed in the United Provinces under General Tej Sham Sher. This great loan of the finest troops in Nepal was increased by the gratuitous

offer to the Government of India of the whole stock of Lee Enfield rifles which the State possessed at that time. These men replaced a larger number of British and other troops who were at once transported to the various theatres of war. The Maharaja fully understood that the need for his men would be continual, and he had no sooner despatched the first contingent than he set about training another. At the end of December three fresh regiments of a thousand men each left Nepal under the command of the Maharaja's third son, General Kaiser Sham Sher. Of these, two, under the command of Major-General Shere Sham Sher, the Maharaja's half-brother, joined the troops under General Padma in the north-west. A fourth battalion that followed six weeks later remained in the United Provinces. Here again the generosity of Nepal was marked. She had been asked for four thousand; she sent four thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven.

But it is not sufficient in war merely to send battalions; they must be kept up to their full strength; and from time to time new drafts were dispatched from Katmandu. Six hundred and fifty-eight men were sent in December 1916; ten hundred and fifty about a year later. A third draft of seven hundred and seventy-nine left in February 1918, and a fourth contingent of eighteen hundred men was on the point of marching south when the end of the War disappointed it of the hopes of service. Their chance was, however, still to come.

Thus we have in all a total of sixteen thousand five hundred and forty-four soldiers of first-rate quality freely loaned by Nepal at this crucial moment in the history of India. The Maharaja-Marshal addressed each one of these contingents on the eve of its departure. He impressed upon them that during their absence they would be not only fulfilling their duty to their sovereign and their Prime Minister, but would be serving their own country in the measure in which they served the cause of Great Britain also. In India their conduct was admirable. They were denied the thrill of the active service which their kith and kin were enjoying—there seems no other word to express the keen delight of the Gurkhas when the last diplomacy is finished and the guns begin to speak—in other fields. But it must not be supposed that their duties were merely the duties of peace. The north-west frontier offered only too many opportunities for the display of the characteristic Gurkha military efficiency. And more than once the Maharaja received from the Commander-in-Chief in India warmest congratulations upon the gallantry of his men. But the greatest service that Nepal rendered by its gift of men lay in the perfect freedom thus afforded the Indian Government to strip the country of troops that would otherwise have had to be retained. The presence of these men was more than a mere material help in the preservation of peace. It was a moral lesson. It was an encouragement to the orderly and the loyal and it was a significant warning to the discontented. Nor was the generosity of Nepal shown only

in this practical addition to the forces of a friendly neighbour. The Maharaja assumed a risk in thus depriving her territory of practically the whole of the finest fighting regiments in her army. A writer whom this double generosity did not escape sums up the characteristic qualities of the Gurkhas in words the truth of which will be recognized by all who have had to do with these mountaineers in arms. " They are very good shots, expert with the bayonet, most excellent hill fighters, and, in fact, regular first-line troops. They are extraordinarily well behaved and disciplined—crime being conspicuous by its absence—very pleasant to deal with, and, like all Gurkhas, the greater the hardships to be suffered the more cheerful they become."

In more stately terms the Viceroy of India expressed his appreciation of the qualities of the Gurkha contingents in a speech at the beginning of February 1919. After reciting the services to which allusion has just been made, His Excellency went on to praise the work done by the commanding officers in general and of General Baber Sham Sher in particular. He had been attached to the staff of the Commander-in-Chief as Inspector-General of the Nepalese contingent, and proved of the utmost assistance during the four years in which the good order of India was largely maintained by the generous support of his fellow countrymen.

But it was not only in India that the Gurkhas had done work for which the Viceroy expressed his deepest gratitude and admiration. " In France, in Mesopotamia, in Egypt, in Palestine, and Salonika your fellow countrymen have covered themselves with glory and worthily maintained the high fighting traditions of their race."

After the conclusion of the Viceroy's speech General Baber Sham Sher expressed the appreciation of the Nepalese contingent for the courtesy and consideration which had been extended to them during their stay in India.

It must be remembered that the supply of these contingents for service in India was only a small part of the help rendered to the fighting lines of the Allies. There were, in 1914, about twenty-six thousand Gurkhas forming part of the regular Indian army. These regiments, who naturally suffered a vastly greater wastage than those who remained in India, had to be kept up to their strength, so that, including non-combatant contingents, the number of men who actually left the country for all military purposes amounted to more than two hundred thousand. Mr. E. Candler quotes the words of a Gurkha during the War. " Asbahadur told me that he had met very few men of his own age near his home. In his village the women were doing the work, as they were in France; garrisoning of India by Nepalese troops had depleted the country of youth. He only met old men and cripples and boys." To obtain such numbers the whole country was quartered by Chandra and a new and intensive system of recruiting was put into force.

Another service rendered by the Maharaja was the issue of an official notification of mobilization to men of Gurkha regiments in the Indian army who were at home in Nepal. A special Nepalese mail service carried the warnings throughout the country, and the strict injunction of the Nepalese Government was added to this notice of recall. They were warned that the British recall would be enforced as rigidly and the penalty for refusal would be as severe as would have been the case in the Maharaja's own army.[1] To render this summons less troublesome special measures were enacted by which a moratorium was granted, through which the judicial rights of the absentees, the security of their holdings, and a compassionate treatment of overdue rents was secured. Local officers were appointed to deal with cases of hardship among the families of the men on service, and arrangements were made for the free carriage and distribution of the mails.

But a thing which to a Gurkha was more important than anything else remained still to be dealt with. We have seen that the Maharaja himself was obliged to undergo a special form of purification before he returned to Nepal from his journey overseas. This purification or dispensation is called Pani Patia, and the widespread importance of this rite when tens of thousands of Gurkhas were being employed abroad, led to a special arrangement between the Prime Minister and the supreme religious authority in Nepal, the Raj Guru. It was formally arranged that this dispensation should be granted automatically to all Gurkha soldiers who had proceeded abroad under the orders or with the consent of the Nepalese Government. To this there were two reasonable conditions attached. No man was wantonly to prolong his absence abroad beyond the absolutely necessary period: and each man was required to produce a certificate signed by a British officer that he had observed the regulations of his caste during his time of service abroad. It may be difficult for the Western reader to understand the nature of the boon that was thus secured by Chandra for the Gurkhas fighting by our side in extra-Indian fields, but of its magnitude there can be no question.

These precautions did not, however, prevent occasional ill-informed and even malicious comment upon the religious observances of the Gurkhas, and indeed of all Indian soldiers on foreign service. General Sir O'Moore Creagh, an ex-Commander-in-Chief in India, wrote to protest against these foolish reports.

" In every oversea expedition that leaves India complete arrangements are made to meet the caste and religious requirements of the men, both on

[1] Between August 1914 and November 1918 Nepal supplied no less than fifty-five thousand recruits for the Gurkha battalions of the Indian army, in addition to those furnished to other units such as the Assam and Burma military police, the Dacca police battalion, the Army Bearer Corps, the Labour Corps, and other similar formations.

board ship and at the place of its destination. This is the case in the present expeditions to France, Persia, and Africa. For example, beef is supplied to no Indian troops. When meat is used by either Hindus, Sikhs, or Moslems, it is the flesh of goats killed either by the men themselves or by camp followers of their caste. In the case of other food and water everything is done to meet the requirements of those concerned." He went on to point out that there was no truth whatever in the statement that the Gurkhas were given dispensation to eat beef and drink porter when they were camping, just as if they were British soldiers. "The Gurkhas in Nepal are Rajputs. They observe strictly all the Hindu customs of their most noble clan. To say they eat beef is an insult to them and is absolutely untrue; to say they could get a dispensation to do so when campaigning is equally untrue and mischievous; to lead it to be supposed that their British officers would—even in the impossible event of the men desiring to do so—countenance such a gross breach of caste and religious observance is equally wicked and injurious to these brave men and the government they serve."

Of the individual achievements by Gurkha regiments during the war it is invidious to speak, but the following words from Mr. Candler's book, *The Sepoy*, are a just and eloquent recognition of the sturdy gallantry of these hill fighters.

"The hill men of Nepal have stood the test as well as the best. Ask the Devons what they think of the 1/9th Gurkhas who fought on their flank on the Hai. Ask Kitchener's men and the Anzacs how the 5th and 6th bore themselves at Gallipoli, and read Ian Hamilton's report. Ask Townsend's Immortals how the 7th fought at Ctesiphon; and the British regiments who were at Mahomed Abdul Hassan and Istabulat what the 1st and 8th did in these hard-fought fights. Ask the gallant Hants Rowers against what odds the two Gurkha battalions forced the passage of the Tigris at Shumran on February 23rd. And ask the Commander of the Indian Corps what sort of fight the six Gurkha battalions put up in France."

On the last point we will follow the advice given and record the evidence of General Sir James Willcocks, the Commander referred to.

"Of the Indians who served with me in France, the Gurkhas were the first in the permanent trenches to bear the shock of a German attack. They laboured under great disadvantages in taking over trenches too deep for their stature, and that at a time when rain and slush made it impossible to remedy the defect. They took time to accustom themselves to the uncanny conditions, but the soldier from Nepal has a big heart in a small body; he has the dogged characteristic of the Britisher; he will return if he can to a trench from which he has been driven, and it will not be easy to turn him out a second time. After the first shocks they pulled themselves

together. Taciturn by nature, brave and loyal to a degree, the Gurkhas ended, as I knew they would, second to none."

Some notice of the work involved to support these contingents both in India and overseas may be given in order to keep in perspective the effort of Nepal compared with that of the Princes of India. In September 1914 the Nepal Government made a contribution of three hundred thousand rupees, which sum was increased by a donation from the Maharaja's private purse of two hundred and fifty-five thousand rupees. On the 1st January 1916 and 1917 a further sum of three hundred thousand rupees was offered through the Viceroy for any purpose in connection with the War. In the following year yet another two hundred thousand rupees was presented in honour of the silver wedding of the King and Queen.

But this offer of money was only a small part of the contribution of Nepal. Over five thousand maunds (four hundred thousand pounds) of cardamons, eighty-four thousand seven hundred pounds of tea, and a large quantity of army blankets and two hundred thousand broad-gauge sleepers contributed to the Indian railway free of royalty were included in this generosity. Reference has already been made to a great gift from the Maharaja in June 1915 of thirty-one machine guns. The number was gracefully decided by that of the imperial salute in India, but there must have been many who remembered that it did not differ from the number of machine-guns which Chandra had attempted without success to buy during his visit in 1908, and the free use of which without doubt would have been added to the other services which Nepal was rendering to the Allies at this moment. Another act of courtesy was the loan by Nepal of one hundred and twenty-five lakhs of British and Nepalese silver coins at a moment when the war scare had once more driven half India to the old and deplorable habit of burying specie beneath their hearthstones.

We may rest assured that the ultimate victory of the Allies was the greatest recognition and reward that the Maharaja could have wished to receive, and Nepal has indeed reason to be proud of her generosity and the unfailing support which she gave to the Indian Government. On the other hand it may fairly be said that British rule in India has never received before so deep a compliment as that which is implied by the willing and unprejudiced help given to it from outside its own dominions by a friendly people, who not only had every right to retain their soldiers and their funds for their own possible need, but deliberately and without hesitation threw themselves on the side of the English at a time when half Asia was secretly convinced that victory was a foregone conclusion for Germany.

A writer has summed up in words that it would be difficult to improve the nature of this alliance between Nepal and Britain. " I often wonder how many Englishmen have realized the extent of the sacrifices that this mountain principality, tempted by the specious promises of our enemies and

bound to us by no compact, made for Great Britain in the cause of freedom. I doubt if any of the belligerent powers directly interested lost so big a proportion of their fighting men. To little peaceful hamlets hung on the mountain side or nestling in Nepal's remote and lovely valleys, very far from the enthusiasms and excitement of mobilization and the contagious turmoil of military preparations, and threatened by no danger, the call came; and the hill men poured down, they knew not why save that they were summoned by their Government and their brethren. One saw them in the mud of Flanders, in the deserts of Mesopotamia, on the rocky slopes of Gallipoli, in the forests of Persian Gilan."

§ 7

The War was over, the Gurkha regiments had returned during the latter half of February 1919, and the Maharaja in an admirable allocution expressed the deep thanks of Nepal to God, who had restored to Nepal its legions, and the satisfaction and pleasure with which the Nepal Government looked back upon the gallantry and good discipline of the troops for whom it had been proud to be responsible. This appreciation of the honourable way in which the Nepalese had justified themselves in the battlefields of the Great War took the practical form of the distribution of two and a half lakhs of rupees among the men on service in India as well as overseas. An increase of pay was also hinted at, leave was granted to every man at the rate of one month clear at home for each year's service in the line, and altogether it seemed that the Gurkha battalions were about to enjoy the long and undisturbed rest to which their hard work had entitled them.

Bare as this description is of the help that Nepal rendered to the Empire in the days of her greatest trial, a reader, however casual, cannot fail to understand the importance of this free-will offering of lives, service, goods, and money in a cause with which Nepal was only connected because of her unwritten but long alliance with the Indian Government. Put into a few words it means that to the last man and the last mohar this mountain kingdom, without necessity or obligation of any kind, and knowing full well the results to herself should the Central Empires win the day, stood by our side from the first day until the last.

Nay, it is not enough to say the last. After the War was over when half the world was content to retire exhausted to its homes and, as a Nepalese said to me, lick its wounds, the foolish invasion of India by the Afghans two months later again raised an ominous cloud of trouble on the north-west frontier. This trouble the Maharaja, whose private information of frontier conditions is no whit behind that of the Intelligence Department in Simla, foresaw and suggested that the disbanding of the extra troops, raised in his country during the late War, should be postponed as well as

the leave granted to the troops who had just returned. Still following the ancient routine in this matter, the offer was received with gratitude but considered unnecessary for the moment. But the Maharaja's intelligence was right. Six months later—in May 1919—the Indian Government found itself face to face with a new Afghan war, and, unwilling as it was to call again upon the strained generosity of Nepal, had no other course open to it except to make another request for help, when the folly of Amanullah Khan darkened the Afghan border. The circumstances were peculiarly difficult. The regular Indian army was still largely depleted by the contingents that had remained overseas, and the suddenness of the attack from Kabul was rendered doubly inconvenient by the almost simultaneous outbreak of sedition in the Panjab. These two assaults upon the Indian Government had been intended to synchronize but, as is almost invariably the case with these hot-headed and ill-considered movements, each of them went off at half-cock. Though no co-ordination between them was actually achieved, and the internal revolt was crushed without difficulty, matters wore for three months an ugly complexion along the north-west frontier, for the Amir left no stone unturned to increase the religious prejudice of that turbulent district. The Maharaja under the circumstances might have found some difficulty in providing at once an adequate force to send to the assistance of India. But when fighting is in question there is never any trouble in obtaining the ready and cheerful—almost the gleeful—co-operation of the Gurkhas. Two thousand men moved at once from Katmandu on 2nd June 1919. Three days later the Maharaja, in a letter to the Viceroy, reviewed the situation in India. He expressed his admiration at the vigorous measures taken to restore law and order within the Empire and his amazement at the foolhardy action of the young Amir. Speaking of the leaders of sedition in India and the apostles of Bolshevism outside it he uses phrases that are not without importance in view of future possibilities as well as of the freedom from Swaraj intrigue that Nepal has enjoyed. " If any of the persons responsible for this attempt entertained the absurd idea of outside help and encouragement in their unholy work, they must know how utterly absurd such an idea is to every sane man of every government. In case it should recur, or the peace of India be threatened from outside, and any assistance from us be needed and asked, then Your Excellency and your Government may rely upon the Nepal Government and myself for rendering such help as is possible for us to give."

The two thousand Nepalese troops moved up to the Afghan front under the command of Commanding General Padma Sham Sher; and General Baber Sham Sher resumed, at his father's instructions, his position at the Army Headquarters in India. The mobilization of a large contingent was at once set on foot, but the Afghan War ended as rapidly and as

foolishly as it had begun, and the Nepalese contingent was able to return home after an absence of only three months. Nepal had, however, shown her readiness to face out the new trouble to the end, however long it might take, and the shortness of the service does not diminish the credit that is due to her for once again proving, even in a moment of exhaustion, her affection for the English and her deep-seated confidence in their rule.

In all history it is hard to find an exact parallel for the self-devotion of the Nepalese. Germany had, of course, done its worst in Nepal as in every other State that bordered on India. The beginnings of the War seemed to promise success for the German arms, and no one was in any doubt as to the treatment that would be accorded by a victorious Germany to those who had thrown in their lot with the Allies. There was no promise or understanding that compelled the Government of Nepal to come to the help of the British in any way whatever. Assuredly there was none that made the gigantic sacrifice of our mountain neighbour anything but the gratuitous proof of a practical alliance that will not lessen so long as the British Government shall have effective control of India. And, we might add, the reality of a friendship that would survive even the disaster of our retirement from full responsibility there.

Recognition of the great work done by Nepal has been as complete and as sincere as it lay within our power to make. The Maharaja, who in 1915 had been promoted to the rank of honorary Lieutenant-General in the British Army, was raised to the rank of full General soon after the termination of the War, and the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael and St. George—our Imperial Order *par excellence*—was bestowed upon him. On the occasion of the conferment upon the Prime Minister of this dignity, the relations between England and Nepal were thus summed up by the British Resident, Colonel Kennion: "I venture to think there is a vast difference between the relations existing between the two Governments when His Highness first assumed the reins of office nearly two decades ago, and the relations that existed at that momentous time, the autumn of 1914. During this period, thanks to goodwill on both sides, but mainly, I think, thanks to His Highness's political vision, sagacity, and, I may add, patriotism, the relations between the two Governments steadily improved. Frankness, confidence, and mutual understanding took the place of the somewhat suspicious friendship that previously existed. I cannot attempt to enumerate all that His Highness did during those four years of war and after. Let it suffice to say that in this great war, if the expression may be allowed, Nepal pulled her weight, and more than pulled her weight.[1]

[1] It would be interesting to know what meaning this expression, so full of significance to any Englishman, actually conveyed to the minds of the Resident's hearers; for there is scarcely a country in the world in which there are so few pieces of water, and boat racing is entirely unknown.

I should wish specially to mention here the distinguished services of General Sir Baber Sham Sher Jang and General Sir Padma Sham Sher Jang, and the magnificent contingents that His Highness sent to India. As for the Gurkha troops in the Indian Army, whether enlisted before the war or specially sent by His Highness for the war, they fought all over the world, and, as ever, maintained the grand tradition of their race for valour and self-sacrifice.... His Highness in 1901 found existing a limited, conditional and somewhat lukewarm friendship; he transformed it into a brotherhood, sealed by the comradeship of war in a righteous cause which, please God, will last as long as the British Empire and the Kingdom of Nepal endure.... General Sir Baber Sham Sher accompanied the Nepalese contingents to India as Inspector-General, in which capacity his work at headquarters was of an administrative kind. On prospects of active service occurring, true to Nepalese instincts, he at once went to the front. In both capacities his conspicuous talents won him the highest praise as an administrator among administrators and as a soldier amongst soldiers."

But it was difficult to devise any full recognition of such services as Nepal had rendered during the Great War. Of personal honours Great Britain was lavish to all who had taken a leading part in this struggle. But for a time the two Governments found it difficult to discover any form of national recognition that would in the slightest degree reflect the gratitude of England and her sense of the concord which, forged in these days of trial, links together the interests and the future of the Empire and the Kingdom. After many diplomatic enquiries and many courteous replies the Government of India came to the conclusion that an annual and unconditional gift of one million rupees in perpetuity would, in the long run, prove of greater benefit to Nepal than any other token that it was in the power of India to give. In Katmandu an addition of territory would probably have been more welcome than any monetary recognition. But this it was not in the power of the Government of India to grant. The settlement of Indian territory had progressed fast since 1858 when the last cession of Indian soil was made to Nepal, and this annual gift—for the Nepalese Government regards the word "subsidy" as inapplicable to this present and is anxious that it should not be used—was accepted in graceful terms by the Nepalese Government as the most useful alternative.[1]

[1] The exact phrase used by Lord Chelmsford, Viceroy of India, in communicating this offer to the King of Nepal in his letter of the 27th of December 1919 is of importance. "I am now addressing Your Majesty in order to convey to you the cordial thanks of my Government and to inform you that, as a recognition of the services (which have been rendered by the Nepalese troops during a period of nearly four years) and in testimony of the friendship which unites us, I am offering to Nepal on behalf of the Government of India, an annual present of ten lakhs of rupees to be paid in perpetuity unless and until the friendly relations which so happily subsist between the two countries are broken off. No other conditions whatever are attached to the offer." This phrase has since been defined

A question of some importance arises in connection with this annual gift. At present the payment of this sum lies in the hands of the Viceroy himself as chief of the Indian Foreign Office. It is exempt from all opposition, criticism, or restriction in the Indian Parliament as a "reserved subject," but should Great Britain determine to grant a measure of Home Rule to India under which all subjects at present reserved would be annually brought under the consideration of the Parliament, it is not impossible, though not probable, that when the budget is discussed some question may be made in the Assembly about this grant to Nepal.[1] Than such a discussion nothing could be more distasteful either to the British Government or to the Government of Nepal.

In October 1920 the Viceroy of India addressed the Maharaja by the courtesy title of "His Highness." This change in style symbolized the recognition of the unique position of the Prime Minister and Marshal of Nepal, and raised him to a plenipotentiary rank implying direct and permanent representation of his sovereign that no other public office in the world bestows except as a temporary dignity. A great Darbar in Katmandu was held by the King on the 21st November 1920 in celebration of the event just recorded and to provide an occasion for presentation to the Maharaja and other officers and officials of certain British dignities and decorations.

to mean "such a serious difference of opinion between the two Governments on matters of vital importance as would entail the withdrawal of the British Representative."

In the Prime Minister's reply accepting this offer, a reference is made to the Viceroy's explanation that money is offered only because it is impossible to repeat the retrocession of territory which expressed the gratitude of the Indian Government for the services of Nepal during the Mutiny of 1857 to 1858. Lord Chelmsford had said that it was impossible that the reward should take that form, and Chandra accepts the annual present "as forming the best available substitute for any restoration of territory." The Government of India subsequently announced that this annual grant was absolute and depended in no way upon the policy that the Government of Nepal might think fit to adopt. The assurances of the Government of India make it clear that nothing short of the withdrawal of the Envoy—which would be tantamount to the existence of a state of war—would terminate this grant. In no way whatever is it to be regarded as offering the least excuse for interference with the sovereignty of Nepal.

[1] Such canvassing of a recognition of India's gratitude to Nepal is improbable, however short the memory of new India may be, because if and when Home Rule is granted to India the payment of an annual present securing the goodwill of a neighbouring State of such military efficiency is one of the last items on her budget that India will be inclined to criticize. Moreover, if by any access of folly this annual grant be refused by the Indian Parliament, the situation thus created would be of grave importance—indeed, of such gravity that the mere seventy or eighty thousand pounds a year involved would be scarcely worth consideration. Still, it would be perhaps to the advantage of all that this payment should be secured by the creation of some form of Consolidated Fund, the establishment of which is advisable for other Indian purposes also—which shall be guaranteed by the British Government and exempt from Indian Parliamentary criticism.

§ 8

At the end of 1920 the Duke of Connaught visited India and the Maharaja was, of course, glad to take this opportunity of seeing again an old and honoured friend. He went to Calcutta, where Belvedere House, lately the residence of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, was opened for his convenience. The Duke did not fail to endorse in private conversation the cordial and sincere appreciation in England of the great services rendered to the Allies during the War by the Maharaja and his Government.

The Duke's presence in India was in substitution for the visit of the Prince of Wales. The latter, who had been unable to pay his long desired visit to India in 1920, was received by the Government and people of the Peninsula at the end of 1921. The Maharaja had inquired whether the Prince would like to have organized for him another of the great shoots in the Nepal Tarai with which the Darbar had welcomed his father and grandfather. A cordial acceptance of the offer was received and the Maharaja at once set to work to make the necessary preparations. His Royal Highness's visit took place between the 14th and 21st December 1921. The district of Chitawan was selected, and an elaborately furnished and palisaded camp was pitched for the Prince's reception at Bikhna Thori, close to the Indian frontier. Thirty-six miles of road were made suitable for motor-cars, extending twenty-nine miles to Kasra on the west of the camp, and seven miles to Shikaribas on the east of it. Thirty-two miles of telephone lines were also laid along the road. His Royal Highness's party consisted of the Earl of Cromer, Vice-Admiral Sir Lionel Halsey, Mr. G. de Montmorency, Colonel R. B. Worgan, Sir Godfrey Thomas, Lieut.-Col. F. O. Kinealy, Captain Dudley North, R.N., Captain the Hon Piers Legh, Lieutenant the Hon. B. A. A. Ogilvy, Lieut.-Col. C. O. Harvey, Surgeon-Commander A. C. W. Newport, Mr. H. A. F. Metcalfe, Mr. D. Petrie, Captain E. D. Metcalfe, Captain S. F. Poynder, Lieutenant Lord Louis Mountbatten, Sir Percival Phillips, Professor Rushbrooke Williams, Mr. Perceval Landon, and Mr. E. Villiers, together with official photographers and cinema operators. Altogether there were forty-nine Europeans and two hundred and fifty-three Indians in the royal camp. Four hundred and twenty-eight elephants were collected for the shoot. The total bag consisted of eighteen tigers, eight rhinoceroses, two bears, and two leopards. Two rhinoceroses were subsequently picked up, one of which had been tracked and shot by the Prince of Wales.

The killing of a rhinoceros is an event of no small importance in Nepal. The shikaris of the jungle naturally perhaps maintain longer than their more civilized fellows the nature-superstitions of their forefathers. As soon as the great brute has fallen, the beaters and others rush in to celebrate the death and secure from the fallen beast the precious ointments and

charms which are inherent in this emperor of all game. Everything that a man can detach or tear from his clothing is at once soaked in the thick blood oozing from the nostrils. It seems that this coagulated gore is used for a different purpose than that which ordains the smearing of the whiskers of a fallen tiger with his own gore. A few drops of rhinoceros blood smeared on the head of a dying man acts as a kind of viaticum and ensures for the sufferer a happy reincarnation. The head is then hacked off; which is a gruesome spectacle but one that is performed with extraordinary skill. The horn is credited with many magic properties, and scrapings from it are notoriously useful as an aphrodisiac. Otherwise the horn may be used for magic purposes and is therefore the first object coveted and taken away should an unguarded carcase be found in the jungle. Drinking cups are made of the horn, which are supposed to betray the presence of poison, but the associations are chiefly of a maleficent nature and are connected with putting spells upon or otherwise annoying one's enemies. Nor is this the full tale of the half-magic uses of a dead rhinoceros. There is a curious practice which seems to be connected with the conception of rebirth by which a symbolic entrance of the carapace of a dead rhinoceros by a man's descendants is held to assist his reincarnation. This is a belief that is widely held by the higher and lower classes of Nepal alike.

The days of the Prince of Wales's visit were spent in the pleasantest surroundings and in a luxury that was known to no Mogul on the march. The evenings were spent in concerts, exhibitions of Gurkha skill with kukhri and music, and General Baber and General Kaiser—who was responsible for all the arrangements of the shoot—often came into the Prince of Wales's camp and joined in the amusements of the night.

A valuable collection of beasts and birds had been got together for presentation to the Prince, and this was afterwards taken home and placed in the Zoological Gardens in London. In a letter to the Maharaja, written by His Royal Highness after his visit, he expressed his thanks for the infinite forethought and care that had provided for him so magnificent an opportunity for shooting big game. But he concluded by saying that more than anything else he valued the opportunity thus given of paying a personal visit to the kingdom of Nepal, which had rendered such assistance to Great Britain in the War, and of establishing personal relations with the Maharaja, in whose devotion and fidelity the King Emperor has reposed and continues to repose his grateful confidence.

§ 9

The Treaty of 1923.—During the next four years the steady progress of Nepal continued, and the policy, both domestic and foreign, that had been adopted by the Government was consistently pursued. The signature of a

new treaty between Nepal and Great Britain, on the 21st December 1923, brought to a happy conclusion the friendly negotiations that had been on foot for some time. In full state the ceremony of signature was performed in the Grand Council Hall of the palace. The British Resident was received with full military honours, and after the signature the conventional attar and pan were presented by His Highness to the British Minister, and the ceremony terminated by the escort of Colonel O'Connor to the British Residency by a troop of cavalry.

Two days' universal holiday and a general remission of three months of their sentences to prisoners other than life convicts were announced during the ceremony; Katmandu was illuminated that night and a few days later, and the poor were befriended by gifts of food and clothing on the Katmandu parade ground. The Treaty, which is given in full in Appendix XXIII, recites in its preamble that true friendship had been mutually and consistently shown by the Nepal Government and the British Government for over a hundred years, and that with the intention of still further strengthening the good relations between the two Governments this new agreement had been drawn up.

The first article provides for perpetual peace and friendship and for the mutual recognition of the independence of the two Governments. The second confirms all the previous treaties and agreements since the Treaty of Sagauli of 1815, except in so far as they are varied by the present Treaty. The third article is cast in a more material shape. Both parties to this Treaty agree to communicate at once any misunderstanding or friction with neighbouring States likely to interfere with the friendly relations between Great Britain and Nepal, and to do whatever is possible to remove the cause of trouble. It will be seen that an actual defensive alliance is not contemplated, but the union between the two kingdoms is further secured by an undertaking that neither should permit its territory to be used to the detriment of the other. The fifth article provides that the Government of Nepal shall be free to import from or through British India whatever arms and warlike stores may be needed for the strength and welfare of the former country. This arrangement shall hold good in perpetuity unless and until the British Government shall have reason to fear that there is danger to the peace and order of India due to such importation. The Nepal Government on its side undertakes that there shall be no export of arms and warlike material across the frontier of Nepal either by the Nepal Government or by private individuals. This article is qualified by a proviso that should the British Government become a party to any future international regulation of the Arms Traffic, the right of importation of arms and ammunition by the Nepal Government shall await the adhesion of that Government to the Convention, and that thereafter such importation shall be made in accordance with the provisions of the Covenant.

By the sixth article it is provided that no customs duties shall be levied at British Indian ports on goods in transit to the Nepal Government, provided that a sufficient certificate to that effect is presented to the customs officer at the port. The certificate shall set forth that the goods are the property of Nepal, are required in the public service of that State, are not imported for the purpose of trade, and are being sent to Nepal by order of the Nepal Government. This concession on the part of the British Government was increased by a remission also of duties upon trade goods imported at British India ports for immediate transmission in bulk to Katmandu.

The Treaty was signed on the part of the British Government by Lieutenant-Colonel W. F. T. O'Connor, C.V.O., C.I.E., British Envoy, and on the part of the Nepal Government by the Maharaja. . The speech delivered by the British Envoy after the signature of the Treaty recalled the uninterrupted peace and loyal friendship that had reigned between the two countries since the Treaty of Sagauli. Colonel O'Connor recapitulated the magnificent effort that Nepal had voluntarily made on behalf of the allied nations during the Great War. And he added the curious and significant comment that, in proportion to the resources and population of the country, it compared favourably with the effort of any of the Allies. It had been estimated, he said, that no less than two hundred thousand, or nearly one quarter of the total of those who, by any stretch of the term, could be called the fighting classes of Nepal, served in some capacity during the War. After noting the assistance given by the Nepal Darbar, he referred to the good fortune that Nepal and the British Government had alike enjoyed in possessing as their Minister and ally so enlightened a statesman and so loyal a friend. " Not only has Nepal stood the strain but it has emerged stronger than before. In helping the cause of civilization Nepal has at the same time confirmed her own sturdy independence and has enhanced a reputation already high and honourable among the nations of the world." In reply the Maharaja addressed first his people, praying that the friendship between the two Governments would continue unabated and grow in solidarity for centuries to come. To Colonel O'Connor he made a graceful acknowledgement of the pleasure that Nepal felt in listening to the assurance that an abiding place in the memory of the British nation had been carved by its gratitude for and appreciation of the effort of Nepal. He then paid a well deserved compliment to the share which Colonel O'Connor had taken in bringing about the conclusion of the new Treaty, and then laid stress upon the acknowledgement by the British Government, absolute and unequivocal, of the independence of Nepal. He went on to say that he valued greatly the military and industrial facilities granted by the British Government, and his speech ended with a repetition of the debt which Nepal owed to the courtesy, patience, and fairness of the British Envoy.

The news of the signature was telegraphed to Delhi, and the Viceroy, Lord Reading, wrote before nightfall to convey his warm congratulations to the King of Nepal upon the successful conclusion of the Treaty. Next day complimentary telegrams were exchanged between the two high officials.

With this graceful incident the more important aspects of Nepalese relations with the outer world may now be said to have been described. But that outer world—and the feeling was not confined to Englishmen—had to give still further expression to the high honour and respect in which it holds Nepal. On 30th March 1925 a pleasant ceremony was held in Katmandu. The French nation, through its representatives, M. Daniel Lévi and M. Garreau-Dombasle, presented the Maharaja with the insignia of the high dignity of a Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour, which had been conferred upon His Highness by the President of the Republic on 17th October of the previous year. M. Lévi, in the address he delivered on this occasion, referred in stirring terms to France's remembrance of the valour of the Gurkhas during the war for civilization and paid a warm tribute to the work done by the Maharaja in the fields of peaceful progress also. He made special reference to the imminent abolition of slavery in Nepal through the strong action of the Prime Minister, and to the constant assistance he has rendered to French scientific missions in the country. This allusion to the great research of M. Sylvain Lévi, the father of the chief of the mission, was received with cordial pleasure and referred to later by His Highness.

The Maharaja, in his reply, spoke in moving terms of the brotherhood that sufferings in common had cemented, when the sons of the two countries, along with those of their great friend and ally, Britain, fought shoulder to shoulder in many a hard-fought battle and in death lay side by side on the field of glory. The possession of this high grade in the illustrious Order, hallowed as it was with the immortal name—a name which yet sends an electric thrill through every true soldier—of Napoleon was, he said, very dear to him, and he asked M. Lévi to convey to the President of the Council, and through him to the President of the Republic, his grateful thanks. In conclusion he alluded to the splendid work done by M. Sylvain Lévi "in lifting out of obscurity the ancient and glorious history—as he calls it—of this little kingdom."

A week later the British Envoy, Colonel W. F. T. O'Connor, had a similar graceful duty to perform in presenting a number of decorations to distinguished Nepalese officers. In a speech in which he allowed a touch of personal regret for his approaching retirement to colour the purely official nature of the occasion, the Envoy referred to the ripening of the old historic friendship between Britain and Nepal in fields of peace as well as those

of war, to the welcome given to the Prince of Wales, and, above all, to the conclusion of the new treaty between the two countries. The Maharaja, in his reply, alluded to the deep significance which the honours possessed —a significance which vastly increased their importance and the pleasure with which they had been received. He paid a well earned tribute to the work and personality of Colonel O'Connor, and referred to the very close ties of friendship and affection which bound him to the departing Envoy.

Perhaps, however, the words which will longest be remembered by that audience were those in which Colonel O'Connor summed up the attitude of Great Britain to the Maharaja himself, and it would be difficult to find a better phrase with which to close these chapters in which His Highness's activity and capacity in foreign matters have been studied and explained. "We all recognize that the guiding hand and the guiding spirit in shaping Nepal's destiny and policy are those of my friend His Highness the Maharaja Sir Chandra Sham Sher Jang.[1] My Government has frequently expressed its high appreciation of His Highness's services and character, and no public testimony to our mutual good relations would be complete without a tribute to his statesmanship and courage and to his loyalty to his friends and allies. I need say nothing more at this moment to assure His Highness that his services and support both in times of peace and in times of war will never be forgotten."

[1] Throughout this book the full sovereignty of Nepal has been in every case recognized. By a misunderstanding which has recurred in several cases, the distinctions awarded to Nepalese subjects have been supposed to confer the title of "Sir" upon their recipients. It cannot be too precisely or strongly laid down that no grant of an honorary title—and all grants of British titles to foreigners are honorary—confers the title of "Sir."

CHAPTER XVI

MAHARAJA CHANDRA SHAM SHER

SLAVERY—JUDICIAL AND SOCIAL REFORMS

"The Gurkhas are the best masters I have seen in India. Neither in the Tarai nor in the Hills, have I witnessed or heard of a single act of oppression since I arrived a year and a half ago, and a happier peasantry I have nowhere seen."—Sir HENRY LAWRENCE.

§ 1

SO far we have chiefly had under consideration the steps by which Nepal has vindicated its claim to independence in the family of nations and in particular the relations which it has maintained with its neighbours and with the British Government. It is now time to turn to the internal condition of the country, and it is perhaps in this section of the work that Asiatic students will find the chief interest which these volumes may possess. Reference has already been made to the fact that Nepal to this day presents the picture of an older India in many respects unaffected by the codes and administrative systems of the West, and it is therefore with special interest that the customs, standards, and progress of this Himalayan kingdom come to be studied. It should be said from the first that while the two great Maharajas of Nepal, Jang Bahadur and Chandra Sham Sher, have been strict in their maintenance of the natural development of their fellow countrymen along lines that are familiar to them, Oriental in their essence and uninfluenced by the theories and experiments of social life of other continents, there has been a steady and on the whole successful attempt to introduce into Nepal the material facilities and methods which a Western civilization has tested and found satisfactory. It is obvious that some of the inventions of modern science are inapplicable to a country which has no desire to adopt a democratic form of government, or to serve as a goal of travel, and little to act as a channel of communication between its neighbours. For example, it is not expedient to introduce there the doubtful blessing of the freedom of the press or mechanical transport for passengers. For the moment it will be of importance to note the manner in which, without infringing upon or even colouring with Western prejudices the national habits of thought in the people round him, Maharaja Chandra has endeavoured to guide along lines natural to the Nepalese not merely the progress that has been made in the material welfare, but such public opinion as can be said to exist in this contented backwater from the turbulent stream of modern history. "Of course," he said to me on one

occasion, " it will take time, I am afraid, for the people of this country to look kindly upon innovations, but perseverance and tact are sure to carry the day in the long run." The use of the powers of even such an autocrat as is the Prime Minister-Marshal of Nepal may bring about discontent and friction if they are employed in a way which is foreign to the temper of those who are thus ruled. But neither the Maharaja nor his great predecessor made any such mistake. If the broad liberalism that has characterized the policy of the Government were the rule rather than the exception among the inhabitants of Nepal, the development of that kingdom would have taken a speedier course. But there is no need for haste. Asia is littered with foolish experiments in government, the failure of each of which is to be traced to the folly of implanting Western ideas upon people not merely unready to benefit by them, but of a traditionally different habit of thought in regard to government. The solid nature of Nepal's independence and progress has been due to a constant recognition on the part of her rulers of the need of making a people understand as well as obey. If, therefore, in the following pages there seems to remain in Nepal much that to a Western mind is difficult to understand, and even inconsistent with the international position and brilliant services of the Gurkhas, it should be remembered that education—in the only sense of the word in which education is of value—is a plant of slow growth, and that the well intentioned reforms which are or are not conferring benefits upon India are regarded in Nepal with a mixture of astonishment and incredulity —not unmingled with thankfulness that neither Viceroy nor Secretary of State has any power whatever of influencing her own development.

At one time the Nepal Government adopted a policy which, in the circumstances, was natural. A small number of the sons of the aristocracy were sent to Japan to be trained in technical knowledge, especially in modern methods of engineering. It was thought that thus the advantages of modern science could be enjoyed by Nepal without the corresponding danger of the introduction of men imbued with Western principles of democracy. Even this comparatively slight departure from the traditions of the land met with some little criticism, but the Maharaja had his way, though whether at this moment he is satisfied that the Japanese offer the best channel for instruction in matters which, after all, are largely foreign to Japan herself, is perhaps to be doubted. But this and other experiments, such as the establishment of a " shresta pathshala," were necessary in order to test by practical application the methods that were best suited for the development of a body of expert officials. In general the aim of the Government has been to draw into the public service those classes of high social position which in the past had been content rather to strive than serve. It is impossible to create overnight such a class of men as, let us say, the Indian Civil Service, but beneath the policy thus adopted by Nepal may be read

a wish to draw into public life not merely the best brains in the country, but also and chiefly those to whose keeping the moral standards of Nepal could most safely be entrusted.

The administration of Nepal has followed lines which reflect its history. It will not be necessary to take the story earlier than 1768. Prithwi Narayan found it advisable to act much as William the Conqueror did in 1066. He created a feudal system of a military nature, assessed the revenues to be drawn from each part of the country in a rough but not unjust manner, and left it almost entirely to the feudal overlord to maintain order, collect and remit his dues to Katmandu, and execute justice. Brian Hodgson summed up the natural result of this policy as allowing the mesne lord and his soldiers to wring as much as they could out of the people. This, however, was not the hardship in an Asiatic country that those nursed in the liberalism of the West might imagine. A wise farmer has as little wish in the East as among ourselves to kill the goose that lays golden eggs, and there was, in case of absolute necessity, always an appeal to the despot in Katmandu who, for his own sake, was anxious that the revenues of the country should be encouraged rather than checked by unjust oppression. Moreover, here as everywhere else rough justice was secured by the rivalries and jealousies that existed between these feudal chieftains. The parallel with William might be continued in the habit of rewarding the officers of a victorious commander with land rather than money, but all tenants of freehold held directly from the King. The earlier administrators of modern Nepal have had scanty time in which to develop any consistent reformation of this rule of thumb government, and it has been only in recent years that the internal order of the country has enabled the Government to attempt a steady amelioration of the law.

The first thing that was needed was a reformation of the public departments of the State. Into these ancient channels a new spirit was breathed, and honesty and competence in administration gradually filtered down from Katmandu to the remotest village lost among the Himalayan snows. The spasmodic and uncertain right of appeal to the Government was confirmed and extended. Although the Maharaja has maintained in his conduct of State affairs something of the inaccessibility that has throughout all time been a feature of the administration of Oriental potentates, it is, as a matter of fact, easier for an aggrieved labourer on the land to obtain a direct hearing from Chandra than it would be for a ryot in a similar position to attract the personal attention of even a Commissioner in India. This is a system which works excellently well where a man of insight and experience forms this court of appeal, but the danger of any autocratic method of government often lies more in the uncertainty of the nature of his successor than in any real mistrust of the personal altruism or fairness of the man who has won his way to power. The Indian administration thus

provides the one necessary check upon a beneficent autocracy. It sees to it that a man's successor shall, if possible, be as good as himself. Reference will be made to the methods by which the land revenues are collected and the judicial and administrative needs of the country provided for. They work well beneath the eye of a man of capacity and determination. But it would be unwise not to realize that in spite of all the improvements that have been made, the administration of these departments would be looked upon by a globe-trotting Member of Parliament merely as an example of the manner in which the East understands Government—and is alas! contented with it. He would regret to find therein no illustration of the Occidental methods that many in the House of Commons are still attempting to foist upon an unwilling Orient. But, at any rate for many years to come, in this matter he would be wrong and Maharaja Chandra would be right. Against corruption in the public service the Nepal Government has taken a vigorous and steady stand, and so far as possible the Maharaja has seen to it that the wheels of good government shall continue to revolve long after his own steadying hand has been removed.

It will be remembered that Nepal has long been accustomed to the annual renewing of all appointments. It was at one of these paijnis that Bhim Sen first realized the weight of the opposition he had to encounter in spite of a brilliant and unhampered administration of the affairs of the country for some thirty years. This ceremony continues to-day in a much improved shape. It is the Prime Minister, the actual governor of the country, who thus reviews year after year the work of those who serve with him. Naturally the changes that are annually necessary become fewer and fewer as it is realized by public servants that industry and capacity alone will secure the retention of their posts. In old days when a new man was appointed as the head of a public office he used his position for the wholesale rewarding of his supporters and the discomfiture of his opponents. His action was rarely questioned, and the amount of injustice thus done was exceeded only by the instability and want of continuity thus imported into the public service. But in these days the Government would take prompt action were there even a suspicion that anything had been done by the head of a department from a motive other than that of the public service. The present Maharaja has again and again impressed upon the members of the various departments of state that their service may be regarded as permanent until by their own misconduct or incapacity or idleness they compel the Government to make use of its right of abrupt dismissal. It is to be regretted that civil Government posts in Nepal carry no pension. Apart from the obvious justice of providing for the declining days of those who have given their lives in the service of the Government, the prospect of losing a comfortable allowance in old age would stimulate

all concerned to a greater determination to give satisfaction to the powers that be.

A point of great importance was the resumption by the Government of a large amount of land which had at one time or another been granted in return for military service. Of course, compensation has been given in every case, and the conversion of these interests has always been a matter for the consideration and approval of the man owning the *jagir*. The only matter that deserves record is the abolition of the bad old system by which, in a greater or less degree, any Government official was permitted to requisition both goods and service on nominally State business. The *corvée* has been suppressed. Even for the tours of inspection by the



A MODERN FARMHOUSE

Prime Minister himself unpaid labour and unfairly cheapened goods are things of the past. The peasant of Nepal is no longer compelled to furnish the beasts required for the annual sacrifices of the Durga Juja festival at low or even nominal rates. Nothing perhaps has brought so directly to the knowledge of the people the new spirit which actuates the Nepal Government than this relief.

The Tarai, wherein, of course, most of the agriculture of Nepal is centred, has vast forest domains. These forests are carefully supervised by a regular State department. The indiscriminate felling of trees has vanished *pari passu* with a far better protection of the woods from the danger of fire. The experience of the Indian Forest Institute at Dehra Dun has been drawn upon for this purpose, and increasing use is being made of the skill and organization that have made the Forest Department of the Indian Government famous throughout the world. Mr. J. V. Collier has

been entrusted with the direction of this service, and it has largely been due to his energies that the roadway which is now being constructed from Raxaul towards the capital has been enabled to achieve its existing success. Mr. Collier is also to be credited with the reclamation of large tracts of the Tarai, especially in the districts of Morung, Mohotari, Sarlahi, Chitawan Surkhet, and Kailali-Kauchaupur.

The recent treaty has settled the question of customs duties so far as the main avenue into Nepal is concerned. It will be sufficient to note here that the chief imports from India are naturally manufactured articles, of which cotton yarn and piece goods are the most important, other items being salt, petroleum, shawls, woollen cloth, rugs, Oriental silk, brocade, embroideries, sugar, spice, indigo, tobacco, areca nut, vermilion, lac, oils, a little fine rice, buffaloes, sheep, goats, sheet copper and sheet iron, copper and brass ornaments, beads, mirrors, precious stones, guns and ammunition, and tea from Darjiling and Kumaon. The exports of Nepal chiefly consist of rice, oil seeds, ghi, honey, cattle, falcons, talking birds, timber, musk, cheretta, borax, madder, turpentine, catechu, jute, hides and skins, furs, ginger, cardamons, chillies, turmeric, and yak-tails.

The duties upon these imports and exports provide a steady and important revenue to the State, and much has been done to unify the tolls, the anomalous nature of which caused a good deal of difficulty and discontent in old days. Local duties levied on goods in transport among the hill districts, resembling the inter-provincial imposition known as *likin* in China, were abolished in 1923, a boon which was greatly appreciated by the workers of the remoter districts. A similar exaction in the Tarai upon goods exposed for sale at the fairs in different localities had been discontinued since 1914. Dues somewhat of the nature of "octroi," that had long been imposed upon the transport of goods within the Valley of Katmandu have also disappeared, and other forms of taxation that were once customary along the Chitlong-Raxaul road have been done away with.

It has been less easy to deal with the trade with Tibet. Here the tendency to stand upon the ancient ways is more difficult to change, because of the absence of a strong central personality in the country of the Lamas. In 1923, however, a great advance was made by the nominal abolition of the posts at which dues were exacted at several points along the principal trade routes between Nepal and Shigatse, Gyantse, Lhasa, and other Tibetan centres. It may generally be said that relief has been granted in all directions in which the internal taxation was hampering the chief industries of Nepal.

§ 2

We come now to the most interesting section in this narrative, the life and work of the Nepalese people. The social laws and customs of a

people and their enforcement are perhaps the best test that can be taken by the historian of the success of an administration and the position which a country holds among civilized races. But the Eastern view is essentially different from that which obtains in Western lands. In Europe and America the almost complete separation between religious and civil rights has, so far as form is concerned, taken the shape of the full protection of any form of belief which is not opposed to the existing regime in the country or to public morals. Among Indian peoples religion has from the earliest days been regarded as a matter that has a right to the direct support and defence of the Government, and wherever, as usually has happened, a non-Hindu ruler governed India, by Mohammedan and Christian alike protection has been given—less in the case of an Aurangzeb, more in the case of a Victoria, but always sufficient to prevent religious war on any considerable scale. In the peninsula, however, there has been tolerance if not encouragement of other creeds. In Nepal, where, as we have seen, the tradition of life and thought is less changed from that of early India than elsewhere, the religious law still remains to permeate and, indeed, to form the foundation of the existing system of administration. However gross or infamous his offence, no Brahman may in Nepal suffer capital punishment; the traditions which still colour Indian life so profoundly in the matter of the sanctity of the cow are represented in this country by ranking the killing of that animal as a crime equal to that of the murder of a man; still, as much as ever, religion and religious prejudice and preference attend a man throughout his life from his birth to his funeral. But there is a strange thing also in Nepal. The Brahman has for so long been the senior caste that it has almost been forgotten except by students that there was a moment when the Kshatriya took precedence of him. Incidentally one may note the attempts that are now being made by the Brahmans to claim Prince Gautama as a Brahman. The attempt does little but emphasize the wish of the Brahmans that he had been of their caste. This seniority of the Brahmans may perhaps be the cause of the occasional recurrence in early Indian history, when the Rajput takes unquestioned precedence, of the right of a sovereign to interpret the absolute rules of the creed so as to reconcile them with the increasing development of the national intelligence and the rung of civilization upon which the people stand. Nowhere has this been as manifest as in Nepal, and it is interesting as being a surviving proof of a very early form of Hinduism. It implies the right of a sovereign to change the rules after consultation with the highest spiritual authorities, openly and without concealment. In Nepal the abolition of sati is of course the obvious illustration of this inherent right. In India the British simply laid down the law that sati was to cease, and in general it may be said that from that moment it ceased. The British authorities listened to not a word of the defenders of the Hindu practice. The abolition

of sati in Nepal may be taken, with the modification of the law of purification after possibility of defilement during the War, as an illustration of the reasonable compromise that attends amicable discussions on points that may be affected by religious scruples whenever these seem to stand in the way of the advancement of civilization in the State. It is the more remarkable because in Nepal there had hitherto been no compromise of any kind for an offence which trespassed the laws of caste. To this day in India a man who loses his caste by infringing its cardinal regulations is sometimes permitted to remain unmolested within its fold by the connivance of the priests. In Nepal, however, there is no escape, and the absolute need of purification in such circumstances is recognized and is a familiar part of the occasional ritual of the Hindu faith. This privilege is one which is based upon the highest and most ancient authority, and is jealously vindicated by prince and people alike. That a general indulgence was granted to all soldiers detailed for oversea military operations, provided they neither consciously broke the caste-law nor stayed longer than their actual work required, is an illustration of the extent to which the progress of its development has been harmonized with the strictest religious observances. But there is another and even greater proof of this spirit of adjustment which has just been realized, and that is the abolition of slavery.

§ 3

Abolition of Slavery.—At last the efforts of the Maharaja to raise not merely the military strength and the political sovereignty of Nepal but its moral and humanitarian standards also, have been crowned with success. The question of slavery is one that goes deep into the heart of all human society, and so long as any State tolerates it within its boundaries, it has to render a reason to the civilized world why this blot upon its fair name should be permitted to continue. Sometimes it is no easy thing to crush out. Slavery in such districts, for example, as Central Africa, or the border states of Burma, is a matter which it is practically impossible to extirpate except after many years of vigilant repression and often disheartening attempts at education. For slavery is apt to find itself sanctioned, justified, and even intertwined with religion. It is true that religion has probably been the means by which civilization has learned to treat and terminate the evil, but it is equally true that a religious protest against slavery has been in the nature of an afterthought after political liberty had rendered the conception of slavery impossible. The religions of the world did not view the practice with displeasure nor was the sense of justice of their greatest teachers affronted by it. We cannot therefore be surprised, considering that every one of the great creeds of the earth had its origin in the Orient, that the Oriental does not regard the system in the same light as

his Western brother. Moreover, it is not to be forgotten that the East, with a deeper estimate of humanity than is always granted to the Occidental, declines to admit that so great a distinction as is often believed exists between the wage slaves of the West and the family slaves of the East.

The attitude of master and slave in Nepal strongly resembled—for the past tense is already justified—that which existed in the better-class country residences of the Southern States of America before the war of liberation. The slave was in many respects treated as a member of the family, and much liberty was granted to him should he prove able to advantage both himself and his master by skill in any particular trade or craft. However successful the slave might become, he rarely took advantage of any opportunity of separating his connection with the family of his master. It will perhaps surprise some who hold conventional opinions on this matter that not infrequently the slave who had made better use of his talents than his master, acted of his own free will as the bread-winner after any legal connection had been terminated. He was sometimes even appointed as guardian when the owner was a minor. The Nepalese did not, except in such rare cases as may be found in any civilization, ill-treat their slaves. It may be said that this is due merely to a wish not to injure their own property; but at least it introduced a pleasant incentive to kindly relations between the two, which in general tended to make the life of the slave a more tolerable existence than that of many a hard-driven and desperate worker in a nominally free country.

Jang Bahadur was the first who attempted to reform the old system. He made a law forbidding any free person to sell himself into slavery and making it illegal for a parent to dispose of his children. He also—moved no doubt rather by a laudable wish to get his new and rich Tarai soil cultivated than by any consideration of the feelings of the slave—ordered that no slave who had run away from his master and had settled in the districts of Naya Muluk and Morung should be returned to his owner. Neither of these enactments was of much use. It was found impossible to prevent men from selling themselves and their children when in desperation, and it is perhaps a pleasant commentary upon the system of slavery in Nepal that scarcely any runaways were willing to exchange the comfortable slavery of the uplands for the unhealthy liberty of the Tarai. Maharaja Deva Sham Sher made the first attempt to abolish slavery on any large scale. He issued a proclamation that the female slaves of Kaski and Lamjang, the two large estates attached to the office of Prime Minister, were free women. But he had reckoned without taking into consideration the inherent difficulties of interfering with any ancient vested interest. The scheme pleased no one. The old regime offered an absolute and flat refusal from the very beginning. Those who, owing perhaps to their official

position, were compelled to make some show of deference to the order, retained their slaves under another name. Even among these owners there were but one hundred nominal liberations in the whole of Katmandu, where he subsequently issued a similar proclamation.

Chandra Sham Sher, however, has taken a characteristic line on the matter. His first action was to see that the nominal reforms of Jang Bahadur, prohibiting the inclusion in the ranks of slavery of any man or woman who was not born into it, were rigidly enforced. His next step was to make it impossible for any sale of slaves to take place without a due publication to their relatives of their right of pre-emption. Nor was the sum to be paid fixed by the arbitrary decision of the slave owners. For a payment varying from 25 to 120 rupees any slave might claim the right to his freedom should there be any attempt on the part of his master to dispose of him to another. The Maharaja also issued an order for the immediate freeing of all slaves that came into the possession of the Government by course of law. Thus, where a man was punished by confiscation of his property, his slaves, coming into the possession of the Government, were at once liberated. Nor was this all. Two enactments were published inviting any slave to become a free settler in a third and healthier district in the Tarai, that of Chitawan. No man had the right to prevent any slave of his who accepted the offer of the Government from taking up this work and his liberty at the same moment. An even more important order referred to slaves who had run away into India. In old days they had no chance of returning without being made to forfeit not merely an exorbitant ransom from their old masters, but probably also the entire amount of their earnings in India during the period of their absence. The new law compelled a master to accept from any slave who had been a runaway for the space of three years in any foreign country, the same small redemption fee as that which, as we have seen, could secure the freedom of any slave whom his master attempted to get rid of If a slave remained a fugitive for a period of ten years he would return to Nepal as a free man without payment of any ransom whatever. These orders did more than merely offer freedom on liberal terms to a large number of individuals. By accustoming the Nepalese to take up a new and more civilized point of view they struck at the heart of the practice.

Within our own Empire the work has to go on slowly, though the field is now narrowed to but one or two districts, and the effective liberation of all slaves in the remotest quarters of our territory is already in sight.[1] With

[1] Arrangements have now been made for the release of nearly all of the slaves in the Hukwang Valley, in accordance with the arrangements made by the official expedition sent there in 1925. The owners are well satisfied with the prices offered for the redemption of the captives, many of whom are remaining with their masters, to whom they have become attached. It is hoped that the expedition will convince the Naga Chiefs of the Government's determination to stamp out slavery and human sacrifices.

a stroke of the pen we abolished slavery from all land under our administration in India, but we have never taken upon ourselves to criticize the retention of a certain form of humane slavery in such a country as Nepal where religion, tradition, and even national prosperity were largely responsible for its toleration. But the Maharaja has long been aware that the continued existence of thraldom in any form was inconsistent with the standards that he had set up for himself and for Nepal. Under date 28th December 1924 he wrote to me as follows: " You will be interested to hear of the bold attempt I have lately made to see slavery totally abolished in my country. For years past I have been directing my efforts to this end, commencing with the passing of laws at various times calculated to improve the lot of slaves and reduce the distinction between them and free men. I thought that the time was now ripe. Accordingly in an open-air meeting which was convened at Tundi Khel a few days before my departure from Katmandu, I made an earnest appeal to my countrymen to come to my support. . . . With the influence I have been and am trying to bring to bear on the question, the majority of views so far received has been in my favour, and I look forward to the day, which I earnestly hope will not now be many months off, when, by God's grace, I shall have the supreme satisfaction of witnessing the fulfilment of my long cherished desire to see, not only the inhuman practice inherent in the institution stopped, but also the legal status of slavery totally abolished throughout the kingdom."

What had happened was that on Friday 28th November 1924 the Prime Minister issued a reasoned appeal to the people of Nepal, in which he dealt with every aspect of slavery as it affected either the reputation for humanity, the sense of justice, or the economic position of his country. It will be useful to give in brief form the substance of this interesting contribution to the study of slavery, written by one of the most detached and disinterested as well as far-sighted observers. The Maharaja recognized that in this matter the civilized world was still reserving judgment upon a race that had come much more to the front than it had ever come before; and he recognized that that fact alone should be an incentive to his countrymen to maintain and increase their reputation as a brave, just, and humane people. He admitted the force of custom, but when customs become effete, he said, they must either be discarded or must yield place to others more vigorous, and he asserted in unhesitating words that the learned and religious authorities of Nepal sanctioned the abolition of slavery. " If such a custom is definitely prejudicial to the best interests of the people, the community, and the country, it is incumbent on us to change or abolish it forthwith for the common good."

A vivid picture is then drawn of the dreary and disheartening life of a slave deprived in childhood of the caresses and sympathies of his parents,

and in later years a bitter observer of the distinction that marks him out from his fellow-workers, the hired men of the neighbourhood who have the right to "wear the dignity of labour as a diadem." The Maharaja readily admitted that there were households in which elderly slaves presided over family deliberations, and in practice directed family affairs during the minority of the heir; that in many households in the hills the business was managed by slaves during the absence of the owner; and that many kindly masters had, except for certain legal restrictions, practically abolished the distinction between themselves and their slaves. But on the other hand he pointed out that the law which he had himself promulgated in 1921, giving the right of ownership of property and devolution by succession to slaves, had been so far a dead letter. "How could it have been otherwise, seeing the time of the slave is wholly his master's? How can the slave find time to earn a stake in the country? You allow him to marry, but at any moment parents and children may be separated at the convenience of their master."

Dealing with the economic aspect of slavery, the Maharaja uses a vivid illustration to show the difference in the quantity of work done by slaves and that of free men. "The incentive to forced labour was the lash. Slaves, while they work, look behind to protect their back, while a free man labours looking forward to his hire, which he knows will be proportional to his work, and upon which rests his hope of provision for his family and himself." Another contrast between the work of the two classes appears in this well thought-out argument: A slave cannot be dismissed, his sustenance is assured to him whether he is slow or quick over his job, whether he is skilful or slovenly; he can never have the incentive of the free man. Experience gained in other countries proves that where servile labour is exacted with all the brutal means at a master's command, a free labourer is three times more efficient than a slave. Freely admitting that the Nepalese do not ill-treat slaves, the Maharaja estimates that among them one hired man is still about equal to two slaves. Turning to another aspect of the question, he reminded his hearers that at some time or other, generally always, all slave owners have to maintain unproductive hands—the old, the ill, the infirm, the mother, and the young; and there is always the risk of loss by death or desertion. Moreover, from a financial point of view, an employer has not to pay a lump sum down for hired labour as he has to do when purchasing slaves; his capital is free.

The expense of *bani*, or contracted labour, is contrasted in this treatise with that of slave labour, and the same result is arrived at—the hired labourer produces about twice the work of slave labour at the same cost. And the Maharaja adds the comment that the liberation of slaves in Nepal will in itself supply the *bani* servants that will be needed when this reform is carried through. His Highness did not depend upon mere oratory to

press home his great intention. He deals directly with what he regards as the intolerable outrage of the sale of the children of slaves. As he says, " This inhuman practice is beyond all condemnation, and is rightly looked upon as the worst feature of the institution "—though he doubts whether there are not actually lower depths of infamy. The law in Nepal provides that the father of any child by a slave girl shall have the right to emancipate the child by payment of the legal amount of 35 rupees to the master of the girl. The framer of the enactment had trusted that the feelings of a father would be strong enough to compel him to act in such a case, but the hope had been vain. Nay; the Maharaja went on to say, it had been found, difficult though it was to believe, that certain masters, knowing that if the children of his women slaves were his own they would be automatically set free under the law, devised the inhuman practice of compelling the wretched women to submit to the embraces of any casual man who was known to be too poor to redeem the child—" and all this in a country where matrimonial relations are held so sacred under the laws that a wronged husband is allowed to impose a most severe and humiliating punishment upon the adulterer." It had become clear to him that a system which permitted of this abominable tyranny must be put an end to, and that soon. Then he turned to a curious side of the question—but a side which will be understood in all countries where there is an old tradition of aristocracy. Slaves were often white elephants to their owners, but family honour compelled each successive generation, whether it could afford it or not, to maintain the number of slaves that had been handed down to it by its forefathers; as a result the family estate had often to be mortgaged, or even handed over to the profit of the slaves themselves. But he admits that such families generally treat their slaves with unusual humanity.

One case, adduced by the Prime Minister, in which the system of slavery had resulted in intolerable cruelty, may be quoted:

" The mother, a slave, had given birth to seven children, and her master, despite her protests and tearful prayers, had already disposed of one daughter and four sons by sale. The woman in her petition through the Niksari Office wrote that the bitter lament of the children at thus being forced to separate from their mother sent a pang through her heart more acute than any she had ever suffered; that she summoned resignation to bear the misfortune and drew consolation from what was left her; that she submitted to it as the work of that fatality, the result of the accumulated *karma* of her previous births, which had followed her like a shadow to her present existence; but that when to her dismay the hard-hearted master arranged to take away the baby slave that was still suckling at her breast, her endurance broke down completely. She supplicated and prayed—as parents do pray, as you and I pray to the Gods on high when the dearest of our children lies in the clutches of grim death—to her master, the arbiter

of her destiny, and to her as omnipotent in this crisis as fell Death himself. But all to no purpose. The adamant heart did not melt; the master completed the transaction. Then, maddened at a treatment which is resented even by irrational beasts, she came all the way to see if the Maharaja, ' the common father of all people,' could do aught to allay the consuming sorrow at her breast. As this was so different from the ordinary run of complaints, the people concerned were sent for, and the matter on investigation turned out to be true to the letter of the petition; the child had been sold by a regular deed, the Parambhatta. The master was asked if he did not feel pity for the poor woman, though a slave; what would have been the feelings of himself or the mother of his children if such an infant of theirs were either forcibly taken away or sold elsewhere? What reply could he make to his Creator when summoned to His presence to answer this charge of inhumanity? He replied, and the purchasers replied, that that was the custom in the hills, and the law did not forbid it. Now what does it mean to us all? That so long as we permit this sort of thing every one of us must bear a part in the sin, must share the curse of the weeping mothers, inasmuch as we tolerate the custom and uphold such laws. The poor woman was given the wherewithal to free her sold children according to the law which provides that on the sale of slaves their kith and kin or those interested can liberate them on payment of the legal amounts to their masters."

The Maharaja then dealt with the general question of the possibility of an exodus of Nepalese freed men into India. He regarded it as improbable, and pointed out that it was the escaped slave who fell most easily into the hands of unscrupulous labour-agents across the border, giving as an example the intervention of the Indian Government in a recently exposed case of press-gang labour in a colliery in Assam.[1] Naturally, a careful distinction was drawn by him between such servitude and the lot of Nepalese who take the opportunity to enlist in the Gurkha battalions of the Indian army and thus enjoy the steady guarantees of fair recompense and happiness offered by the Indian Government.

It is to be noted that the institution of slavery prevails in the hills only. This is probably due to the fact that, in the Tarai and in the larger towns on the southern foot-hills of the Himalayas, means can usually be devised for a slave to break away into British territory. A curious estimate is here given of the very small number of owners and slaves in Nepal compared with the population of the country. There are 15,719 owners of slaves, and the number held in slavery is 51,419. The total population of the

[1] He notes the ignorance of the 1921 law that still denied to slaves the rights they then acquired. Any slave who had been resident abroad for three years was thereby given the right to emancipation on payment of the fixed dues to his late master; one who had been abroad for ten years was emancipated on demand without the payment of any dues.

country is estimated at about 5,573,788, and therefore 5,506,650—or nearly 99 per cent. of the population—are neither slaves nor slave-owners. " Now if 99 per cent. can carry on their everyday work as employees or employers without slaves, it is curious that the masters, who are a little over a quarter of the one per cent. remaining, should feel abolition as a hardship and be under the apprehension that their everyday work will come to a standstill."

With a wide knowledge of the experience of other countries at the time of a general liberation of slaves, the Maharaja pointed out that even in the comparatively inconspicuous matter of the necessity for the existence of slaves to do certain ritual in marriage and other ceremonies, other slave countries have suffered no trouble whatever from this cause. Indeed, it was too often forgotten that the liberated slaves must at once turn round and look for remunerative work by which to keep themselves and their families; they cannot afford to refuse any work that is fairly paid.

He noted also that, from the religious point of view, India herself has seen many changes in the traditional allotment of occupations. " Consider all honest work as dignified, and you will not lose in self-esteem."[1] What had really brought the question to the front more than anything else had been the spread of education. Slavery is doomed by the spread of knowledge; its abolition is merely a question of time. " Then why not anticipate what you cannot prevent, when by doing so you can cut your losses and become the pioneers of a patriotic and humanitarian movement in the country."

The appeal continued by a reference to the abolition of the custom of sati, a practice which was more intimately connected with religion than is slavery. In 1920 sati, in spite of the protests of an apprehensive minority, was definitely and resolutely forbidden by the Nepalese Government, and the Prime Minister challenged his critics to tell him what unwelcome results have followed this abolition. He clinched a forcible appeal by reference to the fact that large and increasing numbers of Nepalese living in Sikkim, Darjiling, and the adjacent hill tracts under almost identical conditions with those that prevail in Nepal, can manage without slaves.

" We alone labour under the incubus, when even countries known in the past as uncivilized have become free from it. . . . It is fervently hoped that the unanimous opinion of this assembly, representative of the best in the land, will be that this inhuman, barbarous, immoral, and worthless custom shall be put to an end."

The Maharaja then proceeded to state the practical steps that he considers necessary. The clauses of the new law are but three in number:

1. On and from a certain date, to be fixed as early as possible, in

[1] As early as 1839 the Nepalese Government had forbidden the enslavement of any free man, woman, or child belonging to the four castes and the thirty-six sub-castes.

consonance with general opinion, the legal status of slavery shall cease and terminate throughout the kingdom of Nepal.

2. Owners shall be given the statutory price for every slave held by them, according to the register, that is over whom their claim has been fully established.

3. Slaves freed from the fixed date shall be apprenticed to their former owners for a period of seven years: that is, the slaves shall be bound to labour for their masters, the latter in return providing them with food and clothing as at present.

During those seven years the money paid by the Government for each slave, if invested at 10 per cent. compound interest—which is a moderate rate of interest in Nepal—would be practically doubled, while at the "usually prevailing rate of interest at 16 per cent." it would be nearly trebled.

The *Pioneer* of 29th August 1926 states that the Nepal slave liberation scheme has been completed at a cost of 3,670,000 rupees (£275,250), an average of 70 rupees (five guineas) per slave, the total liberated with compensation by the Government being 51,782. Four thousand six hundred and fifty-one slaves were liberated by their masters without compensation; 1,984 died; 1,342 fled; 114 paid for their own release, thus accounting for the total slave population of 59,873.

The rates paid in compensation ranged from 20 rupees for a female and 15 rupees for a male under 3 years of age, to 100 rupees for a female and 75 rupees for a male between the age of 13 and 40. Prices after the age of 40 dropped to 50 rupees for a female and 30 rupees for a male under the age of 60, 41 rupees for a female and 31 rupees for a male over 60 years old. The Anti-Slavery Office actually started work early in 1925. The Prime Minister of Nepal, Sir Chandra Sham Sher Jang, who recently celebrated his sixty-fourth birthday, has thus been able to redeem the pledge he made to the world and realize one of the dreams of his life.

Tracts of cultivable land have been thrown open to the emancipated slaves in the hills, and reclamation and clearance works have been started in the Tarai, suitable advances of cash being made to the freed men by reclamation and agricultural offices. A remarkable feature in the successful execution of a scheme which took its origin in the Anti-Slavery laws passed in 1920 and, particularly, in the historic speech of the Prime Minister in November 1924, when he appealed to his countrymen to abolish a practice, on which rested the curse of God, is the extent to which the owners have co-operated. Out of 15,719 owners, only 467 desired the retention of slavery; 179 desired the emancipation of slaves under nine years of age; 1,281 volunteered to release their slaves without compensation; while only 498 demanded a higher rate of compensation than that given.

It is not for Europeans, to whom slavery has long been unknown, to criticize the precise form in which this great enfranchisement is to take

place. The readiness is all; details concern Nepal and not the outer world, which is content to know that even as these lines are being written Nepal has wiped away the last miserable symbol of an old regime, and in this, the first of all human duties, can stand forward as in all respects the equal of her sister sovereign States.[1]

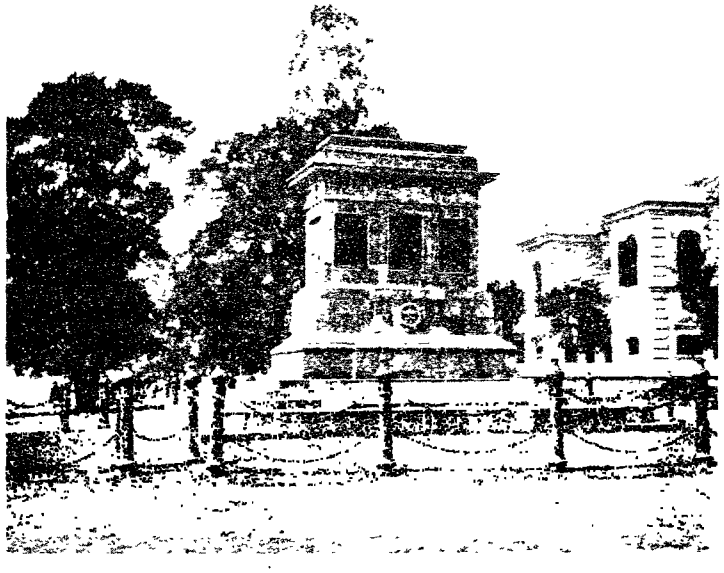
§ 4

Sati.—Chandra's reference to the abolition of sati needs a few words of comment. It will not be a matter of surprise that in Nepal, which represents better than any other existing district the law and custom of mediaeval India, great difficulty was found in an attempt to obliterate this ancient and evil custom. Before Jang Bahadur's day the burning alive of a widow upon her husband's funeral pile was commonly practised in Nepal. It had been abolished in India by Lord William Bentinck in Council on the 4th December 1829, but naturally it was long before the practice itself was entirely stamped out, so deeply had it been identified with religious duty or, in some cases, family jealousy, in the minds of the people.[2] Jang Bahadur thought it must stop, and he issued instructions that in no case in which the widow was performing or was likely to perform valuable services to her children, her husband's family, or the State, was she to be allowed to commit this honourable form of suicide. Bir Sham Sher carried the movement a step farther. He insisted that the consent of the Prime Minister himself or, in his absence, of the highest legal authority, should be obtained before any widow was permitted to immolate herself. This did not, however, have the effect that was intended. The whole weight of public opinion was so often brought to bear upon the woman that in many cases she was driven to make the great sacrifice before the cumbersome machinery of the law could be set in motion to protect her. Not the least of the claims to the respect of the world that Chandra Sham Sher possesses is that on the 28th June 1920 he absolutely and completely abolished the whole practice of sati from one end of Nepal to the other. It is a tribute to his personal ascendancy that he should have been successful in thus "changing the squares of obsolete tradition into the circles of civilized enlightenment." With orthodoxy he has every sympathy; with bigotry he has none.

[1] It was natural that the congratulations of India, should have been universal and chalorous. It was not only in the peninsula that this recognition was forthcoming. When in 1926 the Maharaja succeeded in his object and was enabled to declare definitely and finally the freedom of every Nepalese subject, the abolition of slavery was noted with respect by all the more prominent newspapers in the world.

[2] The success which attended this order in India stands on record as one of the rare instances of a salutary meddling on the part of the Christian stranger with one of the most sacred rites inculcated by the religion of a country.

So far from attempting to interfere with the religious establishments of Nepal, the Maharaja has added largely to the stability of the Brahmans, and their chiefs the Gurujis have wealth, dignity, and an inviolate position, and it is interesting to notice the extent of the Maharaja's endowments in support of religious philanthropy and learning. Chandra has established an ecclesiastical commission, of which the prime duty is to see not only that all moneys and lands left to insure the performance of religious rites or instruction shall be held in trust for the Church, but that they shall be enjoyed only by a strict performance of the attached conditions. His



PEDESTAL AWAITING CHANDRA'S STATUE

personal generosity is famous. He has extended and organized the charitable institutions dependent upon various shrines of Nepal: he has arranged for the free supply of food at several of the more important places of pilgrimage: he has given houses and lands of great value to the Brahman community, and on special occasions he has distributed as many as one hundred cows among the poorer of this caste.[1]

[1] He has often presented both horses and—perhaps a more doubtful advantage—elephants to deserving persons, and twenty-seven poor people are fed daily at his palace gates. Nor has he despised the maintenance of one of the oldest traditions of India. On one occasion of Suvarna Tuladan he was weighed against gold. It took sixty-seven and a half seers (about one hundred and forty-five pounds) of gold to weigh down His Highness, and the whole of this was then distributed among the poor and destitute. Eight times also has the Maharaja performed the costly ceremony of Koti Homa. This

He has endowed the pilgrim roads from the plains of India, and the cardinal Hindu shrines—the Golden Temple at Benares, and those of Jagannath at Puri, of Ramanath at Rameshwaram, of Krishna at Dwarka, and the Kedernath temple in Garhwal—have all known his generosity. Except in the case of the shrine of Krishna at Dwarka each of these endowments has followed and put on record a personal pilgrimage to the place.

§ 5

Judicial System.—The Gurkha conquest of 1768 brought about the assimilation of local customs into the general law, but no attempt whatever was made to codify the judicial custom of the country until the days of Jang Bahadur, when an endeavour was made that did not greatly clarify the administration of this tangled system. Another effort was made by Bir Sham Sher, but it was left for the present Maharaja to revise the whole code on two occasions. The first aimed at the identification of the law in all parts of Nepal, while the second, besides carrying on this work, mitigated the severity of the punishments to be inflicted. Jang Bahadur had abolished the punishment of mutilation, but other undesirable features remained. For example, in the case of those of high social position the punishment incurred by the noble delinquent was frequently inflicted vicariously upon his agent or representative; there was no statute of limitations; to a large extent no distinction was made between criminal and civil offences. Moreover a prosecutor was able to have his case called by any court, provincial or superior, that seemed advantageous to himself.

The improvements recently enforced by the Nepal Government have humanized the administration of justice without weakening its authority. The code has been thoroughly revised. The hardships that have been referred to have been remitted and the law's delays have been largely curtailed. Chandra is, however, not satisfied with the improvements he has already effected and a third revision is now in progress. He is himself the official court of appeal and exercises the prerogative of mercy in every case in which it seems to him that equity demands its employment.[1]

is one of the holiest of Hindu ceremonies, and the religious merit thereby acquired is exceeded by no other exercise of that faith. One crore, or ten million prayers, and the same number of offerings of grain have to be made in the course of this rite, which lasts for about a month and a half.

[1] A curious point may be noted, that the Nepalese have a superstitious repugnance to being put in irons, not so much because it cramps their liberty, but because of the tradition that to be bound by anything made of iron brings about inevitable disaster to the sufferer. A change has therefore been made in the law, by which prisoners for civil offences are not put in chains during their imprisonment. To this privilege, however, an exception is made in the case of Government servants sentenced for embezzlement or bribery, and escaped prisoners.

Not less important is the accessibility of the new code. Printed copies are to be consulted at all magistrates' offices and can be bought for a low price, thus bringing it within the reach of rich and poor alike. Formerly only the courts and Government officials could consult it, and in consequence the mass of the people remained in ignorance of the law, unable to know in many cases when they stood in danger of breaking it, or what their rights were against a trespasser; they were largely at the mercy of unscrupulous men and unevenly administered justice. In the new code a careful distinction is attempted to be drawn between offences against the State or the person or property, and those which are transgressions of the religious ordinances of the people. But, as may be imagined, religious sentiment plays no small part in the first section also. For example, an injury done to a parent or a guru (spiritual adviser) is punished fifty per cent. more severely than a similar hurt done to a stranger. I have noted before that no missionary is permitted to enter the country. It is actually a penal offence to assist in the conversion of any man to a foreign religion.

As may be imagined in a land where polygamy is practised the matrimonial law is of an extremely complicated and special nature. Here, too, religion plays a large part. The law leans heavily against any marriage of a woman of a higher caste to a man of lower rank. In certain cases such an alliance is a serious misdemeanour and the punishment inflicted is greater in proportion to the difference in caste. A curious custom—and one for which the Nepal system is perhaps best known—is that by which an outraged husband held the right of killing the adulterer at any moment whenever and wherever he found him, subject to the curious right of the latter to be given a few minutes' start in a life and death race, the husband being permitted to carry a sword and cut down his injurer—who, of course, was unarmed—should he overtake him.[1] The curious point about this custom was that either man could be freely impeded or tripped up by the friends of the other. So iniquitous a tradition is now practically obsolete. but the husband has nominally the right of insisting upon this curious test, though he is allowed to put it in practice only after the matter has been submitted to the Prime Minister and all attempts at compromise have failed. Where the offender is a Brahman no such right exists, of course, but he is, after conviction, permanently expelled from his caste.

In certain sections of the community the marriage of widows is permitted and the marriage also of such as have been divorced. The essential difference of standpoint in matrimonial affairs that exists between the Western nations and these austere devotees of Hinduism could not be

[1] The adulterer might escape, however, if he publicly crawled beneath the raised leg of the offended husband. But, as may be imagined in a proud race like the Gurkhas, few availed themselves of this dishonourable expedient, which involved a social ostracism equal to actual outcasting—from which, too, there were no means of obtaining purification.

better illustrated than in the wholly different standards which regulate public opinion in this matter. From a European point of view it would perhaps be just to regard some of the older tendencies of much of the habit and custom of Nepal as due to religious prejudice and tradition rather than to any natural callousness. Child marriage was, and still is, common among Brahmans and the higher classes; though of course a child married at a tender age remains with his or her mother until of sufficient years to live with the child partner. Torture has long been abolished. The observance of the prohibitions of the Hindu religious law is supported by the State. The dining together of high and low castes, the eating of forbidden food, and other similar things are offences calling for special reference in the Nepal code. But it is only fair to say that in such cases extenuating circumstances are usually pleaded and readily listened to. The religious law dictates also the provisions dealing with inheritance and succession. In the latter case the complicated regulations of the code are still further tangled by the admission of local custom.[1] Male relations within three degrees of consanguinity inherit in preference to daughters: children in lawful wedlock take a larger share of the property than others; children of different wives take *per capita* and not as representatives of their mother; unmarried daughters have a lien on the joint property to the extent of their dower. As may be imagined, the partition of an ancestral estate in Nepal frequently gives rise to much discontent and litigation.

§ 6

The Justiciary.—It is not necessary to refer at length to the obsolete system by which four central courts or adalats—named respectively Itachapli, Koteling, Taksar, and Dhansar—were established to which were allotted particular jurisdictions without much regard to the similarities of their natures. Over them was the Adalat Goswara, a supreme court of appeal. In all of these tribunals the civil and criminal jurisdictions overlapped, and so much of the legal rights of Nepal depended upon local custom that assessors were frequently called in to assist the judges. In cases in which great difficulty was found in deciding a case, the court would sometimes order a trial by ordeal, an account of which has been given.[2]

The first action of Maharaja Chandra was to abolish the Taksar and Dhansar courts and to make a distinction between civil and criminal

[1] Of all the local customs of Nepal the strangest was that of the people of Doti, who for centuries enjoyed the occupation of State lands on condition that all the women of their families became prostitutes and were at the service of the troops quartered there. No Prime Minister had dared interfere with this ancient and dishonourable custom before the present Maharaja, who put an end to it in 1905.

[2] See vol. i, chapter v.

jurisdiction. The Adalat Diwani Koteling dealt with civil cases and the Fuzdari Adalat Itachapli with the latter. The principle was also established of separating the judicial work from the duty of carrying into effect the decisions of the court.

In 1906 a Bharadari court of from five to ten Bharadars—the officials of the State—or men of high position was created; and in 1908 the appellate jurisdiction was reformed. The new tribunal became the court of appeal from the decisions of the two Sadar courts just referred to. These latter, besides being courts of first instance, had previously acted as courts of appeal from the decisions of the provincial magistrates of the Gunda courts in the hills and the Goswara courts in the Tarai. This appellate jurisdiction was now taken from them and given to the Appeal Court.

This clearance of the wells of justice brought about an increase of litigation. It was found that the judicial work multiplied to such an extent that the Diwani Adalat was ultimately divided into four courts, while the criminal court was divided into two. In 1921 a new change was made. The possibility of appeal invited the litigious nature of the Nepalese. The appellate court gave place to a new form of an ancient Bharadari court of appeal. The English custom does not permit fresh evidence to be brought up on appeal. Where, in its opinion, the case has been wrongly conducted an order for a new trial is made. In Nepal, when fresh evidence is procurable, the court of appeal admits it, and may even consider issues not laid before the lower court. The overcrowding of the appeal courts of all kinds is due to the determination of litigants to have serious cases brought ultimately before the immediate consideration of the Prime Minister himself, in whom, as in all other matters, the final judicial authority is vested.

The following, therefore, is the present system of judicial administration in Nepal. One of the four Diwani courts above mentioned has been transformed into a Court of Registration, and does not deal with litigation. The remaining tribunals are known as the First, Second, and Third Diwani Courts. There is no limit to their civil jurisdiction, but an appeal lies against their decisions to the Bharadari court. The First and Second Fuzdari Courts decide criminal cases of all natures except those which the Sadar Jangi Kotwali, or court-martial, and the Thana[1] is empowered to deal with. It is to be noted that the latter has special powers to decide charges of sedition or of creating disaffection against the King or Prime

[1] The Thana is the police court executing the direct orders of the Maharaja. It deals also with cases of defamation, gambling, counterfeiting, adulteration of food, violation of the law of preserved forests, kidnapping, etc. Its authority to deal with cases of attempted conversion of the King's subjects to Christianity, Islam, or any other foreign religion, is practically of less importance than its direct subordination to the Prime Minister in matters affecting the stability of the existing Government.

Minister. Besides these there is the Amini Goswara Court [1] to deal with the reports of the courts of the Tarai, over which the Foreign Office has control.

The Bharadari or main appellate court has lately been reconstituted. It is presided over by a general officer who must be a near relation of the Maharaja. There are four departments under four Hakims, who have certain powers of their own, but whose main duty it is to prepare and present the case before one of two benches, each of eight or more judges. The result is that minor appeals, dealing with sums below five hundred rupees, are considered respectively by the Hakims, one of the benches, the General—and finally by the Commander-in-Chief. The Prime Minister may only be approached in criminal cases in which the fine amounts to more than two hundred rupees or imprisonment of over six months and, civilly, in real estate cases concerned with land of more than five bighas or ropnis in extent. The appellate jurisdiction of the Prime Minister is administered in the following way. Petitions from suitors are first scrutinized in the Niksari court where the appeal from the Bharadari court is received. The Niksari judges are drawn from very high families, Generals or Commanding Colonels, the Chiefs of the subordinate principalities of Nepal, the family of the Raj Guru, and a group of men of long experience in law and practice. The Niksari office has the power to decide cases concerned with sums up to two thousand rupees or sentences up to nine years imprisonment, or fines up to four hundred rupees, or disputes about land up to twenty bighas in area. Above these limits an appeal must lie with the Prime Minister himself.

Besides dealing with these appeals, the Niksari office has a department which deals with petitions to the Prime Minister and is the means by which his Highness's equitable decisions in matters not provided for in common law are published. Last but not least, it acts as the Prime Minister's almonry through which in any case of great hardship he is able to come to the help of those suffering from the oppression of the official or the wealthy.[2]

The provincial courts deal with criminal as well as civil cases. Appeal lies from all their decisions, and the graver matters such as murder or sedition cannot be dealt with by them until reference to the Maharaja has been made and his confirmation obtained. Of these provincial courts there are twenty-eight Adalat courts in the hills and twenty-two Amini courts in the plains or the Tarai. Besides these there are in the hills ten Gundas and eight Goswaras composed of responsible military officers. Their chief duty is to see that justice is neither denied nor delayed in the provincial courts. Four of them are courts of First Appeal. Nine similar

[1] The Amini Courts are held in the Tarai, and they deal generally with cases in which one or both of the parties is a foreigner.

[2] Reference to this patriarchal dispensation of final equity by the Maharaja is made in chapter xiv, p. 94.

courts exist in the Tarai where the chief officers are styled Bada Hakims. There is also a Goswara court in the Tarai, serving as a court of First Appeal similar to that existing in the hills. The duties of the officers of this court are of similar nature to those of a Commissioner of a district in British India.

The Maharaja is well aware of the inconvenience of a system which, though it brings a fair trial within the reach of all, seems to indulge the natural litigiousness of his people. It is believed that he is now considering a revival of the village Panchayat in order to prevent frivolous and vexatious litigation. But it is regarded as doubtful whether the Panchayat—which would perform a function similar to that of a Grand Jury in England—would not at times allow local popularity or local prejudice to defeat the ends of justice.

§ 7

Education.—The progress of Nepal in social and educational work has been, of course, affected by the same religious rules and traditions that have coloured its judicial system. When Dr. Wright compiled his book on Nepal in 1877 he summed up the question of popular education with the remark that the subject might be dismissed as briefly as that of snakes in Ireland. For a long time during the present Maharaja's administration he did not see his way to make any great improvement in the few existing opportunities of education which had been painfully inaugurated by his predecessor Rana Udip Singh, and by General Bir Sham Sher, who was perhaps more closely associated than any of his forerunners with the attempt to supply this cardinal need of civilization. Deva Sham Sher in his irresponsible way proclaimed a system of universal instruction—for which however he made no provision of money and no organization, so it fell still-born. One or two schools were indeed founded in Katmandu but they did not at first meet with much appreciation from the Nepalese. In fact, the first beginnings of education were looked upon with something of the mistrust with which the mediaeval church of Rome heard of the activity of scientists within her fold. We have seen that the present Maharaja began a new regime by sending some of the sons of the aristocracy to Japan in 1902. In the sense that he and he alone is responsible for every action of the Nepalese Government, the Prime Minister is absolute. But it has already been suggested that no one realizes the folly of too rapid an advance more than he. In permitting the spread of knowledge he found opposed to him the traditional obscurantism or at least the jealous exclusiveness of a religion which had its roots deep not only in the minds but in the hearts of his countrymen. It required patience and tact to overcome this opposition, and the expense of sending these young students to Japan was enormously increased by the precautions that had to be taken for the

due observance in the least detail of caste regulations during the journey and their residence in Japan. Although this experiment could not be called a success, a certain amount of credit is due to the boys themselves for the gallant effort that was made by them to overcome the difficulty in which they were placed by their almost complete ignorance of the Japanese language. At the meeting of Bharadars in 1905, the Maharaja tentatively put before the responsible officials of Nepal a proposal that students should be sent to study in Europe or America. The council advised against this scheme and suggested that it would be better to invite the help of Indian experts. In general this policy has been adopted, and the youth of Nepal have been sent in large numbers into India to take advantage of the excellent facilities for higher education which are offered there. In 1919 the Government established an English college in Katmandu, which is attended by several hundred students, who make a fair showing in the matriculation examination of the Sanskrit college at Benares. In the report of the work done at the Government schools in Katmandu it is significant that in 1901 the number of new students admitted into the English department numbered seventeen, whereas eighteen years later they had increased to one hundred and forty-two. Many of the men matriculated here have passed on to study in secondary schools and universities in India.

There are now many primary schools throughout the country, but the results of this somewhat sporadic and ill-organized instruction are not satisfactory, and the Nepal Government is again taking the matter into its consideration. There is no more ardent advocate of education in Asia than the Prime Minister of Nepal. He sees that it is not merely an important, but that it is a vital, aid to any permanent progress, individual as well as national, and he has especially interested himself in the technical side of such instruction. He is under no delusion as to the wide field that still remains to be covered, but he has already laid a foundation and is determined that his successors, if not himself, shall be enabled to build upon a well thought-out structure of national education. The Nepal schools are affiliated to the University of Patna, and the gratitude of Nepal to the Governments of India and of Bihar and Orissa for the privilege thus extended has been freely expressed. The Prime Minister's words to the students on one occasion may be recorded as a fitting illustration of the attitude that the Nepal Government has taken up in the task of fitting their youth for their work and life as men.

"Remember my advice. Be loyal to the institution. Make it your pride to support its name and fame throughout the country. Do not, in the vanity of your acquirements, forget or belittle the superior claims that your country has upon you, and the reverence that is due to your religion and institutions. Mere proficiency in a foreign tongue gives you no advantage unless you apply it in acquiring useful knowledge. Neither such

proficiency alone nor the foolish aping of foreign manners will do you good. You can make for yourselves an abiding place in the history of your country and in the grateful memory of your countrymen only by devoting yourselves to their service. Recollect that education does not come to an end with your days in school and college or with the passing of examinations, and bear in mind that it is not designed as a means only to Government employment. A man lives to learn; he is a student all his life through. He must have the same passionate love for work afterwards as he had for his studies here. To whatever work he is allotted, high or low, he must bring to bear upon it the same concentration and the same well disciplined mind, the same honesty, the same integrity that should characterize him as a student. Do not feel downhearted if you are dull; patience and perseverance overcome all difficulties. If you are clever, do not shirk application, without which no one can ever acquire solid and sound education. Above all, learn to look upon knowledge as a prize in itself to illumine your path all through life."

§ 8

Social Reform.—In the wide field of social reform the same reactionary tendencies of such an inflexible faith as Hinduism are visible. A household in Europe would be appalled at the unremunerative expense which a Hindu will voluntarily incur on such an occasion as the marriage of a daughter; indeed, it is scarcely too much to say that the majority of the debt-bound workers in India have owed their first servitude to money borrowed for this purpose at ruinous rates of interest. Quietly and without drawing attention to his example the Prime Minister has set the fashion for a general reduction in the useless expenses of daily life, and through the Maharani he has been successful in replacing the costly and cumbersome gowns worn lately by ladies of the better classes by dresses of simpler materials and more sensible fashion.

From the first days of his rule there was a grave national fault for him to tackle. He found his efforts for the public weal impeded and hampered by the tendency of the Nepalese people as a nation to drink. Very sensibly he took no crude step towards prohibition. First of all he saw to it that, if his fellow countrymen must drink ardent spirits, those spirits should be the best and most wholesome that could be manufactured. Then the number of liquor shops was greatly reduced. The temptations offered along the main thoroughfares of the Valley and indeed throughout Nepal have been dealt with with fairness and firmness, and the exclusion of foreign-made liquor has marked another step on the road that has guided his people to sobriety. Such handling of a dangerous tendency was more effective than any Draconian legislation. Lastly, no liquor may be sold

at any of the fairs and festivals held at the different holy places in the kingdom. Drunkenness is not unknown in the Valley, but I do not myself remember ever having seen any one who could be said to be disorderly or indeed noticeably under the influence of alcohol.

Opium is forbidden except under licence, and the poppy has practically been banished from the Tarai. A more difficult vice to deal with is gambling, for the Nepalese seem both by nature and tradition to be specially addicted to this insidious pastime. In general, gambling in public is forbidden, but an explicit permission to be found in the Shastras has prevented the laws of Nepal from prohibiting public gambling on certain festivals.[1] Much remains to be done in this matter, but the Maharaja has made a start by prohibiting any credit to be extended to the loser. Cash must be paid on the spot It may be interesting to note that the gambling generally takes the form of playing with cowry shells. Sixteen of them, of equal size, are chosen, and the respective number that fall face up or face down determine the winner among the four parties concerned, each of whom is allotted one set of combinations out of the following four. Thus A takes the pool if one, five, nine, or thirteen shells fall face upwards; B wins should the number be either two, six, ten, or fourteen; C is given three, seven, eleven, and fifteen, and D stakes his chances upon four, eight, twelve, and sixteen. The game seems simple, apparently free from any possibility either of cheating or of the display of skill.

Personally the Maharaja is a Hindu of the strictest sect, not only by blood, but by instinct, training, and experience. Never in the course of his government has he failed to respect a genuine tenet of the Hindu religion, but for the abuses which are the inevitable parasites of every faith he has no sympathy. He has intervened sternly to put an end to the malversion of religious endowments. The Nepalese may now be assured that money left or given for any religious purpose will be employed for that purpose and for nothing else. A curious instance of his activity may be found in his rigorous overhauling of abuse in Janakpur—a place renowned as the birthplace of Sita, the luckless and maligned bride of Rama. A strict examination of the way in which the large funds of the shrines there were employed resulted in the discovery of a surplus, hitherto enjoyed by the Mohants, which has proved sufficient to feed and clothe one hundred and ninety-two poor men and, in addition, to maintain and educate one hundred and sixty-two students.

After consultation with the spiritual head of Nepal an end has practically been put to the bad old custom that compelled any man who crossed the frontier into India for military service, or any other purpose, to go through the " Patia ceremony " on his return. It was obvious that a journey to a

[1] During the Dewali and the Dasahra ancient custom permits universal gambling which is for the rest of the year sternly discountenanced.

neighbouring country more endowed with holy shrines than even Nepal itself, could not reasonably be regarded as a defilement. The matter is now placed on another basis. A small rite and the payment of a nominal fee are all that is now required. It may be that even these are imposed rather to mark the unwillingness of Chandra that Nepalese should lightly leave their own country than as any recognition of the need of spiritual purification.[1]

Nor has the Maharaja been less energetic in his spread of medical assistance throughout the country. His brother, Maharaja Bir Sham Sher, had established a central hospital in Katmandu, but the remainder of the State was without any organized centre to deal with general illness and the occasional trouble caused by epidemics. One of the greatest difficulties that the reforms of the science of medicine encounter in India is the obstinate and natural preference of the natives for their own Ayurvedic system of medicine, that properly controlled contributes its fair share of success to the healing craft, but has no knowledge or sympathy with advanced methods of treatment discovered by modern science. Chandra, whose travels and perhaps whose personal indebtedness to modern medicine and surgery have convinced him of the necessity of incorporating the results of present-day knowledge in the pharmacopoeia of Nepal, has treated both schools with generosity. He has established twenty centres in the

[1] The gifts of Chandra have been very great indeed. Besides the feeding of Brahmans in multitudes, the gifts to them on certain occasions of one thousand cows, the dedication to their use of elephants and horses so tricked out as to symbolize the holy mountain of the gods, and the distribution of food to twenty-seven poor persons daily at his palace, there are other and special examples of his liberality. The Koti Homa is one of the holy ceremonies of Hinduism. It is performed by Brahmans and lasts for about six weeks. The essential part of this rite is the offering by the sacred caste of handfuls of different grains—rice, sesamum, and barley, kneaded together with melted butter—to the fire of sacrifice which is never allowed to die out throughout the entire period. Each Brahman has to recite the Gayatri once before he makes his offering. This continues until one crore or 10,000,000 of prayers and offerings have been made. Gifts are afterwards made to the officiating Brahmans. Chandra has provided eight such ceremonies up to the present year.

He has invested one lakh (100,000), the interest on which is used to provide food and conveyance to needy pilgrims on their way to the shrine of Pashpati during the Shivaratri festival. Naturally this assistance is given over the most difficult part of the road up from India, that between Bhimphedi and Katmandu. It goes perhaps without saying that Benares, the holiest of all the cities in India, should have received his assistance on several occasions. Among his titles is that of Bharat Dharma Dhurim, or Supporter of the Faith, bestowed by the Sacred Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, or Great Council of Benares.

Other funds intended to help impecunious members of his princely house and others of high birth reduced by no fault of their own to penury, have been founded by him. He has taken under his especial care the infants and foundlings among his people and has instituted a foundling hospital, with an important out-patient department for maternity cases.

country districts which will be in charge of young men now completing their course of education in India. The Ayurvedic school in Katmandu will be reinforced by a new academy under the charge of four trained doctors. In opening the hospital at Bhatgaon in 1904 the Maharaja noted the impossibility of far distant Nepal taking full advantage of recent developments in the healing art, but added that it would be much to be regretted if the fullest use was not made of such new light as modern science had thrown and their limited resources were able to employ. In the Tarai there exist several hospitals maintained by charity under the charge of physicians from Indian Universities, and the mountainous regions of Nepal have not been neglected.

A bacteriological department has been established in Katmandu and electrical treatment is provided in an annexe to the General Hospital. Vaccination is not compulsory, but it is free to those who choose to avail themselves of this protection against a disease that, though never attaining the gravity of an epidemic, is rarely entirely absent from Nepal.

The last public ceremonial which I am enabled to record in the pages of these volumes is that of the opening of the War Memorial Military Hospital on Thursday, 9th September 1926. Not only was the occasion remarkable as a memorial to the thousands of Nepalese who died in the Great War—all voluntary sacrifices upon the altar of civilization—but it has completed, in a manner that will be envied by the majority of military stations in India, one of the best equipped hospitals in Asia. In plan the hospital is of the most modern and improved design. It is shaped in the familiar fashion of two " E's " back to back, and each wing is capable of being isolated. It consists of three wards on the three floors, each complete in itself. There are six wards of eight beds each for soldiers; twelve cabins with one bed each for officers; and one ward of four beds for isolation cases; there being sixty-four beds in all. The last improvements in the matter of ventilation, open-air treatment, ambulances, etc., are provided according to the latest pattern. Over £24,000 has been spent upon this notable memorial to those who lost their lives in the war. It is also endowed with an annual revenue of £15,000 which, according to present estimates, will meet the recurring annual expenses.

In the speech in which the engineer communicated to the meeting the above and many other statistics, he sums up in an interesting manner the material benefits that have been showered upon Nepal during the reign of the present Maharaja. He refers to canals, roads, rail and ropeways, hospitals and other civil buildings, bridges, waterworks, electrical installations, tube wells, and municipal undertakings going on here, there, and everywhere. He incidentally stated that the Ayurvedic School of Medical Thought was not to be neglected. Candidates were to receive at the best centres in India the ayurvedic training that is especially the development

of Indian physicians. These men when fully trained would be sent to stations in the hills and the Tarai.

But the speech that more fittingly than any other concludes this survey of the recent developments of Nepal is that which the Maharaja himself delivered. In form it was addressed to the King, but Western civilization will recognize behind this scanty veil the feelings of the Prime Minister himself. On 26th June 1926 His Highness completed the twenty-fifth year of his administration of Nepal, and in a touching discourse he explained that the aim of his life would be achieved "if posterity credits me with having done my level best for the uplift of the country and the removal of the sufferings and miseries of the people." He concluded his brief speech with a new announcement with which the second half of what we may hope will prove his years of jubilee will be well begun. Seven lakhs of rupees have been set apart to combat tuberculosis. A sanatorium will shortly be erected. As an eternal memorial to Chandra's work in connection with this great hospital, it will for all time bear his name, and as the Tribhubana-Chandra Memorial Hospital it has started on its long career of usefulness.

CHAPTER XVII

MAHARAJA CHANDRA SHAM SHER

THE NEPALESE ARMY—PUBLIC WORKS, ROADS, AND BRIDGES—TENURE OF LAND—CONCLUSION

"There is nothing that cannot be obtained by man. Everything can be got, provided the necessary exertion is made."—MAHADEO.

§ 1. *The Army*

THERE is perhaps no military establishment in the world which has been so rapidly and so efficiently reformed as the army in Nepal. In 1885 the present Maharaja succeeded to the office of Senior Commanding General, which in effect gave him the responsibility for the upkeep, drill, and discipline of the army. In 1892, when acting on behalf of his brother who was ill in Calcutta, it will be remembered that he obtained from Lord Lansdowne a gift of modern rifles which may be said to have poured a new life into the military vigour of the home forces of the Gurkhas. But long before that, as Lord Roberts testified in the same year, the drill of the troops under Chandra had been improved in a marked degree. The somewhat casual methods of his predecessors were scrapped and a new regime instituted. It was hard work, for in military matters as in others there was at that time no great willingness to adopt methods which were obviously modelled upon those of the Europeans to the south. But Chandra realized that the days of the old hit-or-miss tactics and mass attacks were over with the invention of the repeating rifle and smokeless powder, and set himself to ensure the utmost military efficiency that could be got from one of the natural warrior-nations of the East. But as has been said the task was not an easy one. He found at the outset an almost complete want of co-ordination in the training of the army. There were no regular text books. Manuscript notes ill arranged and insufficiently understood formed the basis of the instruction given. His first work was to compile a set of drill books in the Parbatiya language. These he based upon the similar text books used in the British army, adjusting them to the special circumstances of his country and his men. At the same time the tactical efficiency of the officers was carefully considered. Examinations were held and according to their result officers were chosen and commissioned. The highest ranks of all are to some extent still nominal, as the

sons of the Prime Minister while infants receive the title of General. But this almost honorary dignity does not in practice interfere with the working out of the army reforms. Promotion in Nepal depends upon efficiency. The organization and administration of the departments dealing with stores, equipment, ammunition, transport, and other necessities were also reformed, and the military law of the country has been supplemented by the compilation of an active service code which proved of great use when the Nepal contingents were sent to India during the Great War.

Before the present Maharaja's time, military service in Nepal had as a rule been recompensed by an assignment for life of land in different parts of the country. This system produced so many evils that Chandra gradually transformed this method of payment into a cash settlement—a custom which was already in vogue at out-stations. Where necessary an increase has been granted in recent days as the cost of living became higher. The service of porters, carriers, drovers, and other non-combatant corps has been entirely reorganized and a fair wage given in all cases. The Government of Nepal, like all Governments, reserves in times of emergency the right of conscripting labour as it reserves that of conscripting military service.

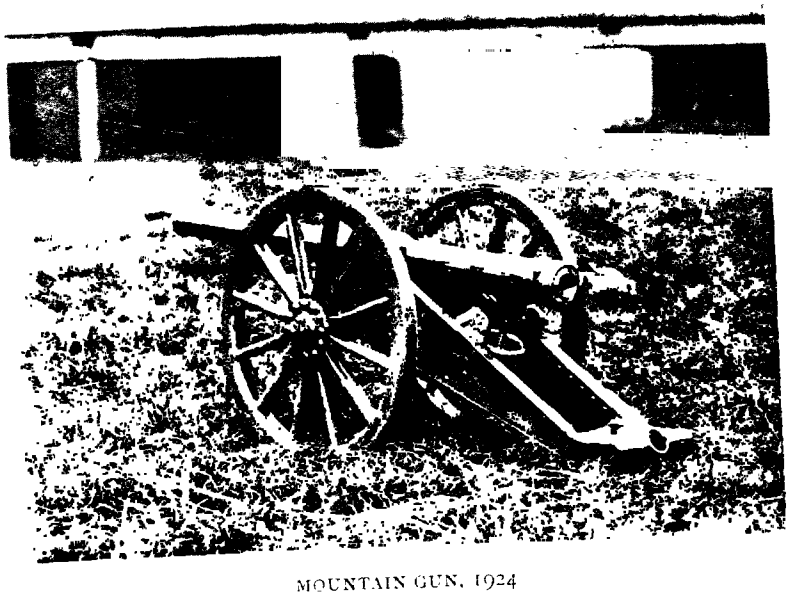
The Regular Army of Nepal numbers about 28,000 men. The Militia, which was first organized by Maharaja Rana Udip in 1879, varies somewhat from year to year, but may be taken at 13,000 men. The Reserve, consisting of all men who have had military training, is liable for service at the call of the Prime Minister, and though it is impossible to distinguish between those who undertook active military work during 1914-18 and those who served in a non-combatant condition, it is clear that the entire military strength of Nepal is very much greater than had been previously supposed. The following figures indicate the growth of the personnel of the army and the militia since the war with Great Britain in 1814.[1]

	1812	1841	1859	1922
Regulars:				
In the Capital ..	5658	10140	20048	22520
In other places ..	9029	9153	6014	6077
Militia	—	—	—	12860
	14687	19293	26062	41457

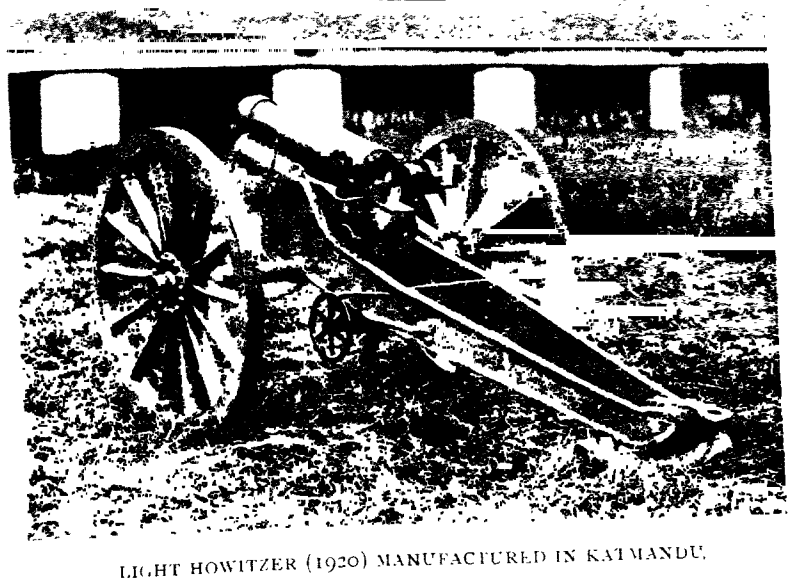
The following is a general indication of the distribution of the army:

Regulars.—Three battalions at Palpa or Butwal; one battalion at Baitadi or Dipal; twenty-six battalions in the Valley.

[1] It is perhaps necessary to remind some readers that these figures do not include the number of men serving in the twenty Gurkha battalions of the Indian Army.



MOUNTAIN GUN, 1924



LIGHT HOWITZER (1920) MANUFACTURED IN KATMANDU

Militia.—Two battalions are stationed at Dipal and two at Pokhra. The other chief military stations of Nepal garrisoned by militia or by regulars and militia are Ilam, Dhankuta, Sindhulia, Udaipur, Karphuk garhi, Bojpur, Pati, Wakhaldunga, Ramcha, Dhulikhel, Piuthana, Kuljung, Dailekha, Salyana, Dullu, Dhunaldhora, and posts in the Valley of Katmandu.

There are, or have been, arsenals at the following places: Nakhu, Sundarajal, Nayakot, Balaji, Themi, Piuthana, Dhankuta. Round Katmandu there are magazines at the foot of Swayambhunath and at the Laghan Khel near the southern stupa of Patan, as well as on the great parade ground of Katmandu, Tundi Khel

There is compulsory service for three years with a right to remain in the army after that period on the recommendation of the commanding officer.

In the Nepalese capital the men of the army are not quartered in barracks—though their construction is now contemplated—and are permitted to live in lodgings in and about the town. The old practice of holding the first parade immediately after daybreak in summer has been changed, as causing some hardship to men lodging at a distance. This parade is now held at seven a.m. in summer and nine a.m. in winter. At Bhatgaon and Patan barracks have been built providing accommodation at each place for about 200 men. They have also been built at Birganj and Nepalganj, though on a smaller scale, for no part of the regular army is permanently stationed within the limits of the Tarai. The posts at the latter places were established in order to reinforce the local police when necessary and to check dacoity. It is probable that this principle, which has proved successful, will extend to other places in and near the Tarai. The essential principle of army organization is that it should be capable of indefinite extension in any time of emergency, and it will be seen that the system adopted by Maharaja Chandra proved equal to the enormous strain imposed upon it by the late war.

There had been a crude kind of arsenal at work in the Valley as early as 1770, but for many decades the Nepalese army depended for efficient firearms upon the gift or purchase of rifles and ammunition from the Indian Government. This was an unsatisfactory state of things. On the one hand Nepal naturally fretted against this dependency upon the generosity of her neighbour; and on the other the Indian Government on more than one occasion feared that by these gifts it might be implicated in the foreign ambitions and activities of Nepal. An arsenal was therefore fully equipped in Katmandu which is capable of turning out excellently constructed field guns, howitzers, mountain batteries, trench mortars, and all other necessary artillery. Even this, however, was not enough, and the friends of Nepal will congratulate the Maharaja on having obtained by the

recently concluded treaty the unrestricted right of importation through India of arms and ammunition and of all necessary machinery.

At the conclusion of the war of 1914-18 the Maharaja announced a further increase in pay of the rank and file and of the lower grades of the officers to meet the increased cost of living that had been brought about by the hostilities.[1] Improvements in the medical arm and the immediate construction of a military hospital were then begun. The peroration of His Highness's speech on this occasion is worth recording as an illustration of the patriotism which burns not only in the heart of the speaker, but is expected by him to be the guide and lode-star of every man in the country, high or low.

"The hard life in the hills where we have to dig and delve to provide the necessaries of life may lead some of these loving men to leave their place of birth in search of ease and pleasure elsewhere. Their mistake is great and great is the wrong they do to their country. Our country's motto that one's mother and motherland rank even above heaven itself, appeals to everyone in every country—be your home in snow-covered regions, in sandy plains, among rugged rocks, in forest depths, or any conceivable spot in all the world. The land of birth has the first claim upon us and a compelling charm to which we have given the name of patriotism. Even dry bread therein is sweeter and better relished than rich plenty elsewhere. What could be more sweet and sustaining to one than one's mother's breast? Be loyal and devoted to your country, and be straight and true to the salt you eat. May the most high Sri Pashpati and Sri Guhyeshwari who have in their mercy watched over you so long, continue to do so always."

§ 2

Gurkhas in the Indian Army.—The first suggestion that Gurkhas should be enlisted in special units in the Indian Army was made by General Ochterlony in 1814 during the first year of the Nepal war with England. It is impossible at this date to ascertain why this proposal should have been made at a time when it was less likely than at any other moment that the Gurkhas would respond. But in November 1814 a corps under Lieutenant Young was formed at Dehra Dun which, after the close of the

[1] At a parade of eight thousand troops at Katmandu the Prime Minister announced that the Nepal Government had allocated twenty-one lakhs of rupees (£140,000) to a fund for lowering the cost of food and grains. He also announced schemes started for improving Katmandu, including a light railway and ropeway.

The Prime Minister also stated that the British Government had offered four lakhs (£26,666) for distribution among the Nepalese troops who had served in India during the war.

war in 1816, became the Sirmoor, or 2nd, battalion.[1] Meanwhile the 1st Gurkhas, or Nassira regiment, had been raised at Subathu and the 3rd, or Kumaon levy, at Almora. In 1857 the 4th Gurkhas were raised at Pithoragarh and the 5th at Abbottabad.

Charters were granted to the first four regiments of Gurkha Rifles which secured them certain special privileges needed because their women and children would be without a natural home in India if a permanent habitation were not provided for the regiment. " Looking to the different circumstances in which recruits from Nepal entering our service find themselves as compared with other races, H.E. in Council considers it very desirable that each of the four Gurkha regiments should have a Station peculiarly its own " (Despatch from the Secretary to the Military Department to the Quartermaster-General, 18th March 1864). In conformity with this policy the 1st Gurkha Rifles were established at Dharmsala, the 2nd at Dehra Dun, the 3rd at Almora, and the 4th at Bakloh. The second battalion of the 3rd Regiment was later given quarters at Lansdowne.[2]

[1] By G.O.C.C. 379 of 1858 the Sirmoor Battalion (2nd Gurkhas) were granted a third colour in addition to the two in possession, and an extra Jemadar was appointed to carry it. This was a special reward for the battalion's extraordinarily gallant services at Delhi in the Mutiny.

Some idea of these services may be gathered when one realizes that it formed the main picquet on the Ridge (Hindoo Rao's House), assisted by the 60th Rifles, the Guides, and detachments of other infantry regiments : that it was never once relieved during the whole siege : that it made two separate attacks on Kissenganj and sustained and defeated no less than twenty-six distinct attacks by the mutineers on the Ridge : that it was the only unit of the whole force which was exposed to constant fire, Hindoo Rao's House being within perfect range of nearly all the enemy's guns, and was riddled through and through with shot and shell : that for a period of three months and eight days the battalion was under fire morning, noon, and night : and, finally, that its losses, including the great assault on 14th September 1857, totalled 327 of all ranks out of the 490 with which it entered the siege ; of the nine British officers, eight were killed and wounded.

In 1863 the unit being a "Rifle" regiment, colours were discarded, but Queen Victoria designed and sent out to Dehra Dun a Truncheon to replace the old colours to which the Gurkhas had been extraordinarily attached. The extra Jemadar allowed for the third colour was retained for the Truncheon which is always paid the honours due to the Queen's Colour. When recruits are "sworn in" the Truncheon is brought on to parade as an additional ceremony and each recruit allowed to salute and then to touch it.

The Truncheon stands nearly six feet high, is of bronze and is surmounted by a crown in silver, supported by three Gurkha soldiers in bronze. On a silver ring below the figures the following words are inscribed in silver letters : "Main picquet, Hindoo Rao's House, Delhi, 1857." Below this ring is a representation in bronze of the Delhi Gate of the Palace of the Moguls with two kukhries (the Gurkha national weapon) in silver. Beneath the Gate comes another ring in silver on which is inscribed on three sides the words SIRMOOR RIFLES. On a third silver ring just below the upper end of the staff (which is of bronze) the words on the top silver ring are reproduced in the Nagri character. A fourth plain silver ring connects the bronze staff to the Truncheon.

[2] The later regiments have been associated with the following places, though they

On 29th June 1864 the following assurance was made by the Military Department: "It may be distinctly understood that the localities of the existing cantonment lines in which the corps are now located be given over to them in perpetuity as their homes." This, of course, referred only to the first four regiments; those added later are not regarded as "chartered."

The matter, however, aroused the criticism of the Commander-in-Chief



FIELD SERVICE, 1926



COLONEL, 1926

as early as August in the same year. But the Governor-General said that no variation could be made. In 1908, during the absence of the 2nd Gurkhas in Chitral, another battalion was ordered to occupy their quarters in Dehra Dun. But on 23rd September of that year the India Office cancelled these orders. The reasons were that for forty-eight years Dehra Dun had been the home of every soldier in the regiment. "He has brought his women there, assured of their protection during his absences. It is an enclave of Nepal. Moreover, many pensioners have bought small estates

could not be exclusively quartered there. The 5th Gurkha Rifles, Abbottabad; the 7th, Quetta; the 8th, Shillong and Lansdowne; the 9th, Dehra Dun; the 10th, Maymyo and Takdah.

near and expect that their heirs will enjoy them like themselves. Others stayed to be near old friends. Women expected the protection of the Regimental Funds in need." In short, these permanent homes were necessary because the Gurkhas had severed their connection with their own country. There is now no likelihood that the Gurkha regiments' charters will ever again be challenged. From the point of view of the War Office in India there are certain disadvantages in this special cantonment system, but the countervailing benefits are such that when in 1921 there was a proposal that the scheme should be modified, the matter was not pressed and nothing since has been heard about it.

Recruiting for the 9th Regiment is carried out among the Khas, and for the 7th and 10th among the Limbus and Rais [1] For the others almost the only men enlisted are Magars and Gurungs. The special merits of the Gurkha as a soldier consist in his inextinguishable devotion to the art of fighting for its own sake, the readiness with which discipline and hardship are accepted, the curious ability that Gurkhas almost without exception possess to make friends with European—and especially Scottish—comrades in arms, and their astonishing hill work. Of the first no proof is needed, it is a characteristic that is recognized by all.[2] War is the only sport as well as the only work worthy of a man's attention, and though this unwillingness to deal with the commercial needs of the State has its obvious disadvantages it is not in this section of the book that reference need be made to it. In matters of discipline the Gurkha will put up with any regulations and will not complain however hard the life in war; but he looks for justice, and it is because the officers in the Gurkha regiments in the Indian Army are in most cases specially selected men that an excellent *esprit de corps* exists. The hill men possess the invaluable characteristic that they do not make trouble and respond at once to the welcome that they invariably meet with in the field. Of their hill work the fame is widely spread, and it is only necessary to quote again a story that is already a classic along the northern frontier of India.

§ 3

The Khud Race of the Gurkhas.—This is the story of the famous khud race between the 3rd Gurkhas and the 60th Rifles. Major-General Nigel Woodyatt, who was then in command of the 3rd Gurkhas, has given me personally an account of this contest, which took place at Ranikhet in 1907.[3] It appears that, owing to certain misunderstandings and mistakes in timing

[1] See Appendix XVII.

[2] I have myself watched from the windows of the Embassy in Constantinople a corporal's guard of Gurkhas whose sole idea of utilizing hours of recreation lay in assuming command in rotation and issuing words of command to willing companions.

[3] He has briefly noted it on p. 171 of his book *Under Ten Viceroys.*

which need not be detailed here, the 60th believed that in what in Britain is called a hill race, and is only known at Grasmere—a race straight uphill and back from and to given points—the Rifles would be able to hold their own against any Gurkha battalion. A challenge was issued which General Woodyatt promptly accepted on behalf of his own men. The matter was not to be decided at once, and a good deal of interest was taken in this competition. Both sides—each team consisting of a hundred men—went into training. As the day—the 20th September—approached, an intimation was sent from headquarters in India reminding Woodyatt that such inter-racial competitions were not encouraged by the Indian War Office. After some discussion with Colonel Wintringham, the Brigadier—who had himself been Adjutant-General in India—agreed to write to Simla and ask for a relaxation of the rule for a special occasion. Lord Kitchener was then Commander-in-Chief, and it may be that the matter reached his ears. In any case, permission was eventually given, not for a direct race, but for " a competition by time." So the contest took place.

So far as the climbing of the hill was concerned there was probably not much in it between the 60th Rifles and the 3rd Gurkhas. But, as General Woodyatt graphically described it to me, when it came to coming downhill the Rifles were simply not in it. The Gurkhas fell over the khud just as the raindrops collecting zigzag their way down a rain-beaten window. The result was that the first ninety-nine of the competitors belonged to the 3rd Gurkhas! One is inclined to wonder what happened to the hundredth on his return to his own camp. The General bears witness to the fine characteristics of the Gurkha soldier. " The temperament of the Gurkha reminds one of our public schoolboy. The same light-hearted cheerfulness, hatred of injustice, love of games, and veneration for superior ability or skill. There is the same mentality, with dogged affection (if well treated), and also, like the schoolboy, he works best and hardest with a firm controlling hand. No punishment, however severe, is ever resented if thoroughly deserved." But he cannot stand nagging. General Woodyatt notes the curious interest shown by Gurkhas in London. Apparently the most enormous structure of man has in itself some attractive power apart from the subtle beauties of atmosphere and sky-line which it certainly possesses for artists. The Great War gave many of them the chance of seeing it which they would not otherwise have had.

§ 4

The Police.—In old days the Nepalese village formed itself into a kind of watch committee to preserve law and order within its limits. To some extent this is still the case in India, and it will be remembered that a revival of the Panchayat formed one of the more interesting and possible parts

of the reactionary changes advocated by Gandhi. In the towns and in some of the Tarai districts, where the nearness to the frontier invited the badmashes of both sides to assemble, some form of police has long been known, but it is only since the institution of the present regime that the police system has been efficient. Its members are now properly uniformed and fairly paid, and compose an active and loyal body. Constables are admitted only after previous training and a successful examination. A criminal investigation department has been created, and some young men of special ability have been sent to police training schools in India. These, on their return—having passed the standard of superintendents of police—have been placed in charge of districts in the Tarai where crime was specially frequent. They possess no judicial functions whatever, for the Maharaja has throughout recognized the necessity of keeping separate the judicial and the executive functions of the State.

The many different castes, which send their quota of criminals detained in prison, offer some problems, but these are overcome by a general application of the methods in force in India where the same care is necessary. Prison sentences for grave offences and to long terms of detention are received in the capital. Within the gaols attention is devoted to the cleanliness and the mental and physical well-being of the inmates. It is impossible to pretend that the comfort of the gaols of Western civilization is either possible or perhaps desirable, but that something remains to be done in this matter is recognized by the Nepal Government, which is now considering the erection of a new gaol at a little distance from Katmandu. The separation of civil and criminal offences will there be enforced, and reformatory treatment for the young will at least be given a trial. As far as is possible the internal organization of the prisons is in accordance with modern views, and such methods as the promotion to the post of warder of the best behaved; the registration of finger-prints; the teaching and encouragement of craftsmanship within the walls; the remission of part of the sentence to well behaved men; and—most remarkable of all—the grant of a small sum to discharged prisoners to enable them to tide over their first days of freedom and unemployment, are all illustrations of a similarity of the standards of Western and Eastern gaol methods. Crime is comparatively uncommon in Nepal, and a large number of those under detention are in gaol for inability or refusal to pay Government dues.

§ 5

Water.—Public spirit has always been characteristic of the inhabitants of Nepal. In old days it was chiefly manifested in the creation and upkeep of some of the most remarkable and beautiful religious buildings in all Asia. For to the Newari a holy shrine was a trust—and that it was a

source of wealth also is no real diminution of the credit due to it. The offerings of the devout were chiefly spent upon the upkeep of the temple and its services. The pilgrimage routes that thread their way through the mountains of Nepal received some attention also, though more perhaps in the provision of rough shelters for the night than in any road-making or bridge-building in our modern sense. Less attention was paid to the domestic architecture of the country except in the case of edifices used by public officials or for official work. If it be true that a country is on the up-grade wherein the official and religious buildings far surpass the ordinary standard of private edifices in size and beauty, Nepal may fairly be conceded a prosperous future. The question of architecture will be dealt with in a special appendix. At present it is of interest to examine rather the practical modern improvements that have been introduced into Nepal.

The first provision which has to be made for any town, Eastern or Western, is that of a supply of fairly pure and abundant water. The three large towns of the Valley are each supplied with pure drinking water from independent sources. The most recent of these services is that which supplies Patan. This was completed in 1905 and was formally opened by the King in person. Patan has always suffered more than the other capitals from external and internal violence. It has been laid waste by war again and again, and it found what was almost its death blow in the sudden and overwhelming rivalry of its neighbour, Katmandu, only two miles away across the Bagmati. But it has been pointed out that, more than any other factor, the intolerably bad water supply and the consequent ravages of cholera were probably the cause of Patan's decline.

It is interesting to notice the connection that has existed between the wives of the Prime Ministers of Nepal and the provision of water for the town dweller and the wayfarer. It was the first wife of the present Prime Minister, Bada Maharani Chandra Loka Bhakta Lakshmi Devi, who interested herself in the lamentable hygienic condition of Patan. The water is drawn from springs to the south some four or five miles distant from the town.[1] The main pipe is carried across the Bagmati by a suspension bridge three hundred feet in span. This was the work of Colonel Kuma, and replaced the old structure which had been put up by General Bhim Sen Thapa nearly one hundred years before. The bridge, though no longer the most important lattice structure in the country, is six hundred and forty-five feet long between abutments, the width of the roadway being over twelve feet.

Elsewhere in Nepal pipe water has been provided, and it seems probable

[1] It is worth recording that this water supply was created by two Nepalese engineers, Colonel Kishore Narsingh and his brother, Colonel Kuma Narsingh, who had received a thorough course of instruction at Rurki.

that the inadequacy of the supply of pure water in the town of Jajarkot in western Nepal, her birthplace, was the cause of the activity displayed in this matter by the present wife of Maharaja Chandra, Bada Maharani Bala Kumari Devi. The water works were completed in 1924. In 1921 General Baber Sham Sher provided Pokhra, in western Nepal, with water in memory of his eldest son, Bala Sham Sher. So many are the instances of this new water conservation that it will only be possible to add that of Dhankuta in eastern Nepal, which has been blessed with a supply of pure pipe water.

§ 6

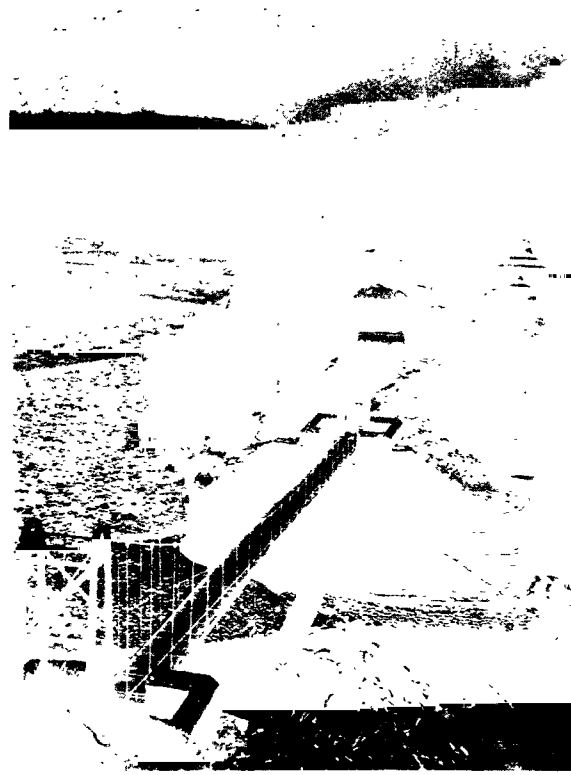
Roads.—It has long been recognized that the trade and prosperity of Nepal are greatly impaired by the absence of good roads. There are no railways in Nepal,[1] and the mountainous character of the country makes it necessary that all the transport in the hills should be carried on human shoulders. An obvious illustration of the difficulty is to be seen in the fact that it is impossible for laden and difficult for unladen ponies or mules or even elephants to climb the heights of Sisagarhi.[2] For this reason it is commercially impossible to develop much of the mineral wealth of the country. It is true that some of the more valuable minerals repay the heavy cost of freight to railheads on the Indian frontier, but the vast resources of coal and copper that Nepal is credibly reputed to possess cannot, at present, be advantageously worked. As they now exist the roads throughout Nepal—the Tarai should be excepted from this statement—are still mere mountain tracks fitted at the best for ponies and at their worst traversable by human beings only. This condition of things has been chiefly due to the vast difficulties presented by the mountainous character of the territory. Nepal lies along the Himalayas, and anything like a good road system has been in the past, and will probably long remain in the future, a practical impossibility. As it is, bad as they are, the greatest roads running east and west represent the labour of myriads of men and a constant drain upon the treasury of Nepal.[3] These tracks have to be carried across the natural drainage of the country which is from north to south. Consequently they consist of little else than a perpetual climb, a perpetual descent, and a perpetual river crossing. There is not so much difficulty in following the route, such as it is, over the spurs that sweep

[1] In 1923 a short stretch of narrow-gauge line was pushed into the Tarai by Mr. J. V. Collier for the purpose of transporting timber.

[2] Elephants cannot use the Sisagarhi and the Chandragiri tracks. They find their way slowly by special paths that are only available in the dry season.

[3] Jang Bahadur sanctioned the expenditure of three lakhs of rupees for broadening the two paths leading from Katmandu to Mechi and Doti. It will be seen that these two new tracks extended the entire length of the kingdom, from west-north-west to east-south-

down from the ice-bound spine of the Himalayas and bury themselves in the alluvial flats of India. It has been the crossing of the rivers that caused the almost intolerable delays that characterize internal transit in Nepal. A century ago the streams were spanned by mere rope bridges—

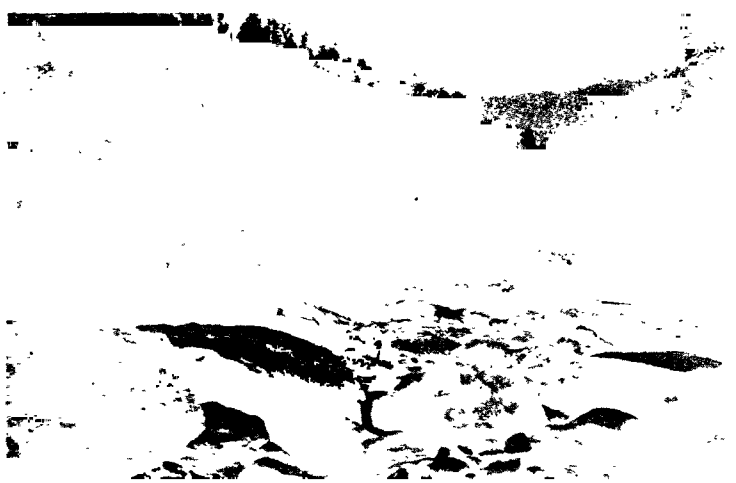


SUSPENSION BRIDGE OVER THE ANKHU KHOLA
NEAR AKANIA

the name " chaksam " suggests that in Tibetanized localities iron chains were used at the more important crossings—which were always at the mercy of neglect, rot, and, in many cases, flood. The use of the curious timber cantilever bridges which are scarcely found elsewhere south of the Himalayas was an improvement, but though far more solid in structure,

east. The amount allotted for the reconstruction must not be judged by modern standards. From one end of the length to the other the actual labour was probably slave or unpaid. Material only was costly.

these bridges were necessarily almost at the level of the water and were consequently swept away or rendered useless by any unusual rise in its level. In bad weather, when the mountain rivers come down in spate, it was impossible either to ford the streams or to cross them by ferries. The recent policy of the Government of Nepal has been to replace fords, ferries, rope bridges, and cantilever bridges by suspension or lattice girder bridges. Only the most important of these structures can be here referred to. There have been constructed during the present Maharaja's term a fine iron girder bridge connecting Katmandu with Patan and one over the Nakhu river at Nakhu. Iron lattice girder bridges have been thrown over



CANTILEVER BRIDGE OVER THE BHARANG-BHURUNG STREAM

the Karra river at Karra, and over the Samari river at Samari, a mile or two south of Suparita; similar bridges exist over the Bhainsi, the Sirsiya (near Parwanipur and Raxaul—the latter being of plate girder) and the Kiyasod. In addition an iron plate girder bridge has been erected over the Dhobi Khola in Katmandu and at Dokaphedi, near Bhimphedi. Wire rope suspension bridges have been thrown across the Bagmati at Chobar; three over the Sunkosi; and others over the Indrani and the Budhi Gandak at Arhunghat and the Bagmati at Sundarighat, and Khokna; elsewhere the same work has been carried on across the Kali at Ridi on the main road from Palpa to Gulmi and at Ramdighat on the road from Palpa to the Valley; over the Gandak at Trisuli; across the Ankhu, the Rosi, the Likhu, and the Tamor at Dhankuta; over the Marsiangti, and at Dolkha over the Lisankhu. Similar bridges have also

been constructed at Chapay, at Darandhay, at Tadi, at Palpa on the Dhobam road, and at Pangretar. Two stone bridges have been thrown across the Bagmati at Aryaghat and one at Gaurighat near Pashpati. A form of bridge with iron beams and brick walls and pillars has been used at Bhatgaon over the Kalimati near Bhimmukteswar, and at Bajra Gogini. New pile bridges stand across the waters of the Barhwa, the Sirsiya, and the Jhanjh near Hazmania, and at Dostea—three in all. They are also to be found between Hazmania and Patharghatta—the scene of Jang Bahadur's death where the road crosses the Chadi Samanpur—and at Sankhamul. Wooden bridges have been built at Kageshwari over the Betravati and over the Bharang-Bhurung. They may also be found on the main road to Piuthana at Balkhu; at Dakhinakali, over the Kalinadi, between Bhatgaon and Sanga; at Lamjang near Manabyasi; over the Labsay below Benighat; and between Taulihawa and Sohratganj over the Dhobi Khola. In some cases new wooden bridges of a stronger type have replaced an old-fashioned cantilever as over the Bridhaganga and the Kailas Khola in Achhami.

§ 7

But the most important piece of road and bridge-making remains for special notice. Elsewhere the roads of Nepal have been improved rather by bridges than by a reconstruction of their surface. But there is one conspicuous exception, and it is worth while referring to it in some detail. It is the new road that traverses the larger part of the route from India to Katmandu. It runs from Birganj to Bhimphedi, and I take the following account of the road from a summary kindly written for me by Mr. A. C. Chattya and Captain T. Rayamajai, the executive engineers. The road actually starts at Raxaul bridge, which is the frontier between the two countries. There has been no serious attempt to deal with the surface of the existing flat avenue until a point about four miles north of Birganj is reached. The length of the section between Birganj and Simra is a little over fourteen and a half miles and the new road has been taken across open fields. The embankment and bridges are completed. The width is nowhere less than twenty feet As has been suggested in chapter xi it is as yet *carrossable* for motor-cars and light vehicles only, though as the materials for metalling were ready in 1925 this work has probably been completed. In its course it crosses the Sirsiya at Pramanipur and Jitpur. There is also a minor steel bridge at Raxaul which is usable by six-ton loads.

From Simra the new road traverses the jungle. It is eight miles in length and has been metalled. The road has recently been rolled and is now fit for traffic. The same six-ton pressure has been provided for in the con-

struction of all the wooden bridges (one major and eight minor) which have been found necessary.[1]

From Bichako the road runs for a little more than six and a half miles along the sides of the hills and the bank of the Churia river. It crosses the stream four times, maintaining its character and width throughout. The earthwork and the wooden bridges are for the most part complete. The four large steel bridges necessary for the crossing of the river have been ordered from the Continent, and before the publication of this book will probably have been set up in their places. The difficulties of this section may be understood from the fact that there are six major and thirty-two minor wooden bridges. These have been designed to carry ten tons live load. The steel bridges are of similar capacity.

The Churia pass itself presents some difficulty. The steep gradients of the existing road—some of which are as high as one in four—will be replaced by a tunnel seven hundred and eighty-five feet in length, which is practically completed. This tunnel is eight feet in width at the top, nine feet in width at the bottom, and ten feet high. The gradient, rising from south to north, is 1 in 31.9.

A comparatively flat stretch is now entered upon from the Churia Pass to the Samari bridge. In length it is about 7.7 miles and runs along the banks of the stream and through the jungle. All that remains to be done over this stretch is the distribution of the metal and its consolidation. There is one major steel bridge at the Karra river which is already in working order. Eight major and twenty-three minor wooden bridges facilitate the crossing of this heavily watered strip. From Samari the road runs along the sides of rocky hills and on the banks of mountain rivers for a length of 10.1 miles. Its minimum width is here decreased in a few places to twelve feet. The road has been in existence for many years and nothing has been done to it by the road department except remetalling and the preparation of schemes to improve the gradients and enlarge the width wherever possible. There are two major steel bridges already constructed at the Samari and Bhainsi rivers. Twenty-five wooden bridges are required

[1] Messrs. Martin and Co. of Calcutta surveyed these two sections in the winter of 1924 and have submitted a tender for the construction of a light railway from the frontier to Bichako. No decision has been made as yet as to the advisability of connecting up the Indian system with these advanced posts in Nepal. In the present attitude of the Nepal Government the railway would not be allowed to penetrate the country farther than Suparita. It is understood that the Maharaja himself is inclined to favour the scheme under proper safeguards, and it certainly would have the effect of largely reducing the cost of the freight of Nepal's exported mineral wealth and her imported rice. In connection with the proposal to construct this railway the Maharaja has always associated its advisability with the need for reducing the high rate of rice, the main sustenance of the inhabitants of the Valley of Katmandu. But Nepal thinks of other things than its material wealth.

and cart traffic is able to traverse this section only for six and a half months during the fair weather.

From Dhursing, the last station of the section just referred to, to Bhimphedi is a distance of about two miles. So far it has not been found necessary to do anything to this part of the route as, though rough, it is passable at all times. Of course, when the remainder of the road is completed the surface of the last section will be taken in hand. The whole of this Raxaul to Bhimphedi road is fifty-one and a half miles.

After Bhimphedi the road crosses the two passes Sisagarhi and Chandragiri, the steepness and roughness of which have been referred to more than once.[1] Any improvement of this road to correspond with the lower sections was found to be possible only at an immensely heavy outlay, and the Government did not leave out of account the fact that the severity of the track—road it is not in most places—was a traditional method of making access to the Valley from India less easy than it might otherwise be. After long consideration the Government decided that if possible an aerial ropeway should be constructed so as to facilitate the transit of goods over these passes to and from Katmandu, without in any way opening up for passenger traffic the new avenue into the capital. The Maharaja took up the question as far back as 1904. It was not at first considered a satisfactory expedient; and it was, perhaps, the very great improvement in this manner of transport which had been effected by the Italians during the Great War that induced the Maharaja to return to his original proposal. At this moment the ropeway is an accomplished fact between Katmandu and Bhimphedi.[2] The magnitude of this work, which is estimated to be about £100,000, will be seen from the details which Mr. R. S. Underhill, the engineer in charge, has been kind enough to give me.

"The Nepal Ropeway is 14 miles long as the crow flies, running from Dhursing near the head of the cart road which connects it with British India, to Kisipidi in the Valley of Nepal. It passes over mountains 4,500 feet higher than Dhursing, and its terminal at Kisipidi is 930 feet higher than that place.

"It carries general merchandise in average loads of 5 cwt., at the rate of 8 tons per hour in either direction, and the heaviest individual load permissible is 10 cwt.

"The Ropeway comprises seven sections, each being a complete unit in

[1] Mr. Underhill in his report of 1922 says that at both Bhimphedi and Thankot "the roads terminate abruptly at mountains which rise up like walls for some 900 metres so steeply that it is impracticable to make any cart road over them."

[2] The Ropeway was supplied by Messrs. Keymer, Son & Co., of London, with Messrs. R. Pearson and A. J. Knight as Consulting Engineers.

itself, driven by an electric motor. By the addition of further sections the Ropeway could be extended indefinitely.

"Each section comprises a single endless wire rope $\frac{7}{8}$" thick and of 29 tons strength, which passes round a horizontal wheel 10 feet in diameter at each end of the section. An electric motor drives one of these wheels through suitable gearing, and thus causes the rope to travel continuously at $4\frac{1}{4}$ miles per hour. The loads are hung from clips on this rope at regular intervals 240 yards apart, and travel with the rope; loads going up to Kisipidi on one side, and travelling down to Dhursing on the other.

"The rope is supported by sheaves running on ball bearings carried on cross-arms at the tops of 106 steel trestles, which vary in height from 12 feet to 100 feet, to suit the configuration of the ground. The largest span between two trestles is 1,300 yards.

"At the end of each section the clips automatically disengage from the wire rope, run along an overhead rail through the station, and then engage with the rope of the next section; so that a load can travel continuously from end to end of the Ropeway.

"The power required to drive the Ropeway when fully loaded is about 80 horse power.

"The trestle foundations were commenced early in 1922. Railway strikes in India hindered deliveries of materials, so that trestle erection was not started until March 1923. The first $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles, comprising three sections of the steepest part of the line, have recently run a full load test satisfactorily, and the whole Ropeway is expected to be completed by midsummer 1925. Weather conditions permit of erection work being carried on for six months of the year only.

(Signed) R. S. UNDERHILL.[1]
11-6-24."

For travellers the route from India to Katmandu consists of a cart road for fifty-one and a half miles from the frontier to Bhimphedi; a mere track eighteen miles long over two steep and very difficult passes from Bhimphedi to Thankot, and thence by a fairly good cart road through the Valley from Thankot to Katmandu, a distance of about seven miles.

§ 8

Electric Supply.—The needs of the capital—and incidentally of the ropeway—are supplied by a fine installation near Pharping. This project

[1] Some difficulty was experienced by Mr. Underhill in constructing the supports for the ropeway. It was believed that the opening was to be celebrated by the immolation of children at the foot of the trestles, and in some cases he found villages emptied as he approached them. Mr. Underhill has also erected a short ropeway from the quarries behind Swayambhunath to the city of Katmandu. It is two and a half miles in length and carries road metal at a rate of four tons per hour.

was completed in 1911. The difficulties of the work may be understood from the statement of Mr. Bernard Pantet, the engineer in charge of the works, that eight and a half millions of cubic feet had to be removed and the Kati stream diverted. In the excavation of the reservoir a good deal of especially troublesome rock had to be cleared. The reservoir holds five hundred and twenty-eight thousand seven hundred and eighty-three cubic feet of water. The main pipe line is two thousand five hundred and thirty-eight feet in length, and the pressure of water at the power-house end is two hundred and eighty-eight pounds per square inch. The transmission line is seven miles in length, and it twice crosses the Bagmati by spans of nine hundred and six hundred feet respectively.

It is interesting to note that the power rate has been kept at a figure which London men may envy—two annas per unit. It need hardly be added that the supply of electricity at Katmandu has suggested and been the means of carrying through a large number of the reforms of the past fifteen years.

§ 9

Woods and Forests.—There will be found elsewhere in this volume[1] the report upon the working and the future of the greatest asset that Nepal possesses—her forest wealth. It is therefore necessary here to say little more than that, except for certain woods and within certain districts, tradition sanctions that timber needed for public and private use may be taken, but only with the consent of the village headman, whose duty it is to see that there is no waste. It need not be said that such a method was disastrous to any settled policy of forest development and administration. A new regime has been begun, and under Mr. Collier's direction the present as well as the future revenues of the State have been and will be very greatly increased. The richness of these forests, even in their present undeveloped state, is astonishing. No doubt some difficulty will be found in the carrying out of a liberal policy which will involve the presence of a European supervisor in the Tarai—no one, of course, is allowed to cross the lower mountain barrier of the country—on account of the traditional dislike of the Nepalese to any novel method that is brought under their notice. But from the point of view of the Government there can be no question that a proper administration of these enormous tracts offers the best assurance that can be given for a wealthy future.

Famine has always been one of the enemies of Nepal. The country is almost entirely dependent upon a good monsoon for its supply of food, and though in general the mountainous nature of the State makes it difficult to find large areas of cultivation needing artificial irrigation, in the Tarai the water has been carefully and consistently conserved by a system that

[1] Appendix XIX.

finds its best illustration in the Saptarai district. After great difficulty and several failures, the present method was devised by Mr. Hanckell and by Mr. S. Athaim. Large granaries known as golas—from their circular shape—and bhakharis have been built in many parts of the country for the storage of surplus grain in years of plenty. The spectre of famine has practically been exorcised by these measures.

Among other improvements have been the reorganization and extension of the postal service. Nepal has not yet joined the postal union—a step which the Maharaja is probably considering at this moment; the stamps, therefore, are valid only for the national service. Any letters addressed to India or beyond have to be franked by Indian stamps.

A telephone line has been put up between Birganj on the frontier and Katmandu, and there is an extension from Birganj to Hajminia, about thirty miles distant, where the headquarters of the Maharaja are placed in the cold weather. The tariff adopted for the use of the telephone is one that many European listeners might wish adopted elsewhere. The charge is three Nepalese pice—which are equivalent to about three-eighths of a penny—per word.

In this rapid survey of the large reforms and improvements which have been carried out in recent years room must be found for a reference to the adoption of the Western calendar for all dates. Before the administration of the present Maharaja, the official practice was to record the day of the month according to its position in the dark or the bright fortnight of the lunar month. As this has been abandoned, only occasional reference has been made in this book to the discarded system of reckoning.

§ 10

Tenure of Land.—For purposes of tenure and assessment of land Nepal is divided into two regions. One is the flat, warm, and rich Tarai, the other contains the mountainous remainder of the State. The former is inhabited by a mixed population which has probably been obliterated and restocked many times from the adjoining lands. The *awal* itself is sufficient to account for this, for alone among the inhabitants the Tharus have the privilege of immunity from the devastating fever which reigns in the Tarai from March to September. The latter—by far the larger part of Nepal—provides a home for the Gurkhas, Newars, Rais, Limbus, Bhotias, Sharpas, and many others, to a description of whom a special appendix in this volume is dedicated.[1]

Between the hills and the Tarai is a narrow zone known as Bhitri Madesh, wherein the important districts of Makwanpur, Chitawan, and Dang-Deokhori-Sonar are separately administered. The rest of the terri-

[1] Appendix XVII.

tory is annexed for this purpose to the nearest Tarai or hill station, as the case may be.

The Tarai is divided into fourteen main zillas or counties—Morung, Saptarai, Mohotari, Sarlahi, Rautahat, Banra, Parsa, Butwal (Palhi-Majhakhand), Butwal (Khajahni-Seoraj), Deochori, Bankay, Bardia, Kailali, and Kanchanpur. In the mountainous regions there are twenty-five counties—tahsils, zillas, or ilakas—Ilam Dhankuta, No. 4 East (Bojpur), No. 3 East (Wakhaldhunga), No. 2 East (Lyanglyang), No. 1 East (Dhulikhel), No. 1 West (Nayakot), No. 2 West (Pokhra-Bandipur), Kaski, Lamjang, No. 4 West (Syangja), Palpa, No. 5 West (Gulmi), Piuthana, Salyana, Dullu (Dailekh), Doti, Baitadi, Jumla, Jajarkot, Bajhang, Achham,[1] Thalahra, together with the metropolitan districts of Katmandu, Patan, and Bhatgaon. These main divisions are subdivided into thums, daras, or garkhas which again are parcelled into gaons and mouzas.

A standard "ropni" of land has been created to get rid of the inextricable confusion of many different measurements of area according to the quality of the land. This ropni forms the unit for revenue assessment.[2] One traditional measurement for purposes of assessment has been allowed to remain. And it is interesting if only as indicating the kind of hereditary complication with which the present Maharaja has had to deal in standardizing the land revenue in Nepal as well as the difficulty caused by military jagirs. Maize lands, or lands situated on the hill-side, enjoy a special assessment. They are divided into three kinds, namely, "hal," "patay," and "kodalay." Hal is the area cultivated by a tenant with a pair or pairs of bullocks. This pays one nepali rupee only for the whole area thus cultivated. A tenant owning only one bullock and with the help of another bullock borrowed from his neighbour is a patay tenant and pays three-fourths of a nepali rupee. The kodalay tenant uses the spade only and pays half a nepali rupee as rent for his land. The lightness of the rent for hill-side land has been a great factor in the extension of the cultivation of land of poor quality or of difficult access. It is a different thing with the rich rice-growing lowlands of Nepal. In some cases the rent therein is about half the actual produce of rice obtained from the land. In these lowlands in the Tarai and in Bhitri Madesh the "bigha," measuring ninety yards by ninety yards, is the standard unit.

No jagirs, or lands given as a reward for military service, are now granted in the Tarai. This custom lent itself to certain abuses which were partially put an end to by Jang Bahadur, but his reforms still admitted of hardship

[1] In the most recent map given to me by the Maharaja, Achham is joined with Doti.

[2] A chain for land measurement in the hills is six and one third cubits, or nine feet three inches in length. Sixteen square chains is termed a muri, and four muris make one ropni. Thus the measurement of the ropni is six hundred and eight and four-ninths square yards.

upon the tenants, for which, however, the middlemen between the original grantee and the worker on the actual land were chiefly responsible. The present Maharaja began to substitute cash payments for jagirs given for military service. The change has been carried out with great tact and under the direct guarantee of the Government. The rates are now fixed and reasonable, and the scheme has had the additional advantage of stabilizing the Government's annual revenue from the land.

All land in Nepal is ultimately the property of the State, but as in England there are freehold estates owned by private individuals, as well as the endowments for religious and charitable purposes, secured, as in the case of private property, by a "birta." Until recently, the tenants of these lands had no security of possession or fixity of the rent. This guarantee has been given by law and a special feature of the new enactment is that relief from damage caused by drought, floods, hail, landslips, etc., entitles the tenant to a proportionate remission of his rent. At the same time the register of land ownership has been regularized and the tenure of hill land in Nepal at this moment, for simplicity, justice, and security, compares not unfavourably with that controlled by the Government of India.

A similar classification of the rates of assessment has taken place in the Tarai. Here the land is divided into two classes: "dhanhar"—the fields where rice could be grown; "bhit," or fields capable of yielding dry crops only. Three longitudinal areas are recognized in the Tarai—"seir," the upper portion of the forest land; "majha," the middle; and "bhatha," the lowest strip. The depredations of the wild animals for which Nepal is famous are taken into consideration, and the assessment is easier in the upper zone than in that of the central strip which, in turn, is lighter than in that of the land adjoining the frontier.

The law dealing with the foreclosure of properties in areas with high tax has been modified and rendered more equitable. Other abuses, too, have been abolished by the present Nepalese Government. As already said, the carts, coolies, and supplies needed for the winter tours of the Prime Minister may no longer be requisitioned without a fair payment, the amount of which is settled by local competition. Buffaloes and goats needed for the sacrifices of the official Durga festival are in all cases paid for. A system of contractors over whose duties there is a strict supervision has been substituted. It is not without interest that the very large number of elephants maintained in Nepal and their notorious voracity have called for special legislation.

§ 11

Enough has been said to explain the high and sustained level of interior administration and foreign policy which the Maharaja has maintained

throughout the long period of his government. Whether he has in his mind any purpose of broadening the basis of authority it is impossible to say. But his own experience has assured him of the danger that sometimes attends a rigid adherence to the existing regime. At present there is no other alternative but death or exile for a Prime Minister who either through weakness or wilfulness departs from the high standard that has been set up by Jang Bahadur and Chandra. It is unlikely that with the spread of civilization among all classes in Nepal these remedies for misrule should continue to be accepted as the only cure. That in his own lifetime Chandra would not do anything to limit his own absolute authority or that of his immediate successors is taken for granted. But lower down in the roll of succession there lurk certain dangers against which precautions should perhaps be taken—and with the present Prime Minister of Nepal conviction that action is necessary rarely long antedates action itself. The difficulties to which I refer will be apparent to anyone who carefully examines the list of succession contained in Appendix III in the first volume. It is to be hoped that the benignant autocracy which has raised Nepal to such a height of prosperity and power will not for many years be exchanged for yet another of the premature democracies which cause so much unhappiness in the Eastern hemisphere. At present there is no sign of any popular movement whatever. The Nepalese are content to be governed by their Maharaja in the absolute manner that he has proved to be best for his people at the present day. Abortive efforts, so the Maharaja told me, have been made to introduce across the border the dangerous virus of Indian sedition. As may be imagined, these attempts have been promptly and efficiently extinguished, No one who has made a long and careful study on the spot of the results of the introduction of Western parliamentary ideals among Orientals can have a doubt that our policy of encouraging Eastern peoples to run before they can walk, or wish to walk, has been one, so far, of disaster and retardation. It is not the most creditable side of the whole affair that these constitutions have been imposed rather through the weakness or the egoism of the British people than along the line of any clear or worked-out scheme, based upon knowledge of the Orient—and they have been abortive. What is true of other races of the East—with the possible exception of the Japanese—would be found even more true of the inhabitants of a kingdom who have hitherto found contentment, progress, and prosperity without the help of European methods.

One rises from a study of Nepalese affairs with a deeper conviction than ever that this mountain people are destined to play a more and more responsible and magnificent part in Indian affairs—the more responsible because the English are weakening in their willingness to shoulder the old burden of full responsibility—a burden which can only be taken up by a military race; the more magnificent because alone in Katmandu is the

ancient tradition of Indian rule and Indian ritual maintained. And it is only by governing a people according to their natural tendencies that their future can be assured.

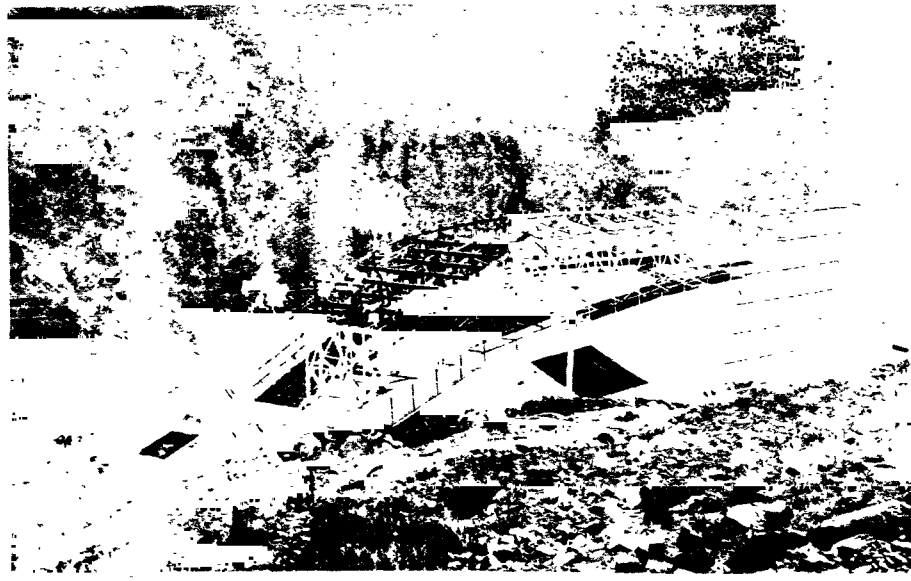
Least of all should England wish that any change should be made in the capable and powerful administration of a State from which, more than from any other State in the world, she has just received so overwhelming a proof of its friendship and of its constant willingness to sacrifice itself in the service of its greater neighbour.

With this recognition of what is almost the only example in modern history of a personally affectionate bond between two States I bring this work to a close. The attempt has involved research in many fields and could never have been concluded without the generous assistance of all to whom I have applied for help. It has been my hope that a hitherto almost unknown territory and almost unrecorded history should be illustrated; that a gallant race which has long assumed the kinship of blood-brotherhood with ourselves on a score of fields of war should become better understood and appreciated wherever the English language is spoken; and that our debt to the master mind of Nepal should be paid before an already lengthy term of service and responsibility yields, as all things must yield, to the march of time.

From my windows in the Baber Palace in Katmandu I looked out across a view which seemed to sum up not unhappily the various eras of Nepalese history and the deeper currents of her life and character. There was no period missing. Far away to the south the ring of mountains, blue in the distance but clear-outlined in the pure air, was cleft sharply by the Kotbar, or sword-cut of Manjusri, by which, as legend tells, the Valley was first drained, and dry land appeared for the service of men: and when the evenings drew in the wavering ghosts of gods and heroes seemed still to people the amethyst mists. Nearer, were outstretched the fields that made the Valley a coveted land long before the days of walled towns—days in which the old tales of serpent gods and under-water treasures slowly gave way to stories of human labour and human piety. In the middle distance Patan stood out upon its fold of ground. Immediately in front was the swelling curve of the northern stupa built by Asoka, when history made its first entrance upon the stage of Nepal. Beside it and beyond it the gilded roofs of the most picturesque of all the royal squares of earth betrayed the long tale of this war-ravaged capital from those dark and little-known days in which England was as harassed and English history as hopelessly obscure. The sharp fall of the ground towards the sacred river Bagmati has another and a later interest still. For somewhere there—the site has been wholly lost and scarcely a tradition remains of more than its approximate position—lay the Christian burial ground of the missionaries who for a time, and

vainly, strove according to their lights and their prejudices to combat a faith of which they stood in horror and of which they knew nothing at all.

Then the Bagmati itself, the symbol of all that Hinduism stood and still stands for in this remotest Himalayan outpost of the faith, the one continual flowing link with an empire from which the new rulers of Nepal cut her off with no undetermined hand. On the hither bank the irregular outline of Thapathali, the palace of Jang Bahadur, the first maker of his country—a sign of the help that Nepal then for the first time gave in overflowing measure to her great southern neighbour—and marked for English eyes by the low roof of the house in which the widow of Nana Sahib spent fifty years of a clouded and exiled existence. Then beneath me the trim, almost European gardens of the Baber Palace, a happy emblem of the great progress that the country has made, and its welcome of all that adds to the amenities of life. Thus in that one view Nepal was linked up from its dim origins with the full tide of modern life, and one turned away with the satisfaction that in much more than the mere luxuries of life the best standards that the East and the West together could present were maintained and would be continually maintained in this beautiful and mercifully still forbidden land of Nepal.



LOADING PLATFORM OF ROPEWAY STATION

APPENDIX XV

NOTES ON BUDDHISM IN NEPAL

§ 1

THE reader will remember that not long after Buddha's death the ecclesiastical differences common to all creeds arose in Buddhism also. The disintegration of primitive Buddhism, as was foreseen by Tathagata himself, was made certain by the extension of the theory of salvation from the Lesser to the Greater Vehicle, which may be said to have taken place about A.D. 250.

Before that time there had been no general re-interpretation of the doctrine of the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha such as that implied by the teachings of the Greater Vehicle, but the Buddhist world was ready for a change. The pure and severe code taught by Sakyamuni had largely degenerated into a mere mass of confused ritual, little of which was understood, much of which became later an excuse for obscenity, and which in Tibet at least has resulted in a return to sheer animism, if not animalism, lightly veneered over by the claim to Buddhism by men whose creed Buddha himself would be the first to denounce. Dr. Oldfield, in a luminous passage, notes the chief services which Gautama rendered to mankind. " It was the great Teacher and Lawgiver of Buddhism who brought about the social and religious reformation by which his countrymen were freed from the tyranny of the Brahmans and emancipated from the degrading trammels of caste. It was his learning that dispelled their ignorance, his piety that rescued their creed from the profane absurdities of the grossest polytheism, and it was his humanity which purified their religion from the savage and sanguinary rites by which its worship had been disgraced." Except that blood sacrifice is still taboo, few of these reforms are to-day characteristic of Tibetan or Nepalese Buddhism.

If the Master himself visited the Valley of Nepal—a possibility which may almost be ranked as a probability—his teachings were of course promulgated there as early as the sixth century B.C. The erection of six stupas and a record of the establishment of a shrine and vihara at Deo Patan, which can be identified to-day, is a proof that the Emperor Asoka visited the Valley of Katmandu as well as Rummindei. He also permitted his daughter to marry a Buddhist devotee at Deo Patan. But in the Valley there developed a school of free-thinking Buddhism which was not unready to welcome the developments of the Greater Vehicle,[1] and in time accepted

[1] The important part played in the development of Northern Buddhism by early schools in Nepal is well shown in Mrs. Getty's masterly book, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1914.

also the Tantric excesses which nowadays dominate the curious *mélange* in which it is sometimes difficult to say whether Hinduism or Buddhism is predominant.

It would be a mistake to suppose that in this duality there is necessarily any hostility. Hinduism and Buddhism have effected a condominium in Nepal, and greatly as the latter has been coloured by the association, it is not true to say that Hinduism is gradually ousting it. Most writers on Nepal assert that Buddhism is fading away there; and if by this is meant primitive and pure Buddhism, the statement is true—and has been true for a thousand years. But if Buddhism is meant in the sense in which Buddhism is regarded as the religion of Tibet, then the remark needs considerable modification. Deeply as Indian traditions and Indian superstition have affected the Buddhism of the Tibetans they would be scandalized at any charge of apostasy. In Nepal the Newars have accepted with Asiatic placidity a large number of embellishments to their earlier ritual and additions to their pantheon. This has been natural enough. The psychologist may recall that in general it is not in the nature of men living at high altitudes to develop the jealousy which at sea levels rends apart families as well as faiths. The newcomers are looked upon rather as captives than conquerors. The representatives of the earlier Mongol tribes that eventually trickled through the Himalayan barrier into Nepal during one or other of the great racial migrations of Central Asia are not greatly concerned with abstract theories of Buddhism. In Tibet local animism and a terror of topical and malign demons practically make up almost the entire religious equipment of the man in the field, over which the Blessed One presides from wall and altar and banner, a placid, meditative, and remote Master. But his personality, shadowy as it is, exists as the chief and almost the only connection that remains between the teachings of the historical Buddha and the practical religion of the Mongoloid peoples of Tibet.

While Buddhism was conducting this doomed struggle with polytheistic animism in and across the Himalayas, Hinduism in the plains below was reasserting its ancient authority against the simpler and austerer doctrine. In some parts of India, however, such as Bengal, the Buddhists were not driven away easily, and it was not until the eighth century that the followers of the Master gave up the struggle and either conformed to the older faith or, like the Huguenots of the seventeenth century, sought refuge in another country. Of those countries Nepal, Bhutan, and Tibet were the nearest and most obvious sanctuaries. In them Buddhism continued, but, as we have seen, it continued in a form which in Nepal made large concessions to Hinduism, and in the others capitulated to local superstition. The form of Buddhism which prevails in Nepal has not received the attention that it deserves, and although Dr. Oldfield has written a careful account of this mixture of two similar but antagonistic faiths, his description is coloured by his belief that Buddhism was a dying creed. It has, however, recently taken on a new lease of life. So long as the landmark of landmarks, the grave eyes of the Master—repainted and reconsecrated every few years—



THE SOUTH STUPA, PATAN

look out over the Valley from Swayambhunath, from Boddhnath, and a score of other torans, there will be a strong Nepalese-Buddhist community drawing inspiration from Lhasa but as loyally Nepalese as any Gurkha from the Kali to Kangchanjanga. Still there exists a tenacious belief that, however strange and foreign-born the rite, it is through the Master, the Law, and the Community, and through them alone that relief from reincarnation may be won.

§ 2

In this remote and mountainous state, where the influences of Mohammed and of Christ have never penetrated except as the creeds of a man's own rug or bed, Buddhism and Hinduism have carried on relations partly of hostility and partly of sympathy which are almost unparalleled in the history of comparative religion. Taking the country as a whole there is no sign that in the last seventy years the form of Buddhism which prevails there has lost much ground—in spite of the fact that the ruling class is not merely of the Hindu faith, but of the strictest persuasion of that faith. I do not mean by this that the Prime Minister does not attend annual ceremonies connected with Buddhism such as the Machendranath Jatra: it is indeed his practice to do so, and is only one more curious illustration of the harmony with which two faiths which elsewhere have found antagonism to the bitter end find here a common path to that peace which, after all, is the goal of both. Never has the Hindu Government of Nepal ever shown the least lack of respect for the Buddhist shrines of the Valley.[1] By tradition both Swayambhunath and Boddhnath are under the especial charge of the Dalai Lama in Lhasa, but local piety has always been necessary for the works of restoration; and in spite of its general disinclination to the presence of strangers, the Nepal Government has never hesitated to allow the Tibetan pilgrims full and free access to these peculiarly holy shrines.

Perhaps the simplest way of dealing with the state of Nepalese Buddhism at this moment is to use as a foundation the illuminating but all too brief notes of Sir Charles Eliot in his work, *Hinduism and Buddhism*. I do not entirely agree with his estimate of the decline of Buddhism in Nepal, but the summary is written by a man to whom the relations between the two faiths have been a life work, excellently and patiently pursued, so that a better estimate of the essential nature of Buddhism as a form of "exported Hinduism"—a truth that is the corner-stone of all useful study—could hardly be obtained.[2]

[1] I was in Katmandu in 1908 and noted the beginnings of decay in both Swayambhunath and Boddhnath. But every encouragement has been given by the Government to those who wish to restore, redecorate, and make additions to the Lamaic shrines of the Valley. An elaborate iron framework has recently been set up round the base of Swayambhunath, enshrining scores of prayer wheels. The upper structure has been entirely restored and re-gilt. The enormous dorje at the head of the flight of steps which had lost two of its arms has been restored: the plants that had sown themselves on the stupa itself and on the sentinel sikras have been rooted out and the surfaces re-whitened. At Boddhnath a similar work of reverent restoration has been carried through.

[2] Most of the recent writers upon the condition of Buddhism in Nepal have noted its

It is worth recalling here that before all others our debt to Hodgson as the pioneer is beyond all expression. Professor Max Müller remarks that before the time of Brian Hodgson "our information on Buddhism had been derived at random from China and other countries far from India, and no hope was entertained that the originals of the various translations existing in these countries could ever be recovered." In 1824 Hodgson announced that he had been able to discover in the monasteries and libraries of Nepal the original documents of the Buddhist canon, and from 1828 onwards a series of illuminating studies of northern Buddhism flowed from his pen. But even he did not and indeed could not fully note the peculiarities which in his time distinguished the contemporary Buddhism of Nepal from that of Tibet—then a totally unvisited country. He did, however, lay his finger on the three main distinctions; first, that Tibet has adhered to and Nepal has rejected the old monastic institutes of Buddhism. Secondly, that the former is still, as of old, wholly unperplexed by caste, while the latter is a good deal hampered by it; and that, lastly, Tibetan Buddhism has no concealments, while the Nepalese is sadly "prone" to withhold many higher matters of the law from all but chosen vessels." Another dominating difference—which may indeed lie at the root of all the above distinctions—is that in Tibet the government is in the hands of the hierarchy, while in Nepal the final authority has long been exercised by rulers of Hindu faith. Hodgson also was the first to indicate the enormous extent of the ground which is common to Hinduism and to Buddhism.[1]

Briefly stated, Sir Charles Eliot's review of the position is this. A corrupt form of Buddhism, he says, still exists in Nepal. This country, when first heard of, was in the hands of the Newars, who have preserved some traditions of a migration from the north, and are akin to the Tibetans in face and language, though, like many non-Aryan tribes, they have endeavoured to invent for themselves a Hindu pedigree. That Hinduism crept in from the south we must accept, but of course its first advent cannot be traced. Buddhism, he says, was introduced under Asoka, but of its history there is little that can be known with any certainty. The country remained under the influence of both religions for many centuries.[2]

anomalous nature and then, in a manner more or less perceptible to their readers, have firmly passed it by on the other side.

In an otherwise well-documented review of contemporary Buddhism by M. Alfred Roussel, the references to Nepal are meagre indeed.

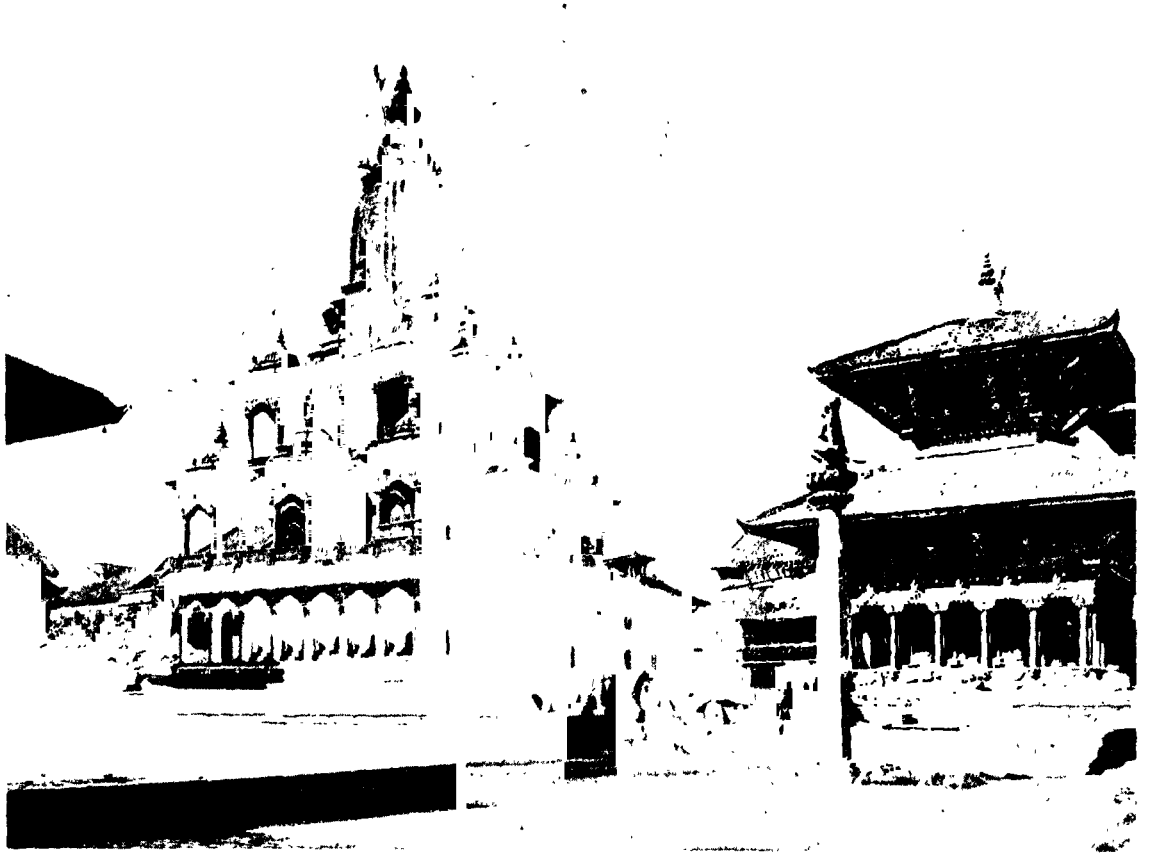
Even the manful Professor Rhys-Davids shrinks from the task of explaining what perhaps is as inexplicable as anything in all the chronicle of religion. In his invaluable work, *Buddhism*, he expresses, with a touch of satire, his sympathy with any man who sets before himself the task of disentangling the strands of Buddhism and Hinduism in Nepal.

[1] The practical identity of Nepalese Buddhism and the word of Shiva is put forward by Hodgson with some force. Perhaps the suggestion already made that—

"That which drew from out the mighty deep
Returns to the deep again."

may most probably explain the unique position which the intertwining of Hinduism and Buddhism in Nepal offers.

[2] M. Sylvain Lévi quotes from an inscription of the year 627, the joint and apparently friendly co-operation of eleven followers of the Hindu faith and six Buddhists.



KRISHNA-DEWAL TEMPLE IN PATAN

In 1324 the King of Tirhout, expelled by the Moslems from his own lands, seized Nepal and introduced a Brahman hierarchy. Later in the same century Jaya Sthiti Malla organized anew the society and religion of Nepal upon a strictly caste basis in consultation with this Brahman immigration. The followers of the two religions were codified in parallel divisions according to occupation, and ranked with similar Hindu castes. Rules and ceremonies were drawn up and, in its essentials, the status thus imposed is still in force. About the same time arose the Nathas, wandering ascetics revered by both creeds. The worship of Machendranath is probably an illustration of the influence of these people. In 1769, Sir Charles goes on to say, the Gurkhas, claiming Hindu descent, accelerated the Hinduizing of Nepal.

B. H. Hodgson has noted that the worship of an Adi Buddha, or Supreme God, was characteristic of Nepal.[1] Sir Charles Eliot observes that this dedication has parallels in India, where special gods of No-Matter are known. Indeed, the Buddhism of Nepal is less remarkable as a form of the extravagances of northern Buddhism than as a guide to, or at least a suggestion of, the last phases of the faith in Bengal before it was reabsorbed rather than reconquered by Brahmanism. Nepalese Brahmans do more than merely tolerate Buddhism. The Nepalamahatmya says: "To worship Buddha is to worship Shiva," and the Swayambhu Purana returns the compliment by recommending the worship of Pashpati. The official itinerary of a Vaishnavite Hindu pilgrim includes Swayambhunath, where without any sense of incongruity he adores Buddha under that name. It is true that more often the two religions adore the same image under different names—for example, what is Avalokiteswara to the one is Mahadeo to the other.[2]

The Nepalese pantheon contains three elements, often united in modern legends: firstly, aboriginal deities, such as Nagas and other nature spirits; secondly, definitely Buddhist deities or Boddhisatwas, of whom Manjusri receives the most honour; and thirdly, Hindu deities, such as Ganesha or Krishna.[3] The popular deity, Machendranath or Matsyendranath, appears to combine all these elements in his own person.

Modern accounts of Nepal, in Sir Charles's opinion, leave the impression

[1] The idea of the Adi Buddha goes back to the earliest ages of Nepalese Buddhism. Swayambhunath has probably stood for something like two thousand years as a symbol of "The Self-Existent One," who was not merely a First Cause, but a supreme and definitely conceived God.

[2] There is not this interchange of religious courtesy between the two faiths in India. The writer was present in 1908 when the present Tashi, or Panchan Lama, celebrated the famous mass beneath the Bo Tree at Buddhgaya. This concession was not obtained without difficulty. So completely Brahmanized had that place become that at one time there seemed likely to be some trouble, as protesting Hindus from Gaya attempted to obstruct the lustrations of the Grand Lama's attendants and followers round the temple.

[3] The temple of Ganesha at Deo Patan is said to have been built by Charumati, the daughter of Asoka. The priests of this Ganesha temple are Banhras. Kali is not often found, but it is remarkable that the Banhras are present at the bloody sacrifices to her at Devi ghat near Nayakot. The Banhras conducted the services. They wore red robes and their heads were clean shaven.

that even decadent Buddhism is in a bad way there; yet the number of religious establishments is considerable. Celibacy is not observed by their inmates, who are called Banhras, nor, it seems, are their other vows taken with great seriousness. The classes known as Bhikshus and Gubharjus officiate as priests, the latter being of the higher order. The principal ceremony is the offering of melted butter. The more learned Gubharjus receive the title of Vajracarya and have the sole right of officiating at marriages and funerals. There is little Buddhist learning in Nepal. The oldest Scriptures are the nine Dharmas.[1]

But all speculations upon origins can only be tentative. There is still an undiscovered world of Mahayana literature in Nepal, which it remains for the industry of the next two or three generations to translate, to collate, and to digest for the study of Western scholars. The royal library in Katmandu is a richer source of knowledge relating to the development of the Greater Vehicle than any other uncollated and almost uncatalogued collection of which we have information. But it need hardly be said that, important as these records are for the student of Buddhism, the man in the Nepalese street and field has very little use for comparative research.

For him there is the daily round and common task and, as everywhere else in the world, his interest in religion is entirely concerned with its application to his life and to the major and minor facts of his everyday existence. In the West there is still a strong prejudice in favour of the incorporation of some form of religious rite with birth, marriage, and death. In the East the identification of life and ritual is far more universal and intimate. From the hesitation of an Indian prince, better educated though he be than most Oxford graduates, to begin a journey or inaugurate a great work until the proposed day has been declared by the priests to be auspicious, to the half-anna charm against hail that the anxious Tibetan peasant buys confidently from the nearest Bon-pa magic-worker, there is no rank of life that is not priest-guided and in a measure priest-ridden; there is no action that does not need to be guarded by a special invocation, and there is no passage in the lives of Orientals which the jealous deities do not require them—of course through the priests, their vicegerents on earth—to safeguard by an outward act of deference. It is just as well to see that all the sources of good and, even more perhaps, all the sources of harm, are duly propitiated. Thus in Katmandu we find the Buddhist worshipping at the shrine of Sitala, the Hindu goddess of smallpox,[2] as cheerfully as the Hindu makes his offering to Machendra the Buddhist giver of rain in due season.

I have already referred to the universal popularity of the Machen-

[1] This, at least, was Hodgson's opinion, but M. Lévi has some doubt upon the subject. The Swayambhu Purana in its present form is not earlier than the sixteenth century. The Nepalamahatmya puts Buddha, Vishnu, and Shiva on the same footing, and identifies the first with Krishna. The Bagvatimahatmya is Shivaite, and ignores Buddha.

[2] Buddhists and Hindus alike worship Sitala. Being purely Hindu, the temple is arranged according to their creed. But the topmost roof has as its centre ornament a chaitya, by the side of which is a sword, indicating the worship of a female deity. This finial is set up to claim Buddhist affinity and authority over the temple, and the set of praying wheels round its base is intended for a like purpose.

dranath Jatra, which is attended with equal enthusiasm and reverence by men of either religion. The list of such doubled deities might be greatly extended,[1] and even in notes which have to be confined within strict limits, the temple of Mahankal should be again referred to here. This is a shrine of no great architectural pretensions lying on the western side of the Tundi Khel, immediately opposite the new hospital built by the present Maharaja. It is actually flush with the road, and up through the centre of the high plinth on which it is set runs a steep slope of steps, where all day long may be seen worshippers of both creeds. The Buddhist sees in the central shrine an image of Avalokiteswara: the Hindu worships in the statue the guardian deity of Nepal—Mahadeo: sometimes he finds in him



MAHANKAL

Hindu-Buddhist temple in Katmandu

his brother deity, Vishnu. Of *odium theologicum* there is little in Nepal and any differences between these two interwoven faiths would more probably be caused by a political than a religious issue.

The Brahmans in Nepal remain a close corporation and represent, though in practice it is never employed, the only authority that can in any sense of the word be said to exercise any influence upon the complete autocracy of the Maharaja. In the adjoining country of Tibet Lamaic prejudice has always denied access to foreigners. In the Valley of Katmandu

[1] Narayan equals Vishnu. Bhairab equals Shiva. Ganesha, Garuda, and Indra seem worshipped equally by both creeds. At Mahankal a small image of Akshobya rises out of the head of Mahadeo. Mahankal is identified by Hindus as Shiva or Vishnu and by Buddhists as Vajrapani.

this jealousy is more conspicuous in the case of Hindu shrines than in those of the Buddhists. Outside the Valley it is an interesting but difficult problem to solve whether the determination of Nepal not to be visited by Europeans is due chiefly to those of the northern or the southern faith. Of this hostility there is no question. Those who have been disappointed in their natural wish to visit the country are apt to put the refusal of the Nepal Government down to the Maharaja's personal unwillingness, and that he is reluctant for certain good reasons to allow this intrusion has been explained elsewhere. But wholly apart from his personal judgment, he would undoubtedly have to deal with serious opposition on the part of his people to any such visit by a European.

§ 3

It is impossible to take a proper interest in the treasures of the Valley without at least some knowledge of the symbolism of the statues, paintings, carvings, and general architectural characteristics of the shrines therein, so the following brief explanation may be justified. The expansion of that body of thought which has been referred to as the " Greater Vehicle " led to the creation of an overlapping and sometimes fortuitous pantheon. In this tangle it is, however, possible to distinguish certain main lines of doctrine and symbolism with which it is necessary to be in some degree acquainted.

According to the later and now dominant school there are five greater manifestations (Dhyani Buddhas) of the one Essential Buddha (Adi Buddha) to whom, as the Eternal and Self-Existent One, the temple of Swayambhunath is dedicated, but who is not himself knowable in any form.[1] The Dhyani Buddhas,[2] though propitiated and frequently represented in sculpture and painting, are scarcely more tangible. Another link is still needed with humanity. There is no real analogy between the Christian doctrine of the Trinity and the complexities of Buddhism, but it may perhaps give a line of understanding if the five Dhyani Buddhas, each of whom in his own period is supremely worshipped, are compared to God the Father who reigns in heaven and who has chosen certain means and certain divine persons through whom to create and control and teach the world of men.[3]

[1] Both the Red and Yellow sects in Tibet give him the name of Vajradhara, or the wielder of the thunderbolt.

[2] These Dhyani Buddhas are in theory very numerous, but in practice they are limited to five.

[3] There is much loose definition in the concepts of later Buddhism. Vairochana has at times been regarded as the unknowable Adi-Buddha, and there is reason to think that his invisible position in the central relic chamber of the stupa always places him somewhat higher than his four compeers. By others Vairochana's "son," Samantabhadra, and Vajrasattva, a disputed sixth Dhyani Buddha of late origin, are regarded as personifying the Adi Buddha. When recognized, as in Japan, his colour is that of the rainbow. It is remarkable that the doctrine of the Adi Buddha was originally taught in Nepal by the Aisvarika school about the eleventh century, according to Grunwedel. But it came to its full growth in China and Japan.

Now each of these five Celestial Essences is distinguished by symbols, domains, and representations of his own. He has his own special animal, used somewhat as supporters are used in heraldry, his own badge, his own special mudra or attitude, his own colour, his own consort,[1] his own celestial emanation or son, and—a matter which is of more importance than anything else to the wayfaring man—his own human manifestation or representative on earth.[2] Each, too, has his own special badge, a special position for his shrine in or round the garbh of the stupa. The following diagram will illustrate the meaning of the summaries I am about to make.[3]

	Dhyani Buddhas	Consorts	Celestial Emanation [or Dhyani-Boddhisatwa]	Human Manifestation	
Centre	Vairochana	Vajradhatisvari	Samantabhadra	Krakuchhanda	(Past Eras)
East	Akshobya[4]	Lochana	Vajrapani	Kanakamuni	(Past Eras)
South	Ratnasambhava	Mamaki	Ratnapani	Kasyapa	(Past Eras)
West	AMITABHA[4]	PANDARA	AVALOKITESWARA	SAKYAMUNI	(Present Era)
North	*Amoghasiddha*	*Tara*	*Visvapani*	*Maitreya*	(Coming Era)

THE FIVE DHYANI BUDDHAS

I

Vairochana, whose dominion is space, or possibly the universe, is white. His supporters are sarduls or mythical beasts, not unlike dragons. He is always found in the mudra of teaching, hence the wheel is his badge. It has been noted that his shrine is assumed to be in the relic chamber in the centre of the stupa, a place of special significance and honour. In order, however, that his shrine may not therefore lack worship he is also given one on the outside of the garbh at the right hand of Akshobya, *i.e.*, facing east by north.

His wife is Vajradhatisvari, who differs little from her sister goddesses. She is also called the White Tara, reincarnate in Princess Wen-cheng, the

[1] It may here be said that, although the name "Tara" is strictly applied to the White and Green female deities, it is sometimes used indiscriminately to indicate all the consorts of the Dhyani Buddhas.

[2] Still being careful to emphasize the danger of pretending to too close a parallel, the divine and human natures of Christ may be quoted as illustrative of the last two manifestations.

[3] Readers desirous of following up the symbolism of Northern Buddhism in Nepal and elsewhere are referred to George Roerich's *Tibetan Paintings* (1925) and Mrs. Getty's *The Gods of Northern Buddhism* (1914), as well as the earlier works of Waddell, Foucher, Grünwedel, and Oldenburg.

[4] Each Dhyani Buddha has, besides his conventional representation in the simple robe of a teacher, another in magnificent apparel with a crown and jewelled necklaces. In the case of Akshobya this radiant version is known as Vajrasattva, and in that of Amitabha as Amitayus. The other three Dhyani Buddhas retain their names when depicted in this royal fashion.

second wife of Srong-Tsan-Gambo of Tibet.[1] Sometimes she is given four arms, and in that case she bears as a head ornament the head of Amitabha, her husband's successor. The extra pair of arms and hands sometimes bear in front of her breast an object which it is difficult to identify, but which is in fact a large sapphire. In her right hand she bears a conventionally looped rosary of white beads.

Their son is Samantabhadra who, in the oldest sect of the Lamaic school unreformed by Tsongkapa, is elevated to the position of the Self-



A NEPALESE IN MOURNING ATTIRE

Existent One, the Adi Buddha. In this case he is represented in the usual adamantine pose, but of a blue colour and naked. Their earthly representative was Krakuchhanda, whose place of sepulture was honoured in an undiscovered spot close to Kanakamuni's.

II

Akshobya. With him the colour blue is connected, the air, and the elephant and the East. He is represented in the attitude of Buddha calling

[1] The influence of this deified queen may have been responsible for the use of white by the Nepalese in mourning, in accordance with the Chinese custom.

the world to witness. His badge is the single Vajra, such as may be seen at the top of the steps in front of Swayambhunath.

His wife is named Lochana.[1] She, of course, is of the blue colour too, and, unlike her husband, who, except in the Yab-yum position[2] is unadorned, she wears a magnificently jewelled coronet. In her two hands she bears conventional long-stalked flowers, which are arranged to suit the composition of the horseshoe-shaped halo which enfolds her.

Akshobya's son is Vajrapani, who is represented as a rule in a standing position. He, too, bears a couple of conventionally modelled flowers, and is enshrouded by a vesica-shaped aureole.

Akshobya's earthly representative was Kanakamuni, at whose reputed birthplace close to Kapilavastu the Emperor Asoka set up a column—now shifted to Nigliva—on which the inscription, though damaged, may be read to this day. (See Appendix X.)

III

Ratnasambhava. This deity is connected with the element fire,[3] his colour is yellow, his supporter is the horse, his mudra is that of giving, his symbol is the Tri-ratna or triple jewel.[4]

His wife is Mamaki, who differs in no essential way from Lochana except that her colour is yellow. Their son is Ratnapani, and their earthly representative was Kasyapa.

IV

Amitabha.[5] This deity from most points of view is of greater importance than any other because he is directly connected with the one historical Buddha, Siddhartha Gautama of Kapilavastu. He is lord of the present cycle of time. His element is water, his colour is red, he represents light, and his throne is towards the west. His emblem is the lion. His attendant is the peacock, and he is represented in the attitude of meditation.[6]

[1] The five wives of these five beings are, as a matter of fact, allowed much licence in attitude and decoration, and even in limb and feature. The following descriptions are, therefore, true only of the more popular versions. Most of them have the seven eyes of Tara. It is often difficult, even when the breast is exposed, to deduce the sex of the deity represented. Females, however, rarely assume either of the poses which require both feet to rest upon the opposite thigh. In general they take up the "Lalita" pose, which is often assumed by Manjusri. Here the right leg is flexed at right angles and often supported by a floral bracket. The left foot, missing its support, lies horizontally between the legs.

[2] That is, the position of sexual intercourse.

[3] So Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 35. Waddell attributes to Ratnasambhava the element of earth.

[4] These jewels are conventionally represented somewhat in the shape of a cluster of three circular knobs arranged in a pyramid and often continued carrotwise a little distance below.

[5] The two Grand Lamas of Lhasa and Tashi-lhunpo are reincarnations respectively of Avalokiteswara and Amitabha. Now Avalokiteswara, though one of the best known deities in Northern Buddhism, is an emanation of Amitabha, and therefore, though the fact is little known, the Tashi Lama is spiritually the superior of the Dalai Lama of Lhasa. The former, whose estates lie to the north of the Nepal frontier, has now almost no political power, and therefore Nepal, in dealing with Tibet, is concerned only with Lhasa.

[6] In his radiant manifestation, Amitabha appears as Amitayus the Lord and Giver of Life. He is never found in the Yab-yum pose.

His wife is Pandara, who has become identified, by the curious mixture of religions of Nepal, with Sita, the wife of Rama, the last incarnation but one of Vishnu.[1] She has lotus plants in her fingers, though these occasionally give place to small golden sacrificial pots. Their son is Avalokiteswara, or Padmapani, who plays a considerable part in the theological representations of the Valley.

V

Amoghasiddha. He is the Dhyani Buddha to come. His colour is green; he represents earth;[2] his badge is the double Vajra and his seat is to the north; his attendants are garudas or winged sprites, generally represented with birds' heads. His attitude is that of reassuring or fearlessness, and his haloes are curiously decorated, though in habit he is as ascetically dressed as his predecessors.

His wife is the Green Tara, the Nepalese goddess *par excellence.*[3] She carries in her hands representations of the blue lotus, but except by her colour is not distinguished from her predecessors. Their son is Visvapani, and their earthly representative is Maitreya, the Merciful One, whose coming on earth will close the present era and inaugurate the period under the direction of Amoghasiddha.[4]

With the exception of Gautama Buddha himself, and perhaps of Avalokiteswara, the Word or Creator of the World, the most popular in Nepalese eyes of all the foregoing deities are no doubt the Green and the White Taras. One reason is, of course, that these two deities were reincarnated in two actual women, of whom one at least was a princess of Nepal.

Mention must also be made of Manjusri, who, though only a detached Boddhisatwa and therefore not included in the table, is exceedingly popular as the celestial visitor who created the Valley and introduced Buddhism into Nepal from his home in the sacred Wu-t'ai-shan in Shansi—the Hill of the Five Peaks. At Wu-t'ai-shan there is still a structure remotely resembling the shrines of Boddhnath and Swayambhunath, and it does not appear that any other similar shrine is to be found in China proper. Manjusri is a guardian deity of China, and is almost unknown among Indians, though M. Lévi points out that it is there that a historical basis for his personality may be found. His prototype was born in Orissa about the time of Alexander's invasion. It is commonly said that the Hindus in

[1] There is, however, a certain tendency among Hindu pandits to teach that, after his life as Krishna, Vishnu was again reincarnated in the person of the historical Buddha.

[2] Waddell gives water as his element.

[3] See vol. i, p. 29. The Green Tara was also the sakti of Avalokiteswara.

[4] It is remarkable that while Maitreya is comparatively seldom found among the statues and paintings of Nepal, he has been specially chosen as the Lamaic deity of China. He presides, a huge standing figure seventy feet high, in the Holy of Holies of the Lama Temple in Peking. Representations of the same god, either standing or seated in the European fashion, are to be found from one end of China to the other. He has also had his political uses, for it is credibly believed that the Buriat Dorjieff actually tried to win the late Tsar of Russia to the cause of the Dalai Lama by assuring him that His Majesty was the re-born Buddha upon earth, for whose coming the faith had looked for 2,500 years.

Nepal have recognized in him the female divinity of its own pantheon, Sarasvati, the wife of Brahma; but, though the distinction may be fully understood only by the initiated, it is probably as the sakti or consort of Manjusri that Sarasvati is worshipped.

Machendranath is identified with Avalokiteswara or Padmapani, the celestial emanation of the Dhyani Buddha of the present manifestation, which accounts for his rufous colour. His association with the rainfall is connected with his legendary redemption of the starving Valley after a period of unexampled drought, for he made Gorakhnath rise from his seat of Nagas and give the Valley the much desired rain. The credit is claimed by both Buddhists and Brahmans. The Buddhist account contains a curious description of the honours paid by the Brahmanic pantheon to Avalokiteswara: the latter version admits that Machendranath was the tutor of Gorakhnath, but makes the interest of the story centre round the latter.

The Maypole-like structure of his car is crowned with an image of the curious and somewhat doubtfully accepted sixth Dhyani Buddha, Vajrasattva. He is an addition of comparatively recent date and is connected with the intrusion of Tantric worship into the already enlarged pantheon of the Mahayana or Greater Vehicle.

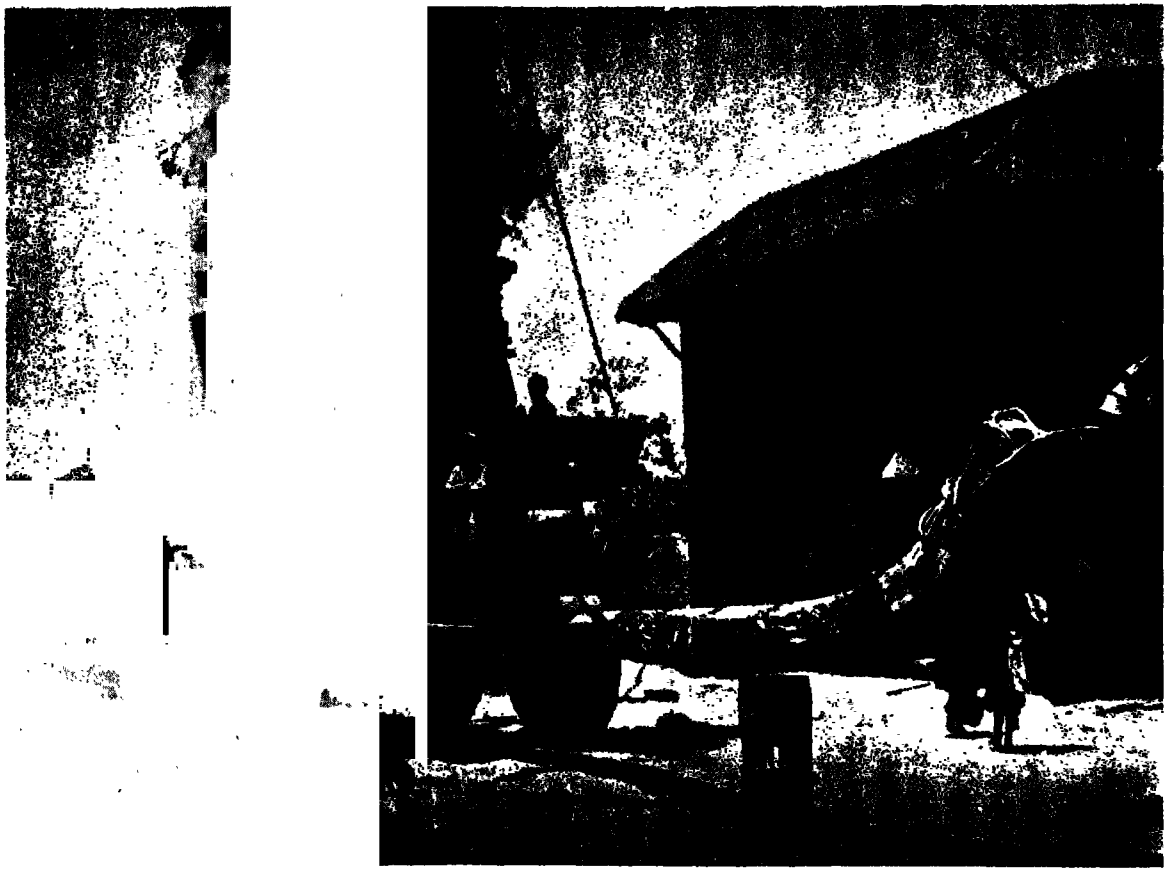
Kuvera or Jambhala is the god of wealth, and may be identified by the stoat or ferret which rests upon his left forearm and by means of which he fetches up his treasures from the lower world. In his right hand he bears a sword and his attitude is generally that adopted by the " consorts " just referred to.

The dragon-heads which are used throughout Nepal as gargoyles and waterspouts are practically identical with the " makaras," well known as terminals at the corner of gilt copper roofs in Tibet. They are found, indeed, over the whole of Buddhist Eastern Asia.

§ 4

The arrangement of the shrines round the stupa is to be noted. As we have seen, Amoghasiddha faces the north; Akshobya the east; Ratnasambhava the south; Amitabha the west. The consorts of these deities have smaller shrines, generally placed at the right hand of their lords, half-way between the cardinal points. Vairochana is supposed to inhabit the centre of the stupa, but the Nepalese have not been satisfied with this concealment, so in almost every case there will be found a shrine immediately north of Akshobya's which commemorates the White Deity. In some places, as at Kirtipur, the curious tradition is maintained of representing him by an almost shapeless block of stone. Those who have been to Borobodoer in Java will remember a similar lack of finish which, it is asserted by some students, was intended to represent the inability of the human mind to grasp the infinite.[1]

[1] It may, however, be merely a copy of the unfinished state of the Buddha upon the Diamond Throne of Buddhgaya. This may have been due to the impossibility of man to represent the Supreme God by brush or chisel.



CAR OF MACHENDRA

The parts of the stupa itself are generally known by names which are more suggestive than accurate. The round hemispherical mass is known as the " garbh," though that name should strictly be applied to the relic chamber in the centre and to the small shrines of the Dhyani Buddhas round its base at the cardinal points of the compass. The square brick-built erection on the top of the " garbh " is called the " toran." This again is a misnomer, as the word should strictly be applied to the gilt shrines which are set in the middle of each side of the top. Above them come the thirteen gilt rings, " churamani," which taper until they are crowned by the " kalsa," or ornamental finial—known in Burma as a " hti." The sides of the " toran " are generally plated with gilt copper, and the eyes which form the most remarkable feature of the entire temple are painted upon these plates: at Boddhnath the nose is shaped like a mark of interrogation. There is a curious tradition by which the centre of the upper lid possesses a downward curve in the middle, which lends to the eyes a fascinating aspect of mingled meditation and detached watchfulness.

§ 5

A few of the symbols connected with Nepalese Buddhism may be mentioned. The circular bump on the forehead of a Buddha is called the " urna," and, strictly speaking, should distinguish those alone who have received enlightenment. It is, however, sometimes used in representations of Boddhisatwas or those who, by their saintliness and learning, have qualified for the highest rank of Buddha.

The knob at the top of the hair of the head of Buddha is known as the " usnisa." The legend goes that Buddha was so frequently distracted from meditation and teaching by the necessity of having his hair cut that he murmured some quiet expostulation. At once his hair all over his head became tightly curled and of a rich blue colour. Thenceforth he apparently had no need of the barber. The " usnisa " is not infrequently used as a support for some symbol denoting a peculiar manifestation of the Great One who is represented.

The representation of three jewels upon a lotus symbolizes the whole of essential Buddhism. The three jewels represent the Buddha, his Law, the Church, or his followers; and their setting upon the lotus is a declaration in paint or stone that the triune God resides in him of the jewel and the lotus. This will be recognized at once as the basis of the one eternal ascription of all Buddhism—" Om mani padme hum."

Mortal Buddhas are, as a rule, represented as of a golden colour, and the following list, though without historical foundation with the exception of the last, may be useful as giving the chronological order of their reputed appearances on earth. After a long succession of other earthly manifestations, among whom the Dipankara Buddha is by far the most distinguished we come to the last seven that have appeared on earth:

1. Vipasya. He is specially connected with the Valley of Katmandu.

2. Sikhi.
3. Visvabhu.
(Here we enter the range of the five deities that I have already described.)
4. Krakuchhanda.
5. Kanakamuni.
6. Kasyapa.
7. Sakyasingha, who, of course, is the same as Sakyamuni or Prince Gautama.

Buddha is said to have accepted the existence before himself of Krakuchhanda, Kanakamuni, and Kasyapa.

A form of plinth was probably always used originally to support the vajra or double dorje, which is the especial and jealously guarded symbol of the Lamaic priesthood. Of its best shape, known as the Dharma-dhatu-mandal, an example is to be found at the top of the steps leading to Swayambhunath. It consists of a small circular and drum-like building of stone, the circumference of which is generally charged with the symbols of the year under the Lamaic code. These are, in succession:

(1) The rat; (2) the bull; (3) the tiger; (4) the hare; (5) the dragon; (6) the serpent; (7) the horse; (8) the sheep; (9) the monkey; (10) the goose; (11) the dog; and (12) the pig.

Double footprints not only appear in the armorial bearings of the State of Nepal, but are to be found carved in a thousand places throughout the Valley. The name they bear is " paduka," and they differ according to the personage indicated. Manjusri has an eye on the sole of each foot. Vishnu can be recognized by an incised text, and Buddha's own footmarks are indicated by a circle.[1]

§ 6

The outstanding characteristic of original Buddhism was that it was strong for the strong and weak for the weak. Buddha himself seems to have paid scant attention to the weaker brethren of the flock and their need for simple doctrine, regular worship, and a personal and anthropomorphic symbolism of the principles of the faith. Human as his outlook was, he seems hardly to have realized one of the great truths that dominate the relations between a plain man and his faith. Perhaps it may be said that Christ himself needed a St. Paul to add to the abstract magnificence of his teaching the practical but sometimes chilling ordinances and interpretations of the Epistles. And even the dogmatism of St. Paul had to be amplified, glossed, and gilded in succeeding generations of Christians —at the cost, perhaps, that the added ritual often became the rule of life for the ordinary man, rather than the great verities which that ritual was intended to enshrine.

[1] Like other creeds Buddhism was compelled to make concessions to the faith it found already reigning in the land. After all, do we not ourselves borrow some of our customs from sun worship, our days of the week from Scandinavian gods, and Christmas itself from the anniversary of Mithras?

The same process may be observed in the degeneration of Buddhism. Probably never more than two per cent. of any people in the world have ever been content to guide their lives by the abstract principles of even the noblest code of ethics. Colour, warmth, and harmony must be associated with these principles before they can be assimilated by the masses that have most need of them. Nor is this all. In Nepal, as in Tibet, the new gospel of Buddha could not—and naturally could not—dethrone the local animistic superstitions which had for so long served the common people as a religion, and in the long run Buddhism was compelled to capitulate—as Buddhism has always been obliged to capitulate to the local preferences and prejudices of every country in which it has obtained a footing. In Nepal this process of assimilation with mere animism never assumed the proportions which it did in Tibet. On the south slope of the Himalayas, instead of a concession to Shamanism the tendency has been rather to a compromise between Tantric extravagance and the steady influence of Hinduism.

APPENDIX XVI

AUTHORITIES

§ 1

THE source to which a student of Nepalese history would naturally go for a responsible narrative is the Vamshavali, or Chronicle of Nepal. Though, in its present shape, it does not date from a more remote period than the sixteenth century, it contains the traditions of a very much older period. As the name implies, it professes to be a genealogical table rather than a record of incidents, but, as a matter of fact, although an occasionally true and more often a fanciful genealogical descent of the princes of Nepal is herein recorded, its real interest lies in the notes which accompany these data. The work itself is known in more than one form, but the Buddhist edition that Dr. Daniel Wright caused to be translated about the year 1876 is perhaps the safest guide. In spite of earlier evangelization the real tide of Hindu influence dates from the time of the Gurkha invasion; before that time the record of the chief events of the kingdom was compiled by Buddhists, and later Hindu chronicles had only the story of their rivals as a basis for their own work before Jaya Sthiti Malla.

But it must be said at once that though this Chronicle is almost the only source of information about the earlier age of Nepal, it scarcely presents more than a series of unhistorical legends and impossible genealogies until the reign of the Malla dynasty. There is no more difficult problem in Oriental history than the precise meaning which is to be attached to legends of the appearance of deities and other unscientific records. It

would be unwise wholly to dismiss them. They often contain in an Oriental guise a hint which may usefully be followed up, and even in their most extravagant form these legends are of importance if only from the fact that they still form the basis of common belief and still influence the life of the inhabitants.

As an instance of the unwisdom of applying Western scientific tests to the statements of such a chronicle as the Vamshavali, it is enough to quote a couple of passages from Wright's translation:

> " Dwapar Yuga lasted 834,000 years. . . . The Kiratis came into Nepal at the 15,000th year of the Dwapar Yuga, and they ruled over the country for 10,000 years. The gods came into the country after the Kiratis. Dharmadatta Raja reigned one thousand years. After this the country remained without a king for one thousand years. Bisalnagara existed for two thousand years. Pingala's adventures extended over fifty years. When 950 years of the Dwapar Yuga still remained, the gods came to the decision that it was necessary to appoint a Raja. After this the Kali Yuga commenced."

Now from a modern point of view it would be difficult to quote any less serious attempt—and the Vamshavali is a most serious attempt—to write history. But no one who has lived in the East will fail to see in these exaggerated and inconsistent notes a general statement which is probably true. They may be reduced to modern phraseology as follows. At some time to which the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, certain barbarous Eastern tribes, called Kirantis, overran the central fertile Valley of Nepal. We have references to these Kirantis in Hindu literature, and their descendants under the same name, no longer stirred by the lust of conquest, may be found to-day in the mountainous basin of the River Arun. The Kirantis evidently dominated the centre of Nepal for some time, and it was not until they had been pressed back to their original eastern haunts that religion was able to obtain a hold upon the country. From this time onwards there was alternating monarchy and anarchy, or, if not anarchy, at least a state of tribal warfare which set every man's hand against the inhabitants of the next village. Such a state of things soon rendered it again impossible that any faith should burgeon in this distracted soil. Therefore by the direct interposition of heaven, the Valley was again united under the control of a single prince and there was peace over Nepal. But the evil days had only been staved off for a while.

To take another illustration:

> " Jitedasti. This Raja by the order of Arjuna went to Kurukshetra to fight against his enemies, the Kauravas mentioned in the Mahabharata. During this reign Sakya Sinha Buddha came into Nepal from a city named Kapilavastu, and having visited Swayambhu chaitya and Manjusri chaitya, fixed his abode at Puchhagra chaitya. While there he accepted the worship and offerings of Chuda, a female Bhikshu, and made 1350 proselytes, viz., Saliputra, Maudgalyayana, Ananda, etc.,

from the Brahman and Chhetri castes. To several Boddhisatwas such as Maitreya, and gods such as Brahma, who came to Nepal expressly to see him, Sakya described the glory of Swayambhu. . . . He next ascended into heaven and returned, after visiting his mother, who had died on the seventh day after his birth. Then, after preaching his doctrines to the people, he saw that the time of his death was approaching and went to a city called Kusi.[1] Here, while he was preaching to an assembly of gods (such as Brahma) and Bhikshus (such as Ananda), he disappeared. Some of his followers remained in Nepal and professed his religion. Raja Jitedasti did not return from the wars recounted in the Mahabharata."

Now this is, of course, a rambling and irreconcilable story from many points of view. It is interesting, however, to trace in it the ambitions of the early Nepalese princes, and an earnest if ill-informed attempt to credit Nepal with the later phases of the Buddha's life. It was not long before the presence or absence of ancestors at the great struggle of Kurukshetra became, among Indian princely families, a kind of hall-mark or test of long descent, exactly as the Roll of Battle Abbey continued for many unscholarly generations in England to be appealed to by ambitious families as a final proof of long ancestral nobility or knighthood. What happened in India was that a family which won a principality took care that the claim of some ancestor to have fought at the battle of Kurukshetra was duly included in its archives.

If the battle had any real existence, that is if it represents a crisis in a long struggle on the part of the early reigning families in the district of Delhi against the invasion of foreigners, it must be placed between 1500 and 1100 B.C. It is absurd to assert that the visit of the Buddha Sakyamuni to Nepal took place even about the latter year; it is scarcely less uncritical to suggest that it was in Nepal that the three famous disciples whose names are mentioned in the Chronicle accepted the new gospel.

But we may discover in this fanciful account a vein of truth. That Sakyamuni at some time during his long life made his way to the Valley is on the whole probable. It is a comparatively short distance from his birthplace and the scenes of his teaching, and it is evident from the visit of the Emperor Asoka and the important monuments erected by him at Patan and at Kirtipur, that the legend of this visit must have been accepted as true by the highest Buddhist authorities only about 250 years later. In this wayward account we may notice the reconciliation of Buddhism with the full pantheon of the gods of India. As has been said above, the present intermingling of the two faiths in Nepal is one of the most interesting features of that country.

The manner in which the Nepalese Chronicle was written even in the seventeenth century is an indication of its critical value. The following is an extract from the Vamshavali: " While this kazi was in Bhot (Tibet), some mischief-maker told the Raja that Nityananda-swami (who had been

[1] Kusinara, the modern Kasia.

appointed Chief Priest of Pashpati by his mother) never bowed to Pashpatinath, and the Raja went to see if this were the case. Nityanandaswami guessed his purpose in coming there, and after the ceremony of worship had been finished, and Chandeswari had been worshipped, he bowed to Kama-devata, whose foot broke and fell off. He then bowed to the Dharma-sila, and it cracked in two. Next he bowed to a stone inside the southern door, which also fell in pieces. After this, he was on the point of rushing inside to bow to Pashpatinath, when he was forcibly stopped by the Raja. . . . He died shortly after this."

It is a matter of importance that this fantastic Chronicle should be approached from the right point of view. It can neither be dismissed nor, except in some of its latest chapters, can it be accepted in any literal sense. The gradual abandonment of the figurative language of the early part, and a genuine attempt towards the close to render justice to the passing incidents of each year, are remarkable and deserve attention. It is true, of course, that when the national pride, or rather the pride of the reigning king, demanded an adjustment of facts, those facts were generally adjusted. I may quote, in illustration of this point, the account in the Chronicle of the invasions of Nepal by the Chinese in 1792 and by the English in 1814-16.

" The Chinese Emperor sent a large army under the command of Kazi Dhurin and Minister Thumtham. This army reached Dhebun when the Raja employed one Lakhya Banda of Bhinkshe Bahal to perform purascharan, while Mantrinayak Damodar Pande cut the Chinese army to pieces and obtained great glory. Afterwards the Chinese Emperor, thinking it better to live in friendship with the Gorkhalis, made peace with them." As a matter of fact, the Chinese victory was complete, though perhaps not so overwhelming as it was represented to be on the stone pillar below the Potala in Lhasa.[1]

As to the war with the English, the following brief record speaks for itself. " In the reign of Girban-Juddha Vikram Sah a war broke out with the British in the Taryani, but, depriving them of wisdom, the Raja saved his country. Then, calling the British gentlemen, he made peace with them, and allowed them to live near Thambahil." This, however, is by no means so inaccurate; the behaviour of the Nepalese during the early months of the war reflects high credit upon their military efficiency. But the statement as it stands leaves something to be desired as a record of the issue of a war by which, as has been seen, the Nepalese surrendered a part of the territory they were occupying in the Tarai and elsewhere, and accepted the presence of a permanent Resident in Katmandu.

It will be seen, therefore, that the Vamshavali is a book that must be read with healthy scepticism, with perpetual sympathy, and with an understanding of local credulity and local prejudices. As an historical record it cannot for a moment compare with the Chinese chronicles, and it is indeed uncertain from what materials the Vamshavali was originally composed. No doubt its sources will be traced when the invaluable but hitherto

[1] This record, by permission of Sir Charles Bell, I add to this volume as an appendix, No. XXI.

scarcely opened library of Katmandu is at last thoroughly examined. There is in this little known collection material for a valuable history of the place and importance that Nepal occupied in other days from a political and a religious point of view, and it cannot be doubted that there will also be found a great deal of historical material which will throw light upon the hazardous chronology of the earlier Nepalese dynasties. Although Brian Hodgson was presented with a certain number of volumes all of which, together with a large selection of Nepalese manuscripts bought by himself, he gave to various public libraries in Europe, the mass of material that still remains on these shelves is very great. A catalogue of some part of this collection, presented by Dr. Wright, is in the University Library of Cambridge (Add. MSS. 912), and M. Lévi, during the course of a recent visit (1923) to Katmandu, devoted much of his time to the Royal Library.[1]

§ 2

Grueber.—So far as other records exist it is as well to remember that few documents of European origin are extant which deal with the history of the country before the nineteenth century. Two or three Jesuit fathers had visited the country but they left little record. The partial downfall of the Jesuit order created a difficulty which the Pope solved by allotting the district of Nepal to the Capuchins. Sixty years later, the Gurkhas in 1769 expelled them, and they retired to India where for a short time they endeavoured to maintain some communication with Nepal from Bettia.

One of the Jesuits to whom reference has just been made was Father D'Andrada, who went up to Tibet from Agra in 1624. He did not then visit Nepal, but at Chaprang he met some of the colony of Nepalese workmen who had established themselves in Tibet. In 1661 Father Grueber and Father Dorville, Jesuit priests in Peking, were ordered to return to Europe. They left in the month of June of that year, and after a stay in Lhasa of two months they reached India through Nepal. Father Dorville died soon after his arrival in India, but Father Grueber continued his journey by the regular trade route through the Persian Gulf and Asia Minor. He remained in Rome but a short time, and then again set out to the East. But in attempting to follow the road to China that had been pursued by the elder Polos he met with a check and died three years later. It is to be regretted that Father Grueber was not allowed, or at

[1] One of the few outstanding experts in Sanskrit and kindred tongues and customs, Mr. Cecil Bendall, afterwards Professor of Sanskrit at Cambridge, was permitted in 1884 to visit Katmandu. After some delay the Maharaja gave orders that the entire contents of the library were to be submitted to him. He set to work at once. That evening, however, he was informed that the rest house where he was staying would be required in its entirety by a visitor from India representing the Public Works Department. It is not added that the Resident offered him hospitality, so we must assume that a unique opportunity of obtaining expert information about the Katmandu MSS. was thrown away by the Resident and the chief of the P.W.D. in order that one of the latter department should not be asked to sleep under the same roof as a scholar. Mr. Bendall's account of the incident is a model of irony and good nature.

least did not give himself sufficient time, to write a connected story of his travels; but his letters have been edited by Father Kircher, and in them we find the first European reference to Nepal and its cities under names that are known to-day.

Describing the terrors of the journey to Kuti, which he rightly termed the northernmost city of the kingdom of Nepal, he said: "From Lassa or Barantola in latitude 29° 6′ they came in four days' journey to the foot of the Mount Langur. This hill is of unsurpassed altitude, so high that travellers can scarcely breathe when they reach the top, so attenuated is the air. In summer no one can cross it without gravely risking his life because of the poisonous exhalations of certain herbs.[1] Neither carts nor horses can pass this way because of the terrible precipices and the stretches of rocky path. The whole journey has to be done on foot, and from Langur it takes a month to get to Cuthi, the first town in Necbal. . . .

"From Cuthi one reaches in five days the town of Nesti, where the inhabitants live in the darkness of idolatry. There was no sign of the Christian faith. However, all the things which are necessary for human life were abundant, and one could there, as a matter of course, buy thirty or forty chickens for a crown.

"From Nesti the traveller reaches Cadmendu, the capital of Necbal, in six days. This city is situated in 27° 5′. The king there is a powerful monarch. He is a pagan, but he is not an opponent of the gospel of Christ. From Cadmendu half a day's journey brings one to the town of Baddan which is the seat of the government of all the kingdom. From Necbal five days' journey brings one to Hedonda, a small town of the kingdom of Maranga. . . .

"These are some of the customs of Necbal. Whenever a man drinks from the same cup as a woman to do her honour, others, men and women alike, three times pour them out cups of tea or wine, and while they drink them, stick on the edge of the cup three lumps of butter. The drinkers take them and smear them on their foreheads.

"There is another custom in this country of monstrous cruelty. If a sick man is near to death and no further hope of his life is entertained, they take him outside away from his house into the fields, and there throw him into a ditch already full of dying men.[2] He there remains exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, without consolations of religion nor pity they leave him to die; afterwards his corpse is given to birds of prey, wolves, dogs, and other similar beasts to eat. They are convinced that the only monument of a glorious death is to find a resting-place in the belly of living animals. The women of this country are so ugly that they resemble rather devils than human beings. It is actually true that from a religious

[1] Mountain sickness affects certain passes and although it is due to the rarefication of the air, it is always put down by the Tibetans to the existence of maleficent dragons and things which breathe out foul odours and miasmas.

[2] The Father is here mixing up the custom of exposing the dead of Tibet to vultures, dogs, and pigs, with the Nepalese rite of steeping the limbs of a dying man in the water of the Bagmati at Pashpati. Neither habit has been altered since his time.

scruple they never wash themselves with water but with an oil of a very unpleasant smell. Let us add that they themselves are no pleasanter, and with the addition of this oil one would not say that they were human beings but ghouls.

"The king [of Cadmendu] welcomed the fathers very warmly, perhaps because of a telescope, which was up to that time unknown in Necbal, and other mathematical instruments which roused the royal curiosity to such an extent that he wished to keep the fathers with him, and he only allowed them to go after having exacted from them a promise to return. He promised them that when they came back he would build a house for the use of our Order and provide a large annual subsidy, and above all, would permit them to preach the gospel in his State." [1]

From the Valley Grueber went down into the Tarai to Hetaura, which he described as possessing no permanent buildings, though there were many straw-built huts and the office of the tax-gatherer. To this account is added the curious note that the king of Moranga pays to the Mogul Emperors every year a tribute of 250,000 rix dollars and seven elephants. This kingdom of Moranga, according to another note by Kircher, protrudes into the kingdom of Tibet. Its capital, Radoc (Rudok) is the last place reached in other days by Father D'Andrada in his voyage to Tibet. He found many proofs of the Christian faith, which had been established there, in the baptismal names still in use—Dominique, François, Antoine.

M. Lévi writes an interesting note upon the geography of Father Grueber's journey and the identification of his names. He suggests that Langur represents the hilly region west of Khamba Jong. In his view the word "Langur"—which is a generic term for a hill or a mountain—indicates the steep height of the Katambala which one crosses between Kamba Partsi on the Tsangpo and the shores of the Yamdok-tso.[2] This corresponds very well with his statement that the hill is four days' journey from Lhasa. The actual distance is perhaps fifty-seven miles, and Georgi is more accurate in estimating the time at three days. I have done the journey myself in one day, but a special dak was laid for me and three stages compressed into one.

§ 3

Tavernier.—After Grueber comes Tavernier, the famous Grand Jeweller

[1] The worthy Father was interviewed in Rome upon his amazing journey, and in the course of his remarks he explained the incident of the telescope. He says that the king of Katmandu, whose name was Partasmal (Pratapa Malla), was carrying on a war with a small king named Varcam of Bhatgaon. The latter had perpetually raided the territory of Pratapa, and the Father rendered a signal service to the troops of Katmandu by lending this eyeglass to the King. But not understanding the effect of the lens, Pratapa, seeing his enemy apparently so close to him, gave orders that his soldiers should march at once against them.

[2] Although M. Lévi's description is accurate, it is necessary not to confuse it with the more common use of the word "Langur" as applying to the enormous massif which extends from Jongsong la, where three countries meet, to the Kuti Pass. It really refers to the most magnificent group of mountains known on this planet. But that this hyperbolic phrase may have been used by local pride for lesser massifs may well be believed.

to the Indian Emperor. He reports that, five or six leagues beyond Gorakhpur one enters the territory of the Raja of " Nupal." This prince is a vassal of the Great Mogul and sends him every year one elephant as tribute. He resides in the city of Nupal, from which he takes his name, and there is very little either trade or money in his country, which consists only of forests and mountains. As M. Lévi notes, Tavernier was obliged to trust to inadequate and partial information for the religion of the country. But he records the state of trade between India and Tibet through Nepal. He says that the kingdom of "Boutan"[1] is of great extent, but no exact knowledge of it is possessed by any one. Musk would be a profitable merchandise were it not for the taxes levied upon it on the way to Europe and the evaporation which is suffered during the hot weather. Tavernier describes a trick practised upon the customs house of Gorakhpur by merchants proceeding to Tibet for musk or rhubarb. If they fail to come to an arrangement with the *douane,* they take another road which is very much longer and more difficult because of the ranges of snowy mountains and the wide deserts on the other side. This alternative road is of interest because it indicates the only other avenue to Tibet which was known to the Indians even in the days of Tavernier. He explains that it lay over the Khaibar Pass to Kabul. A part of the merchants, who come from " Boutan " and Kabul, go to Kandahar and from there to Ispahan, and these generally bring back coral in lumps, yellow amber, and lapis lazuli. Other merchants who come from Multan, Lahore, and Agra, deal in woven stuffs, in indigo, and in pieces of cornelian and crystal. The contribution of the Gorakhpur merchants, who have made their arrangements with the *douane,* is coral, yellow amber, bracelets of tortoiseshell and others of sea shells with a large number of round and square pieces about the size of French fifteen sous pieces—which are also of the same materials.

" When I was at Patna," says Tavernier, " four Armenians had already made a journey to Boutan from Dantzic where they had made a large number of figures in yellow amber representing every kind of animal and monster, which they were going to carry to the king of Boutan for idolatrous use in his pagodas. The Armenians have few scruples wherever they find any possibility of making money; they do not hesitate to supply the materials for idolatry, and they told me if they had only been able to make the idol for which the king had given them a commission, they would have been rich men. He had ordered them to make for him a figure in the form of a monster with six horns, four ears, and four arms with six fingers on each hand, all of yellow amber. They had not, however, been able to find sufficiently large pieces for the work."

Tavernier goes on to describe the road from Patna to Tibet. Seven days are taken for the journey to Gorakhpur. From thence to the foot of the Himalayas was only eight or nine days' journey, during which the caravan suffered much from the overgrown nature of the track and the large numbers

[1] This is interpreted by M. Lévi to mean Tibet, but it was probably used as a general term describing all the Mongolian districts hemming in Nepal to the north, north-east, and east.

of wild elephants. The merchants got little sleep at night and were obliged to surround themselves with fires and to frighten off wild beasts by loosing off their muskets at times. An amusing description is given of the elephant which marches noiselessly upon the caravan, not for the purpose of doing any harm to men but to carry off the stores, such as bags of rice or flour or pots of butter. After a reference to the hardy nature of the little horses of this district, which were useful for transport up to a certain point, Tavernier seems to refer to a characteristic which is remarkable to this day—the necessity for the use of palkis for the rest of the journey to Tibet. He adds, however, that for some of the steeper parts of the Himalayan passes it is necessary to employ women as carriers. Three of them take it in turns to carry him. The horses have to be led by ropes. Baggage and provisions are placed upon goats. He goes on to say that the women who carry the men over the passes are only paid two rupees for ten days' work, and that as much is paid for each hundredweight carried by the goats. After the passage of the Himalayas, oxen, camels, horses, and palkis were available for those who wished to travel comfortably.

§ 4

According to Markham, Father Desideri, a Jesuit missionary in Lhasa, returned to India through Nepal. At Lhasa he had made converts of a small number of Nepalese merchants, but the traditional hostility between the Jesuits and the Regular missionaries brought about their recall. The Capuchins, however, remained on in Lhasa until 1745. They had established at Katmandu in 1715 a branch of the mission, but the hostility of the Brahmans drove them to seek shelter in Bhatgaon a week later. Father Horace della Penna was at the head of this *succursale*, and he fought valiantly for the faith to which he ultimately became a martyr as surely as many who have won that name in other fields. He demanded help from Rome, but received little. He then took what must have seemed to him the extreme step of returning to Rome and making a personal appeal on behalf of his lonely mission. This time, on his return, he brought seven Capuchin Fathers with him. They reached Bhatgaon on the 6th February 1740, and, after waiting for Tibetan passports, they set out on the last stretch of their long journey, and entered Lhasa on the 6th January 1741.

Perhaps from a sense that all was not well, Father de Recanati, who had been left in charge of the Nepalese mission during the absence of Father della Penna, established outside Nepal yet another branch of the mission. A certain amount of caution is required in accepting the terms in which any missionary records his spiritual successes, and it may not have been so much for the spiritual advantages as for more material reasons that the Raja of Bettia asked for the establishment of this mission. It is clear, however, that in the middle of the eighteenth century the earnest and probably untactful energy of Christian missionaries was accepted both in Nepal and along the Indian border. But this tolerance was of no long duration. At the expulsion of the Christian missionaries from Lhasa,

Father della Penna, a veteran evangelist, broken in spirit by this failure, arrived in Patan in the summer of 1745, and died there two years later. He was buried in the little Christian cemetery with an inscription in two languages, Latin and Newari, testifying to his constancy and his virtues. The Latin inscription is as follows:

A.R.P. FRANCISCVS HORATIVS A PINNA BILLORVM
PICENAE PROVINCIAE CAPVCCINORVM ALVMNVS
MDCLXXX NATVS
INFIDELIVM CONVERSIONES OPTANS
A.S.C.D.P.F. AD TIBETI MISSIONES MISSVS
XXXIII. AN. INTER INFIDELES VERSATVS
XX. EISDEM MISSIONIBVS PRAEFUIT
TANDEM
SENIO AC MORBO CONFECTVS ET MERITIS CVMVLATVS
LXV. AN. AGENS SECESSIT E VIVIS
XX. JULII MDCCXLVII[1]
SUPERSTITES MISSIONARII
M. H P.
A. M. D. G.

The fate of the Capuchins in Nepal also was not long delayed. Three or four of them were still in the mission at Katmandu in 1768. The branch which had been established in Patan had been abandoned. One of the Fathers, Michel Ange, was instrumental in saving the life of a brother of Prithwi Narayan who, as already mentioned, had been wounded in the attack on Kirtipur. There was therefore at the outset of the Gurkha regime some friendliness between the Fathers and the conquerors. But, as has always happened throughout the East—and as the universal use of the word "firinghi" or its equivalent for all classes of Europeans testifies—Prithwi Narayan made no distinction between Europeans, and, angered by the action of the East India Company in sending up a detachment from India in 1769 announced that the missionaries represented European policy rather than the Christian religion, and a year later he abruptly ordered them and their converts to leave what was now his country. The luckless mission therefore made its way down to the cold weather station which had been established at Bettia.

From that moment the door has been shut to Christian missionary effort in Nepal. Perhaps, considering the spirit in which the doctrines of Christianity are often received by the Asiatic, this is not the disadvantage that it might be deemed in some quarters. It is true that at this moment Christianity is accepted in China by a large number of its inhabitants. There is indeed no small hope that the doctrines of Christ will in the not distant future play a considerable part in the ethical development of some

[1] M. Lévi insists that the date of the inscription on Father Horace della Penna's grave should be 1745 and not 1747.

portion of that country. But no more prevalent mistake is made than the haphazard manner in which all missionary effort is considered and judged by stay-at-homes who contribute to that effort only a pecuniary support. In China there is a mass of 480,000,000 to whom religion in the sense of a code of morals or an observance of ritual is alike unknown. They have been accustomed to the large generalizations of thinkers such as Confucius or Lao-tzu, and this spacious attitude towards ethics, while it has deprived them of the moral support that may or may not attend the adoption of a stricter creed, has left a tradition of open-mindedness in these matters. To no thinking Chinese could the story of Christ's personal doctrine fail to appeal, and as there has been no official opposition to the spread of Christianity from any hierarchy in China, the success of missionaries has been indisputable, especially in the southern provinces of China.

The case is very different in Nepal. The Gurkha dynasty has always been celebrated for the careful manner in which it has fulfilled its religious obligations. In doing so it has reflected the general spirit of obedience, if not devotion, which runs through all sections of the Gurkha people. There is no bigotry, and sometimes the Gurkha soldier will seem to his envious Brahman colleague in the plains of India to allow himself a licence which the Brahman would fain be able to enjoy himself. But his essential fidelity to even the minor details of his creed is one of the characteristics of every member of the ruling races in Nepal. Almost as much might be said for the Newars and others of the earlier inhabitants of the country. Their Buddhism has been largely tinctured by Hinduism, but of their personal piety there can be no doubt. No one who has seen one of the greater festivals of the Nepalese, such as the exhibition of the image of Machendra from his car at Patan, can doubt the strange and even passionate devotion that inspires those who follow one or other of the creeds in the Valley.

Nepal has definitely refused to entertain within her borders any man or woman whose mission in life it is to upset the existing faith of the people, and this policy has been deliberately adopted by the Nepalese Government because it sees in the mission and the missionary a political rather than a religious embassage.

In Lhasa the expeditionary force of 1904 discovered a bell with the inscription: "Miserere mei Domine." It was a surviving relic of the Christian mission there. So far as I know, nothing whatever remains in Nepal to mark the devotion and the temporary influence of the Capuchins. No trace remains of the little cemetery between the north side of Patan and the Bagmati. Not even a tradition of a site recalls the work of these men. They were permitted to remove all their possessions to Bettia, and only an empty episcopal title still exists to commemorate their effort. Perhaps diligent research may yet find, built into a wall, some gravestone from that lost cemetery or some service book in a hitherto unrecorded collection, but at no time would the inventory of a Capuchin body have shown much beyond the bare necessities of its life and precious vessels of its ritual. The latter they had full time and opportunity to bring away, and if there ever were a bell in Patan like that which was found in Lhasa,

we may be sure that Prithwi Narayan allowed them ample means of bringing it down with them to India.

Not without justice M. Lévi notes that the historical results of this mission were deplorably inadequate. "Considering the sixty years of preaching, of expenses, of voyages between Rome and the Himalayas, the result was at least mediocre. Moreover, science gained almost as little as religion. The Capuchins had found, under the Malla dynasty, a situation exceptionally favourable. The road to Lhasa was open; Nepal welcomed them; Buddhism was at its height; the country was prosperous; science and art were held in honour, and literature at least in favour. But all these advantages produced nothing. Let us compare the loss to science of the slackness or dullness of the Capuchins with the fruitful work that the Englishman, Hodgson, did in Nepal in different circumstances about the year 1820. The country, conquered by the Gurkhas, was then strictly shut up; Buddhism was under a ban and decaying; suspicion, violence, brutality, characterized the princes. The towns were encumbered with the ruins caused by war and pillage. Nevertheless, the persevering work of one man, undertaken and carried through under such unfortunate conditions, revealed to Europe not only a literature and a religion, but no inconsiderable chapter of human history."

Perhaps this futility was due rather to the traditions of an unlearned Order than to any actual laziness on the part of individuals. Thus several important works by Father della Penna have been simply lost. The same fate has been suffered by the treatise upon the religion and customs of Nepal written by Father Constantine d'Ascoli in 1747. Forty-five years later this manuscript was still lying neglected and unpublished in the library of the Propaganda in Rome. It is there no longer. Nor has the fate of the work of Father Cassian da Macerata been much happier. Except for a rough map of the position of the three capitals of the Valley, all the notes made by Father Cassian about Nepal have been lost. But this is not a matter for wonder. Of the general attitude of the Fathers towards history and literature, towards the things that widen man's knowledge or tell of his inner life, we have a terrible record in the diary of a Captain Rose: "By chance I met some of the Italian missionaries who had recently been thrown out of Nepal. I was very hopeful of getting some useful information from them, but I was seriously dissatisfied. The head of their mission, who seemed to be the most intelligent of them, could not give me the least information about any place or any object which was not within the actual circuit of the city in which he dwelt; and he had been living twelve years in the country! But to show me his missionary zeal, he proudly said that he had burned three thousand manuscripts during his stay there."

APPENDIX XVII

THE RACES OF NEPAL

§ 1

THERE are few more complicated questions in the ethnology of any nation than that presented by the races of Nepal. The problem has been approached from several sides; attempts have been made to distinguish the various groups by their physical features, their language, their religion, their domestic customs, and their fighting qualities, but much remains to be done before any certainty can be arrived at. To history there is almost no appeal.

It may simplify the examination of these groups if we at once set apart the Newars of the Valley and the pure-blooded Thakurs, a Rajput people, the clans of which not only provide the two pre-eminent families in Nepal—that of the King and of the Prime Minister—but have kept their descent comparatively speaking pure from the admixture which is the chief source of difficulty in classifying all other tribes from the Khas to the frankly Mongoloid Murmis.[1]



A NEWAR IN HIS NATIONAL DRESS

§ 2

The Newars.—The Newars are the most important of the quasi-aboriginal races of Nepal. In spite of the industry of Colonel Vansittart, so little is known about the origins of Nepalese

[1] The following extract from Abbé Huc's *Recollections of a Journey through Tartary, Tibet and China*, written in 1846, will be of interest because there can be no doubt that by the word "Peboun" the traveller intended to indicate the Nepalese. It would be interesting if any student could suggest the origin of this curious name.

"Among the foreigners who form part of the permanent population of Lhasa, the Pebouns are the most numerous. They are Indians from Bhutan, small in stature but vigorous and full of life and spirit; their colour is deep olive brown, their eyes small, black and keen; and on their foreheads they bear a deep red mark which is renewed every morning. They are the only workers in metal in Tibet. They place a red globe with a white crescent underneath on the doors of their houses. The Pebouns fabricate vases of gold and silver ornaments for the use of the Lamaic monasteries which would not disgrace European artists . . . These people are extremely jovial and childlike in temper, like children laughing and frolicking in their leisure hours; and singing continually over their work. Their religion is Indian Buddhism but they show great respect for the reforms of Tsong-kapa."

races that it would be rash to assert of any tribe that it was not a migrant into the country within historic times. In most cases all that is known merely suggests the arrival of the tribe at an earlier or later period, and the closing of the country to palaeological exploration makes any theory of a pre-Mongolian population in the hill districts a hazardous project. However, the Newars claim to be the original inhabitants of the Nepal Valley—which is still their centre and beyond which they do not penetrate far in any direction, with the notable exception of Lhasa, where there is an important colony of Newar art-workers in gold, silver, bronze, and copper.[1] The language test, according to Hodgson, shows their relationship to the Tibetans. The continual pilgrimages and trading that have gone on from the earliest days between India and the Valley have naturally affected not merely their language, but their blood, though Hamilton is of the opinion that no real departure from type took place until after the advent of the Gurkha conquerors. To this Vansittart demurs, and the almost impartial balance between Buddhism and Hinduism which prevails among nearly all classes of the Valley probably indicates fairly well the proportions of the two bloods as well as of the two faiths. The Newars are enlisted in the Nepalese army, though in no great numbers and were never drawn upon as recruits for the Gurkha regiments in India until the emergency created by the 1914-1918 War but they hold the palm in all Nepal for their industry, their art, and their agriculture. Of their domestic customs it may be interesting to record that every Newar girl while a child is married to a bel fruit, which, after the ceremony, is thrown into a sacred river. This fictitious marriage is of great use to the Newar women. The bel fruit is presumed to be always in existence and therefore she can never become a widow. Remarriage—continual remarriage—is therefore possible for her. Divorce is easy, though the ancient custom whereby a dissatisfied wife had merely to place two betel nuts in her husband's bed and go away a free woman is yielding to modern standards. The morals of the Newar women are not of a strict order, but this is largely to be attributed to the fact that they live in the governing centre of Nepal where some even of the more highly placed officials still regard irregular marriages as one of the privileges of their sex.

Reference has already been made to the Tharus, who are immune from the ravages of *awal* in the Tarai. They are the poor relations of the Newars of the Valley and are undersized and scraggy, but they are capable of great efforts of endurance. Vansittart notes that this section of the tribe of which the members in general are merely carters, peasants, and fishermen, are chosen for the dangerous and difficult business of catching wild elephants. They seem to combine the activity of an animal with the cunning and craftiness characteristic of the less developed races of humanity.

[1] It is believed by many that the best work in these materials that Tibet possesses was actually made by Newars. The Tibetan standard of workmanship is higher than that of Nepal, but this may be accounted for by the far greater demand there for objects connected with religion, and the more exacting standards set up in Tibet by the presence of much good Chinese work.

§ 3

Thakurs and Khas.—The Thakurs claim royal descent, and the head of the purest blooded tribe of all, the Sahs, is the King of Nepal himself. At first sight it would seem certain that these tribes are in fact due to an emigration from India caused by the ravages of Mohammedan conquerors. It is only right, however, to notice that the existence in Nepal of a pure Hindu race called the Khas is mentioned in ancient chronicles as early as the year A.D. 1000. They are recorded as living at a lower level than the Magars, who, it will be seen, cultivated the middle zone of Nepal below the Gurungs. This Rajput immigration into Nepal is an undoubted fact, and of the comparative purity of the blood in some at least of the leading families there can be little question.[1] Finding in Nepal a race that claimed to be not merely of Indian but of Rajput descent, the newcomers were content to allow the name Khas to cover the old inhabitants and themselves alike. It is said that a Khas who left Nepal and settled in the plains was accorded both the name and the privileges attaching to Kshatriya birth.

To the already existing confusion of races, castes, and classes in Nepal the Brahmans contributed much by the lax manner in which they accorded the rights of caste to the new arrivals, to their own progeny, and even to the natives of the hills who were content to embrace Hinduism. It may perhaps be said that they granted the Vaisya caste to the rank and file of the converts. To the chieftains, however, the Brahmans attributed pedigrees of marvellous length and complexity, basing them upon the ultimate paternity of the sun or of the moon. Nor did they deal less valiantly with their own illegitimate offspring. Children of unions between Brahmans and Rajputs were given a higher social standing than the Magars and Gurungs. Hodgson remarks, " The natural pride that characterizes all mountain races throughout the world was highly developed in Nepal. The women did not refuse union with Brahmans, but insisted that the children should be granted the high military caste of Kshatriya—the caste best known by its most distinguished representatives the blue-blooded Rajputs of Rajputana," and he adds a curious and illuminating note that the " offspring of the original Khas females and Brahmans with the honours and rank of the second order of Hinduism got the patronymic titles of the first order; and hence the key to the nomenclature of so many branches of the military tribes of Nepal is to be sought in the nomenclature of the sacred order." The Khas, drawn from this mixed source, have produced many of the greatest men of Nepal; perhaps it was from their origin and association that they were used as administrators over a large part of the state. Brian Hodgson noted that the language of the Khas—commonly

[1] It is interesting to recall the legend that when the Emperor Asoka came to Nepal in 250 B.C., he found living at Patan a man of such pure Chattri descent that he gave his daughter Charumati to him in marriage. Moreover, the Sakyas from whom Buddha sprang in the sixth century were Kshatriyas living within the present territory of Nepal. The presence of pure Rajput families with whom the refugees from Islam were able to intermarry may be accepted.

called Khaskura[1]—had ousted several vernacular tongues, and Colonel Vansittart asserts that it is understood more or less all over Nepal from the Kali to the Mechi. To this statement the present Maharaja demurs, and there can be no doubt that the vernaculars of Nepal have maintained much of their old importance, though for official purposes many Nepalese have become bi-lingual. Philologically the language is in substance Hindi.

It is impossible to trace in detail the infinite complications of caste and consequent nomenclature that can be caused by intermarriage in Nepal. In this meticulous enquiry the Nepalese excel, and the minute human subdivision in which they take such pride may be illustrated by the fact that the Nepalese, like the Tibetans, have no less than sixteen different words by which to describe the varying proportions of pure blood caused by the cross-breeding and in-breeding of the yak and the humped cattle of the Indian plains. It is to be noted, however, that so far as the army is concerned, the tendency towards an acceptance of Brahmanic prohibitions and prejudices is greatly on the increase. Few things are more disliked in Katmandu than the suggestion which has been made too freely that during the late war the higher classes of Gurkha soldier permitted themselves to break the rules of their caste. They seem indeed to have observed them with a strictness that the statements of previous writers upon the subject did not lead one to expect.

§ 4

Gurungs.—Of the other tribes in Nepal it may be said that the majority are clearly of Mongolian and even recent Mongolian descent. It is possible that during one or more of the historical Mongolian migrations to the west in search of food, peace, and what is called nowadays a place in the sun, a small number were bold enough to find their way over the terrible ice wall of the Himalayas down to the temperate valleys of Nepal. Of these the most important are the Gurungs and the Magars. These tribes have long been used by the dominant Gurkhas as soldiers, and for that reason they have spread more widely than others of the Mongoloid races. The original homes of the Gurungs lay in the west of Nepal, and it may be said that in general the Magars descended lower down the valley of the Himalayas than the Gurungs. They retain to a greater measure than is always recognized, a sympathy with the Buddhism which they practised before the arrival of the Indian conquerors. They have always been greatly influenced not only by the faith of their overlords, but by the inevitable blood mixture which followed the invasion of Nepal by Indian soldiery who were unable to bring their own women with them, and perhaps felt also that among these remote mountains infractions of the laws

[1] Sir Charles Bell noted with interest in Katmandu that the name naturally used by writers to denote the *lingua franca* of Nepal, Khaskura, was not recognized, even by the most intelligent of those with whom he came in contact.

of caste were less important than in the priest-ridden plains below. Brian Hodgson asserts that though the Gurungs have been accepted as a Hindu tribe, they are denied the sacred thread "and constitute a doubtful order below it." Like the Magars, their appearance is that which the outer world specially associates with the word Gurkha. They are short, strongly built men capable of extreme hardihood and endurance, and born fighters. Their good spirits are proverbial, and they have a personal charm which can best be understood by asking the opinion of any British officer of any Gurkha battalion in India. The following happy description of Colonel Vansittart cannot be bettered: "They are kind hearted, generous, and, as recruits, absolutely truthful. They are very proud and sensitive, and they deeply feel abuse or undeserved censure. They are very obstinate, very independent, very vain, and in their plain clothes inclined to be dirty. They are intensely loyal to each other and to their officers in time of trouble or danger." There are two crack regiments of Gurungs in the Nepalese army chosen for their height as well as for other qualities. The Gurungs in Eastern Nepal have been almost entirely merged by intermarriage with the other races, and as soldiers may be said to have sunk below their level.

The senior Gurung clan is that of the Ghalis, whose chief once reigned over the territory of Lamjang.[2]



A MAGAR IN HIS NATIONAL DRESS

§ 5

Magars.—The Magars originally occupied the Tarai and lower mountain districts near Butwal and Palpa, and are still found chiefly west of the Valley. Although they were of Mongolian descent, their propinquity to India had diluted the northern blood, and had undermined their Buddhist tendencies, for they accepted at least a nominal conversion at the time of the Rajput invasion. After surrendering Palpa to the invaders, the Magars seem to have spread widely both east and west.

[1] Among the Gurungs, and often among the Magars as well, divorce can be very easily obtained. The husband has to pay forty rupees for his divorce, and the wife one hundred and sixty rupees. Two pieces of split bamboo are tied together, placed on two mud balls, and the money is put close by. If one party takes up the money, the other party can go his or her way and marry again legally.

[2] Maharaja Chandra, in answer to my question why the titles of Kaski and Lamjang were taken for those of the principality which is an appanage of the office of Prime Minister, told me that probably Jang Bahadur was anxious to identify the office with that of a famous fighting people.

The four chief classes of Gurungs are the Ghali, Gotani, Lama, and Lamachine; the Solahjat Gurungs are supposed to be socially inferior. Of the Magars there are six chief tribes, Ale, Pun, Rana, Burathoki, Gharti, and Thapa. Of these Vansittart says: "Of all Magars there is no better man than the Rana of good clan. In former days any Thapa who had lost three generations of ancestors in battle became a Rana, but with the prefix of his Thapa clan." This tribe claims direct descent from the original Rajput invaders of the country, as such classes among them as the Surajbansi and the Chitor suggest. The Thapa tribe has so high a reputation that many claim to be Thapas who have no right to the name. There is among the crack regiments of Nepal a Magar battalion of men physically as fine as the Gurung detachments to which reference has just been made.

§ 6

Eastern Races.—In the east of Nepal by far the most important group is that of the Kirantis. As Colonel Vansittart explains, this name should apply to the Khambus or Rais only, but the intermarriage between the Yakkas and Yakthumbas and the Khambus has been so indiscriminate that their appearance, their customs, and their religion are practically identical. But he notes that in spite of this interchange of blood, each tribe has retained in a great degree its own language. It will be remembered that the Kirantis have played a great part on the stage of Nepal. For a number of generations, which it is impossible to define with any certainty, the Kirantis were the predominant race in Nepal and reigned over it from the Valley of Katmandu. Reference has repeatedly been made to these Kirantis in early Indian history.[1] Although they have lost to some extent their Mongoloid appearance, it is worth noting that the occasional Mongol migrations through the ice wall of the Himalayas is described by Sarat Chandra Das in connection with these Nepalese people. He notes that the village of Yangma was founded by Tibetans from Tashirabka, one of them having discovered the valley and its comparative fertility while hunting for a lost yak calf.

The Kirantis occupied a semi-independent position for some time after Prithwi Narayan had established himself in Katmandu, and it seems that when it became necessary to assert Gurkha authority over the eastern end of Nepal, the excuse for action was the insistence of the Kirantis upon maintaining their ancient custom of eating beef.

Until recently they represented the animistic superstitions of the aboriginal tribes of Tibet.[2]

[1] Arrian refers to these people as the Kirhoedi.

[2] The Buddhists, with all the official strength that they possess, have never been able to exterminate in Tibet either its indigenous pantheism—if such a word may fairly be used of a faith that discovers in everything a devil rather than a god—or the Bun-po—the Black Monks, who are its ministers. Paganism, Hinduism, and Buddhism here in Eastern Nepal make up a *mélange* of faith of which the first is still the only factor of any importance. Colonel Vansittart notes that their "religion" is a mixture of whatever gives the least trouble to its devotees of these three creeds. With a large toleration worthy of

Sir H. Risley notes that the Kirantis seem to have intermingled largely with the Lepchas from Sikkim and little with the Hindus.

He describes the Limbus as centred in the mountains between the Dudh-kosi and the Kanti, though Hodgson locates them between the Arunkosi and the Mechi.[1] They are among the oldest recorded populations of the country and their features indicate that they are descendants of early Tibetan settlers in Nepal. They are scarcely taller than the Lepchas, more wiry, as fair in complexion, and as beardless. Risley combats the usual military theory that the Limbus are inferior in soldierly qualities to the Khas, Magar, and Gurung tribes. To this day they are used only to a small extent in the personnel of the Gurkha regiments of India, but they make excellent policemen, and Colonel Vansittart remarks that the prejudice against them as soldiers seems rightly to be dying out rapidly.[2]

The Kirantis are as lax in their domestic habits as in their religious observances, but in the middle of this somewhat casual slackness a curious and fiercely sanctioned law is to be found. Intermarriage between cousins is prohibited for three generations or, as some say, for seven. Within the clan itself marriage is absolutely forbidden, and the same veto is imposed upon any intermarriage between the descendants of two men who have contracted a formal brotherhood. This is a curious custom which is found throughout nearly the whole length of the Himalayas. A rite performed by a Brahman or a Lama confirms and establishes irrevocably a fictitious blood brotherhood between the two friends, of which one of the results was that their descendants, until lately, were forbidden on pain of death to intermarry.[3]

The customs of the Rais, the other great section of the Kiranti race, are practically identical with those of the Limbus. There is a touch of satire in Risley's comment upon the divorce laws in force among the Rais. "Women are faithful to the men they live with while they live with them, but they think very little of running away with any man of their own or a cognate tribe who takes their fancy, and the state of things which prevails approaches closely to the ideal regime of temporary unions advocated by would-be marriage reformers in Europe."

Of other tribes in Nepal reference must be made to the Sunwars and Sunpars. These are of the same race and are distinguished only because the former live to the west of the Sunkosi and the Sunpars to the east.

Akbar or Kublai Khan "for the celebration of a religious ceremony a Lama is called in, but if no Lama is available, a Brahman will do, and if neither can be got then any religious mendicant or none at all will do equally well." Colonel Vansittart has published a translation of a Limbu History of which a significant point is that the original inhabitants claimed to be men from Benares. Reference is made to the semblance of autonomy conceded to the Kirantis by the Gurkhas after the subjugation of the country.

[1] S. C. Das says that the country between the Arun and the Tamor is known as Limbuana.

[2] In the Nepalese army there is one regiment recruited exclusively from Limbus. They are good soldiers, but so quarrelsome that it has been found impossible to quarter them in any town containing troops drawn from other Nepalese races.

[3] The punishment to-day is a fine, and possibly banishment from Nepal also. Neither death nor slavery is now imposed.

The Sunwars live chiefly in the mountainous district north of the Valley, between the Gurungs in the west and the Rais in the east. Of these two Colonel Vansittart notes the laxness in all religious matters. They are of Mongolian descent and nominally at least are Buddhists, but in deference to the religion of the ruling and governing races of Nepal there is an outward veneer of Hinduism.

The Murmis are the hewers of wood and drawers of water, coolies by heritage and ready to merge their individuality in almost any adjacent tribe. They have accepted as Murmis many Tibetans and Lepchas. They eat beef freely and have earned the title of carrion eaters from Tibet from their traditional descent from Mahesur, a younger brother of Brahma and Vishnu, whom his seniors, by a trick, induced to eat cow's tripe. It is a curious local belief that the wearing of the sacred thread by Brahmans is due to Mahesur's anger at being thus trapped. He struck his brothers with the tripe, some of which clung round their shoulders and originated the custom referred to.

The Murmis do much of the menial work in the Valley of Katmandu.

§ 7

Caste in Nepal.—Respect for caste regulations is everywhere on the increase rather than the decline in Nepal, though it is not to be wondered at if some of the lower tribes who still retain their Mongolian Gallionicism, if not a very deep veneration for their paternal Buddhist faith, allow themselves concessions when far from their homes. Years ago the Nepalese soldiers had no doubt fairly easy consciences. Hodgson, in his direct and sometimes whimsical manner, describes the advantages to the British Raj of having under its command " these highland soldiers who despatch their meal in half an hour, and satisfy the ceremonial law by merely washing their hands and faces and taking off their turbans before cooking, [and] laugh at the pharisaical rigour of the Sipahis who must bathe from head to foot and make puja ere they can begin to dress their dinners, must eat nearly naked in the coldest weather, and cannot be in marching trim again in less than three hours." The rest of this recommendation will be found in chapter v. It is worth reading carefully as a proof of Hodgson's curious ability to estimate not only the men among whom he was working, but the political development of India. The conduct and gallantry of the Gurkhas in the Great War fully justify this warm-hearted eulogy written in 1832.

It is pleasant to conclude these notes upon the manners and characteristics of the Gurkhas by the plain statement that never has any Nepal chief taken bribes from, or sold his services for money to, any other State whatever.

APPENDIX XVIII

A MARRIAGE CEREMONY

THE following extract from a letter referring to the ceremonies that attend the wedding of a member of the families of the King and the Prime Minister may be of some interest.

"*May* 22nd, 1924.

"At four o'clock a carriage was sent for me from the Singha Darbar, the Maharaja's palace, where I met the Commander-in-Chief, Bhim Sham Sher, the Prime Minister's brother, a man who conveys authority in every gesture. He is grey-bearded, and has something of the penetrating glance of his brother. His position is scarcely sufficiently described as Commander-in-Chief: indeed, the title of Jang-i-lat, which in India translates that title, is borne by his younger brother, Judha Sham Sher, the first Commanding General. . . . The Commander-in-Chief is the Prime Minister's right hand, and takes a good deal of the practical work of administration off his hands. . . .

"Nearly the whole of the Prime Ministerial family were present at the Maharaja's palace, and the splendour of their official head-dresses added very greatly to the beauty of the *mise-en-scène*. With the Commander-in-Chief was his son, General Padma Sham Sher, a commanding figure and a man to whom the British Empire owes no small debt of gratitude. General Judha was with his sons Bahadur Sham Sher, Agni Sham Sher, Hari Sham Sher, Surya Sham Sher, and Narayan Sham Sher. All of the sons of the Maharaja were present—General Mohan Sham Sher, General Baber Sham Sher, General Kaiser Sham Sher, General Singha Sham Sher, General Krishna Sham Sher, General Vishnu Sham Sher, and the youngest, General Madan Sham Sher, a small boy who was delightfully conscious of the full uniform in which he was dressed for the day. The only one missing at first was the bridegroom, General Shanker Sham Sher. The Envoy, Mr. Wilkinson, Colonel and Mrs. Hunter, the Legation Surgeon and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. R. S. Underhill, and Mr. and Mrs. Bruford arrived shortly afterwards.

"It was a very hot day, and the coolest place was on the deep verandah outside the State hall of the Maharaja's palace.[1] Soon afterwards the Prime Minister entered with the bridegroom. He then returned to the main entrance to receive the King. Many generals and persons of civil distinction meanwhile joined the crowd that was gathering on the verandah, but most of them had their official work and position in the reception of the King or in the elephant procession which was to follow, and remained only a few minutes. The King of Nepal was then led to his seat by the

[1] A photograph of this marble hall will be found on p. 189, vol. i, and will give a better impression of the opulence of these Nepalese palaces than the most detailed description.

Prime Minister. He is a man of about eighteen years of age and remarkably handsome; his life of seclusion is perhaps responsible for his paleness. He sat silent and motionless on his chair unless someone was being actually presented to him. He was dressed in a dark blue frock coat and white Jodhpur breeches, and wore a well-shaped yachting cap with a large device in diamonds. In his right ear was an enormous single ruby, and in his left a correspondingly large diamond; in the buttonhole of his coat he wore a large crescent composed of huge precious stones, of which I remember a diamond, a ruby, a sapphire, and either a yellow sapphire or a topaz, each of them being about the size of the forefinger nail. He had damaged his hand by a fall from his bicycle, and wore a black and white bandage.

" After a formal military ceremony, the elephant procession started from the Palace to the house where the bride was awaiting her fiancé. The King's elephant came first, draped in a magnificent ' jule ' of rose velvet and gold lace. The Maharaja followed on a beast draped with green velvet. The howdah was scarlet, and the colours of Nepal were thus displayed by him. The mahout bore a kalasa of gold with a handful of peacock feathers closely interwoven. There were many minutes of waiting before the procession started. Guns went off in interminable salutes, and troops marched and counter-marched in accordance with a ritual which has probably long been lost except in this remote mountain kingdom. Candles of brown wax burnt themselves out in guttering tears and smoke. One hundred bridesmaids, dressed in rose and red and purple and mauve, obeyed the orders of a strict directress. The troops at last began to march off, and were followed at no long interval by these bridesmaids who, for the most part, drove in brakes of a distinction that betrayed St. James's Street. Then at last came the bridegroom, dressed in russet, crimson, and gold, who, according to immemorial tradition, was carried on the back of a servant in old rose. Immediately afterwards followed the ' Mistress of the Robes,' a dignified woman of middle age in a gown of such a rose colour as you might search London in vain to find, before whom was borne the kalasa, the mystic flagon of union, covered with flowers. Then followed the King who, with due ceremonial, mounted his elephant with his Lord-in-Waiting, Padma Sham Sher, the Commander-in-Chief's son. The Maharaja then took his place upon his own elephant. He wore a dark blue frock coat with black velvet cuffs and gold embroidered shoulder straps. He wore a sword hanging from a red silk and gold belt, and the large red cap, somewhat similar to the King's, which he wears in preference to his diamond-covered head-piece. We set off at a slow pace across the bridge that spans the Tukhucha, and mounted to the Tundi Khel, or great parade-ground. Here the first of the triumphal arches greeted us. It was an elaborate construction built of gaily painted wood adorned with flags and panelled with elaborately devised scenes, many of which must have been taken from the quasi-amorous picture postcards that may be bought from the window in many shops in outer London. Others, of greater interest, were traditional representations of the deities of Nepal, or portraits of the Maharaja. Our

route led across the Tundi Khel and then, turning to the right, we skirted the road that borders it on the west. There were two or three more triumphal arches, of which the most magnificent was undoubtedly that under which we passed from the Tundi Khel to the lane running north between the palace gardens of the royal quarter.

" Along the whole of this route the inhabitants of the Valley had gathered themselves in their hundreds of thousands. They were a perfectly orderly crowd, and scarcely needed the authority of the Katmandu police and the troops which had been called in to line the road. Everyone was in gala dress, and I doubt whether anywhere else, except in Burma, so much sheer colour could have been collected beside a mile and a half of open road and plain. As the King passed there was a silence, due no doubt to respect for his semi-divine position. But the sight of the Maharaja stirred the entire plain to enthusiasm, and Chandra Sham Sher, half smiling at this exhibition of his popularity, duly and gravely saluted it On arrival at the palace which had been lent to the bride for the purposes of the day's ritual, we all alighted, and for some time there was the usual buzz of conversation which in every country under the sun relaxes the tension of waiting for a notable ceremony.

" After keeping the bridegroom waiting for a decent period, the bride's young brother appeared, and with timid solemnity affixed the *tika,* or scarlet caste-spot, upon the forehead of Shanker Sham Sher. This implied the full acceptance by the bride's family of the bridegroom, and was the most important of the day's ceremonies to which any but members of the two families themselves were admitted. Meanwhile bands were playing, guns were going off in all directions inside the garden, and much vigour was shown by the various officers in charge of arrangements. Shortly after we were driven to our respective homes, while the remaining ceremonies took place in private.

" Next day there was another ceremony, of equal importance, which on this occasion took place at the Singha Darbar. The King was again present. This time with full ceremony the bridegroom brought home the bride to the house which was to be her home. She looked about fifteen years of age, but wore a heavily embroidered veil, and studiously kept her head bowed down and her eyes fixed upon the floor of the howdah. She remained outside the main entrance while her bridegroom was again carried on the back of a porter dressed in almost the same old-rose velvet in which the bearers of the Sedia Gestatoria of the Pope are habited. Then, amid a final crash from the many bands and a multitudinous salute of guns, the bride and bridegroom were enthroned in a structure which had been erected in the great courtyard of the Singha Darbar. Here, as a counterpart to the ritual of the previous day, it was the young sister of the bridegroom who affixed the *tika* to the forehead of the bride. Formal congratulations then took place, and the young couple eventually retired within the palace. After that there was a final procession of the richly dressed bridesmaids on the drive outside the main entrance. These bridesmaids form one of the most curious features of any important Rajput

wedding, though in Rajputana itself they are rarely as numerous as in Katmandu. They are not all in their early youth, and the first thing that strikes one is the amazing resemblance to each other which has been achieved by a most careful make-up and identical hairdressing. The face is of an even Egyptian pallor, and the suggestion of that country is increased by the extension of the strictly and sharply curved eyebrow of great length, and the heavily antimonied eyes. Not all of the bridesmaids have consented thus to sink their personal charms in a conventional mould, but the senior members of this long cortège were strict in observing the tradition. As for their dress it was, as has been said, in tints of fuchsia, crushed strawberry, and rose, shot through with golden tinsel. Their head-dresses conformed to an ancient pattern of gold and white; and a strictly plastered down whisker, three inches long, added a curious sense of sexlessness. It was evident that they belonged rather to the earlier than the later races of the Valley.

"There remains one more feature in the ceremony which must be mentioned. A march past of all the guards of honour and of the troops lining the route took place before His Majesty, who stood with impassive dignity in the centre bay of the great verandah of the Singha Darbar. Beside him stood the genial but commanding figure of the Prime Minister. In addition to the troops and the beasts that had already taken part in the processions, there passed by also endless bands and endless Gurkha companies, all of them well set up and businesslike. Then followed roughly made figures of camels, elephants, and tigers on wooden platforms on wheels which rattled noisily along the hard drive in front of the palace. A rhinoceros followed, and many curious automatic figures—two Hindu women quarrelling, two men boxing, some men in grey fur suits, intended to represent bears, and some Nepalese devil dancers, resembling those of Tibet but less gaudily painted and therefore more impressive.

"These were spaced by pairs and groups of men, who fought theatrical contests with each other as they passed. To the half-dozen Europeans present perhaps the most remarkable thing was a kind of a cardboard scarecrow on horseback intended to represent an Englishman. He was dressed in an almost phosphorescent lavender suit, and in his face and figure he embodied all the forms of caricature that the appearance and habits of Englishmen have suggested to other races, European as well as Eastern. There was not a trace of malice in this exhibition, which was almost the best received item of the long programme.

"At last the brakes and the omnibuses were filled by the cheery robes of the bridesmaids, and a State elephant carried away to their married life the recently wedded couple, the bridegroom, for the last time, enjoying his curious rose-coloured mount."

APPENDIX XIX

FORESTRY IN NEPAL

BY J. V. COLLIER

WHILE it is the quality of her Gurkha soldiers that has made the name of Nepal famous throughout the world, yet Nepal is almost equally renowned for the extent and quality of her forests. These forests form the most important part of the great Himalayan timber belt stretching from the Indus to Sikkim. The length of this belt is not less than one thousand miles, of which at least five hundred are in the territory of Nepal. Not only are these Nepalese forests important on account of their extent, but it is within the eastern and western limits of that kingdom that conditions of climate and rainfall are most favourable to the vigorous growth of forest vegetation—and those favourable conditions are reflected in the very high reputation the Nepal forests enjoy for the size and quality of their timber.

The forests belong to what is generally known as the Eastern Himalayan region which terminates westwards at the Kali river which forms the boundary between Nepal and Kumaon. But whereas the flora of the Western Himalayan region has been studied for many years and by a multitude of observers, the flora of Nepal is still almost a closed book, and there is little doubt that its study will eventually throw light on many existing botanical uncertainties. An instance of the errors into which botanists and foresters may be led owing to this gap in the knowledge available to them has occurred recently. Any botanical or forest text-book places the eastern natural limit of the deodar (*Cedrus deodara*)—perhaps the most important timber tree of the Himalayas—at the Niti pass in the Garhwal district of Kumaon. But a recent and accidental discovery has placed it beyond doubt that extensive deodar forests exist in the basin of the Karnali river of Nepal. To a botanist or forester this fact is of great interest and importance, as it raises the question of why the tract between the Niti pass and the Karnali river, a distance of not less than one hundred and fifty miles, should contain not a single natural deodar tree; and in turn this question raises the interesting speculation as to the means by which this wide gap was bridged. This is only one instance of the discoveries which must be awaiting research into the flora of Nepal.

Like the western regions of the Himalayan forest, the Nepal forests can be roughly classified into three main altitude zones: (1) the tropical zone, up to about 4,000 feet; (2) the temperate zone, from 4,000 feet to 10,000 feet; and (3) the Alpine zone, from 10,000 feet to the limit of tree level at about 16,000 feet.

(1) The tropical zone is commercially the only zone of real importance. It begins with a belt of forest stretching out into the Tarai plains, and

consisting of four very distinct types of forest, which are: (i) forests of Sal (*Shorea robusta*), the most important timber tree of the country; (ii) riverain forests of Shisham (*Dalbergia Sissoo*) and Khair (*Acacia Catechu*) and other less important species; (iii) mixed deciduous forests in which the predominant or important trees are the Asna (*Terminalia tomentosa*), the Semal (*Bombax malabaricum*), the Toon (*Cedrela Toona*), and a great number of less important species; and (iv) moist savannah forests, largely consisting of areas of tall grasses, the haunt of rhinoceros and tiger.

(2) The temperate zone may be divided into two zones: (i) a belt between 4,000 feet and 8,500 feet, containing as characteristic trees, the Oaks, Maples, and Pines; and (ii) the forests above 8,500 feet, in which the Spruces, Firs, Cypresses, and Larches are the chief species. Although this temperate zone is of comparatively little commercial importance, it fulfils a purpose even more important to Nepal than that of a source of revenue, by supplying the dense population of these middle altitude tracts with their fuel, timber, and grazing requirements.

(3) The Alpine zone, above 10,000 feet, is commercially and economically of little importance. Its characteristic trees are Rhododendrons and Junipers.

The history of mankind in Nepal has been, and still is, in many places a story of struggle against the forests and their wild denizens. The original form which this struggle took was that of shifting cultivation. A family would clear a few acres, burn the debris, and cultivate the enriched virgin soil for a few years, shifting on to another site when the soil showed signs of losing its first richness. But it was soon learned that, unless the cultivated areas were wide in extent, the labour of the cultivator was largely lost through the depredations of wild animals, and consequently men began to clear the forests more systematically, and to create large clearings of which the edges only might be at the mercy of pig and deer. This replacement of forest area by cultivation is still being carried out all over Nepal, but there is now a new factor to consider. For whereas the early cultivators were clearing and burning worthless material, the cultivator of the present day is often felling forest of great commercial value, and one of the most urgent and difficult problems of the Government is the control of this substitution of crops for forests. There is no doubt that Nepal, with her growing population and with the tendency of her landless surplus manhood to emigrate into India, must adopt and press forward a policy of tree felling in all localities where crops can grow and men live happily. But there are economical and there are wasteful methods of carrying out such a policy, and the methods of the past have not always been the best.

The present policy of the Government is:

(i) To replace forest by cultivation wherever conditions for cultivation and human habitation are favourable;

(ii) To prohibit the removal of forests where the climate is too unhealthy, and where crops can only be grown with the risk of loss of the life or vigour of the cultivators;

(iii) To insist on large extensive clearings, so that the depredations of wild animals are reduced and the climate improved;

(iv) To realize in full the value of the forests cut and replaced by crops.

There is no doubt that this is a wise policy. If it is carried out faithfully it will increase the area of crops, and render the country more dependent on its own food supplies; while it will lessen or completely stop the present drain of the country's manhood into India. This policy must be pursued for many years before there need be the slightest grounds for fearing that sufficient forest will not remain. For in the temperate zone it is certain that cultivation can never occupy more than one-third of the total area, the remainder being too steep or rocky to admit of the growth of crops. Perhaps in the Valley of Katmandu and its vicinity a condition has been reached in which it would be wise to call a halt to the increase of cultivation, for in this valley civilization dates back so many hundreds of years that there are now signs of an insufficiency of forests and the fuel which they supply. But elsewhere the day on which the restriction of cultivation need become a question for consideration is still far off.

If, in the past, mistakes have been made in the carrying out of this policy of the increase of cultivation, they have taken the form of allowing the clearances to be made in a haphazard manner, and without sufficient forethought. Small islands have been cleared in seas of forest, with the inevitable result that the forest has within a short time reconquered its territory. Thousands of these deserted clearings are to be seen throughout the whole extent of the forests. They have taught the lesson that clearances are useless and wasteful unless they eventually coalesce so as to form one great cleared area, which wild animals cannot invade, and which exposure to sun and the free circulation of winds will render more healthy.

A second mistake of the past has been the failure to realize the value of the felled timber, which has often been burned or left to rot. While in the temperate zone the material may be of very little value, in the tropical zone it is almost always valuable and able to repay the cost of extraction. It is in the forests of this zone that the Government possesses a real commercial asset. It is here that the most valuable timber is found, and it is within this zone that the climate is in many places so deadly for half of the year, that the replacement of the forest by a permanent and prosperous cultivating population is probably for ever impossible. In these forests the chief timber trees are the Sal (*Shorea robusta*), the Shisham (*Dalbergia Sissoo*), and the Asna (*Terminalia tomentosa*), and it is the policy of the Government to conserve and improve and to treat them as a valuable State property. They have been worked for revenue purposes for many years, and on several different systems. The chief method has been to issue permits to Indian merchants for the removal of logs—to be sawn elsewhere—on payment of a fixed royalty levied per cubic foot of timber. This method, while apparently sound in theory, has in practice often proved very wasteful. For the Indian merchant is naturally thinking of his maximum profit, which depends on his extracting, and paying the royalty on, nothing but the most perfect logs. It is characteristic of all Himalayan

broad-leaved timber trees that, with no exterior sign of defect, their logs often exhibit on felling certain defects which may, indeed, be of slight consequence, but may, on the other hand, be so serious as to render the extraction of the log unremunerative. The practice of the merchant has naturally been to reject and to leave to rot in the forest all logs which, on being felled, exhibit the slightest defect, and to export only the most perfect timber. It would be no exaggeration to state that in many cases the value of the logs extracted under this system of sale is less than the value of the logs cut, found defective, and left behind in the forest. The Government is aware of the disadvantages of this system and is adopting the obvious remedy. It now allows selected merchants to saw the felled logs *in situ*. The advantages of this method are clear. For the problem of forest exploitation is one of transportation, and while the whole of a defective log may not repay the cost and labour of extraction, it is often the case that if the defective parts are removed at the felling site by means of the saw, the remaining sound timber can be transported and marketed with profit. If merchants of the best type can be found to work this system it will prove successful and profitable, but the chief difficulty is to induce reliable and honest contractors to invest their capital in a country and under conditions of which they may have no experience or knowledge. It was with the object of creating this necessary confidence that the Government has recently enlisted for a short term of years the services of a British forest officer who, with some fifteen years of experience of the working of forests in India, may be able to induce the best class of Indian contractor to work in the far richer forests of Nepal. For their development depends solely upon the solution of this difficulty. Of the worst class of contractor hundreds can always be found—men who will regard their engagements with the Government as opportunities for fraud and theft; but it is the present policy of Nepal to discourage this class, and to encourage by every possible and reasonable means the introduction of merchants possessing both capital and integrity. Such are very rare, but there are already signs that the difficulty is not insoluble.

An impetus was given in the direction of forest development on the best lines during the War when His Highness the Maharaja added to his many acts of generous friendship by offering to the British Government 200,000 broad-gauge sleepers free of all royalty charges. The extraction was carried out by an officer of the Imperial Forest Service, and the contractors employed by him; and the most reliable men of this class to be found in Northern India are still working in Nepal.

The question of exploitation cannot be separated from that of conservation. It is the policy of the Government to treat as a permanent national asset those forests which for climatic or other reasons can never give way to prosperous cultivation. The chief measure at present adopted to ensure the woods of Nepal against destruction is the fixing of the minimum age at which the most important timber trees may be felled at one hundred years. This rule, if not relaxed, is an absolute insurance against deforestation, and the forest staff in Nepal is at present too small to admit of the

adoption of other safeguards which may be more scientific but which will not be so certain in their effect. In imposing the one hundred years' age limit the Government is doing its duty to its successors, and with this age limit there can at any rate be no destruction.

The question of fire protection is still left unsettled. While it is true that the forests of India are fire-protected, there are many signs that the Indian foresters are beginning to doubt the benefits of complete fire protection, which is alleged by many observers to be favouring the less valuable kinds at the expense of the more valuable timber-yielding species. It is probably true that the natural regeneration of these valuable trees is more general and more prolific in Nepal than in the Indian forests. Expert opinion in India has already gone so far as to pronounce in favour of partial protection only. The policy of the Nepal Government is to wait until a definite conclusion is reached on this very important question. For complete fire protection cannot be introduced except at great expense, while its introduction must inflict irksome restrictions and considerable hardship on the cultivators in the vicinity of the protected areas. Unless therefore fire protection can be proved to be absolutely necessary to the maintenance of the forests, the Government of Nepal is wise in not attempting it.



APPENDIX XX

NOTES ON THE ARCHITECTURE OF NEPAL

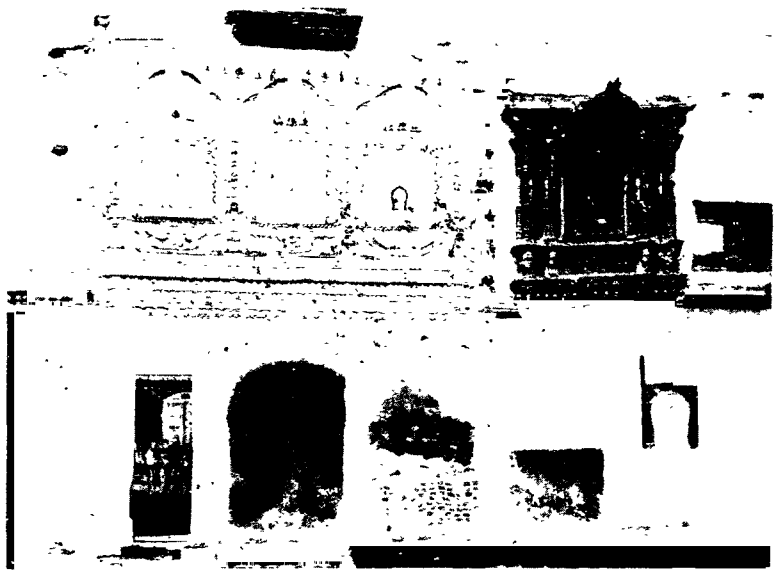
EARLIER than Purana Swayambhunath and the stupas erected by the Emperor Asoka in the year 250 B.C., it is probably useless to seek for any remains of architecture in Nepal proper. More and perhaps older traces of very early Buddhist construction will no doubt be discovered when the country near Rummindei or Tilaura is thoroughly examined and excavated. A mile from the frontier of Nepal, though across it, is the little stupa at Piprawa which yielded so magnificent a treasure when opened by M. Peppé. This is certainly pre-Asokan, and whether Piprawa—according to the Chinese traveller Fa-hsien—or Tilaura—according to his successor, Hsüan Tsang—represents the original Kapilavastu, there can hardly be a doubt that this part of the Tarai on both sides of the boundary pillars would return a harvest of knowledge of fifth century building were it properly investigated.

But in neither case would the remains, though on soil that is to-day Nepalese, be in any sense representative of Nepalese architecture. They were built by Indians on what was then Indian soil, and their principles, design, and symbolism were derived from Indian tradition. In setting up his six stupas in the Valley, Asoka copied the form which he had already encountered at Piprawa and elsewhere. To this design he was faithful, and the original stupa at Sanchi did not differ materially from the Patan model, though it is doubtful whether any of his erections in India were equal in size to the Laghan or southern stupa at that place. The smaller memorials that he set up in the centre of Patan and at Kirtipur have been so entirely altered by the accumulation of ornament during two thousand years, that it is now impossible to conjecture what the nature of Asoka's original structure was. In all probability it resembled on a small scale those which are mercifully left intact. We are not much helped by the existing shrines of Swayambhunath and Boddhnath, for the additions that have been made—though they do not essentially alter the original conception of their builders—are due rather to general Tibetan tradition than to anything peculiar to Nepal.[1] Later modifications of the original Buddhist doctrines

[1] As we see at Sanchi, Asoka recognized the value of a hill as a plinth for his work. It may be perhaps assumed that so obvious and outstanding a hill as Swayambhunath

led to the addition of the four gods in their niches at the compass-quarters of each shrine. The gilding of the toran and its ornamentation with eyes and the subsequent erection above it of the thirteen-fold " churamani " of gilded rings with their magnificent finial or " khalsa " are probably of genuine Nepalese development, though their resemblance to Buddhist decoration in Burma offers some food for thought.

The most interesting and perhaps the earliest record of Nepalese architecture of a character similar to that which is its peculiar pride to-day, is to be found in the account of a Chinese travel book dating back to the days of the T'ang dynasty. It cannot be later than the earliest years of the



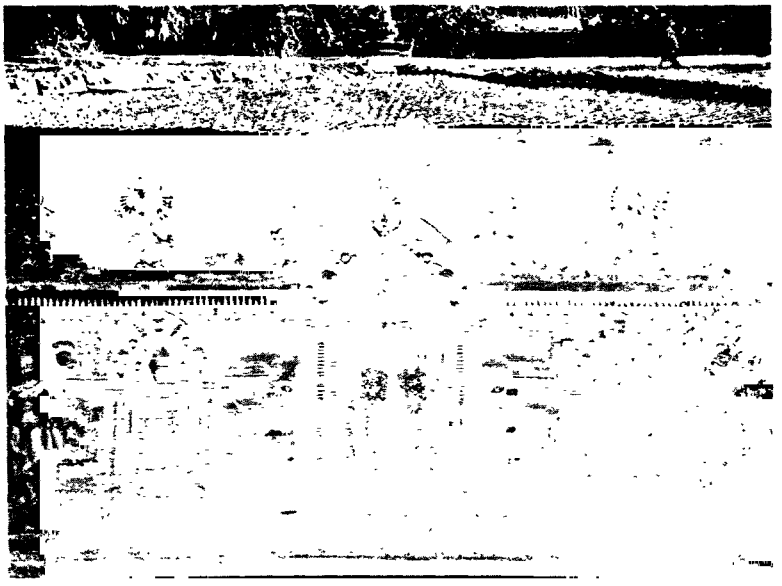
CARVED WINDOWS IN THE DARBAR AT BHATGAON

tenth century A.D., and is almost certainly earlier than the middle of the eighth. This narrative is probably based upon the records left by Wang Hiuen-t se about the year 657. It states that the houses of the Nepalese were made of wood and the walls were carved and painted. They were artists in sculpture work and had decorated with extraordinary richness the palaces of their kings. It cannot be doubted that the following description is of a structure which in no important sense differed from that of the pagoda which is found alike in Nepal and in China, but of which it is apparently impossible to find any example or even a reference in China of equal antiquity. " In the middle of the palace there is a tower of seven storeys roofed with copper tiles. Its balustrade, grilles, columns, beams, and

would have been used by him in preference to the far less impressive fold of ground at Kirtipur had it not been already dedicated by an existing shrine.

everything therein are set about with fine and even precious stones. At each of the four corners of the tower there projects a water-pipe of copper. At the base there are golden dragons which spout forth water. From the summit of the tower water is poured through runnels which finds its way down below streaming like a fountain from the mouths of golden Makara."

It is a piece of good fortune to find so accurate and early a description of the form, the richness, and some of the existing features of Nepalese architecture in a Chinese record. It is the more impressive because its author was not concerned to prove anything but to record a marvel.[1]

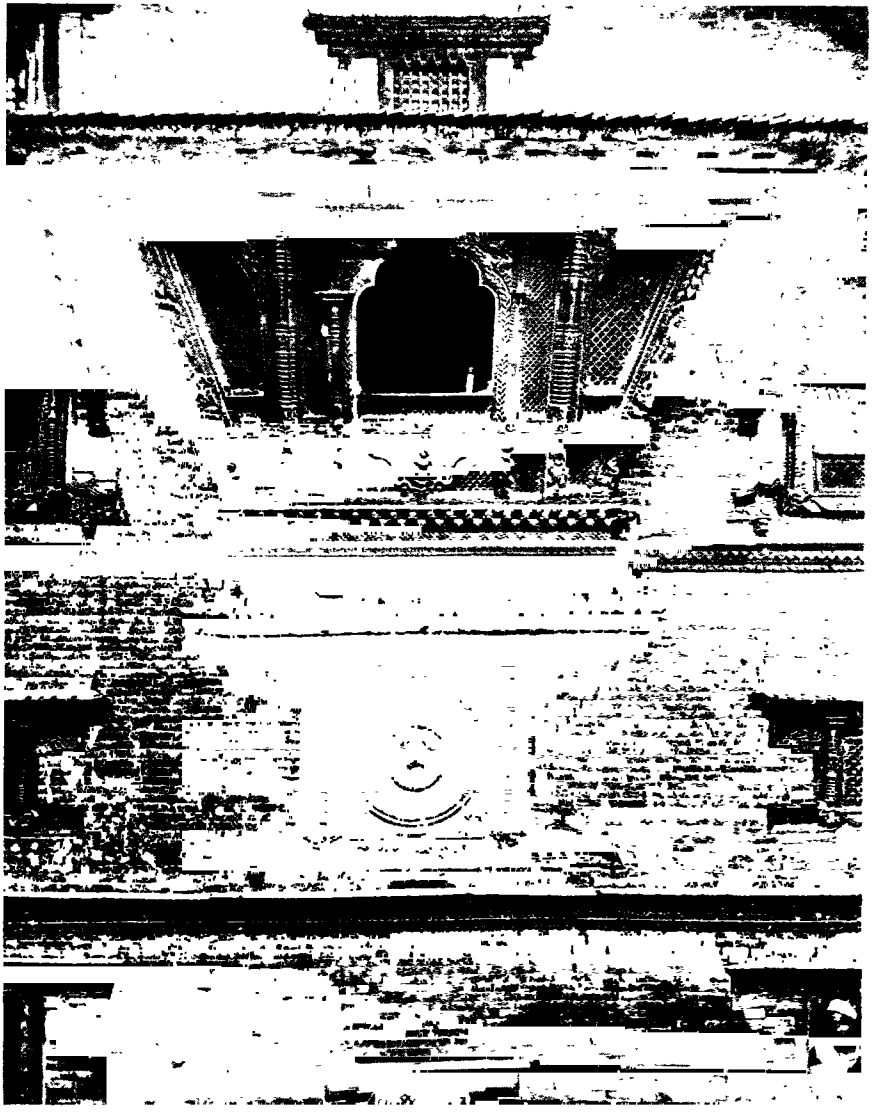


GOLDEN GATE AND CARVING, MULCHOK, HANUMANDHOKA, KATMANDU

At a later date we have the evidence of more than one Chinese traveller that the Palace of the King of Nepal was an immense structure. We have the testimony of the Chinese chronicles that it had many roofs, a point which was made because in China there were not then any of the " pagodas " which are now one of the chief characteristics of Chinese architecture. Reference is also made to two edifices accompanying the Swayambhunath

[1] General L. de Beylié, recalling the parallel offered by the Bronze Monastery of a Thousand Cells which, in the second century A.D., was ornamented with precious stones by King Dutthagamani at Anuradhapura, finds that the influence of Nepalese structure and ornament can be traced far beyond the limits of the country. He discovers them in eleventh-century work in the great Ananda Monastery at Pagan, and he also says that "les pyramids talaines ronds avec des cercles superposés derivent necessairement en principe des stûpes du nord de l'Inde et du Népal." He considers that the concentric circles of the "hti" in Burma and Assam also are taken from Nepal as well as the square entablature of the top of the dome (toran).

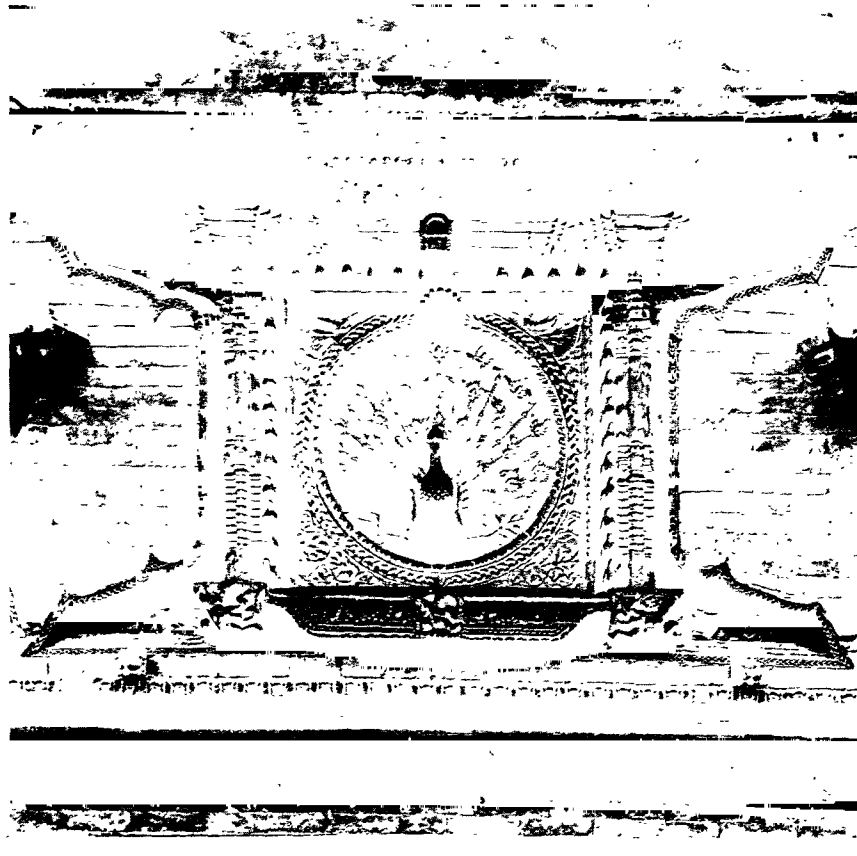
stupa which, though now replaced by the more Indian type of "sikra," seem to have been remarkable in the eyes of the travellers.



A WINDOW OF CARVED WOOD, BHATGAON

It is impossible to accept as proved the statement which is occasionally made that there were no superimposed roofs in China before the seventh century, but no record of them remains in the paintings or the early

sculptures which still exist, and it is a wild conjecture that the King of Nepal, in the middle of the seventh century, had invited Chinese builders to visit him at a time when no one but those impelled by religious fervour or urgent state business undertook the circuitous and extremely dangerous journey.[1] On the whole, we may with some caution credit Nepal, the land of timber and piety, with the conception of a style of architecture clearly

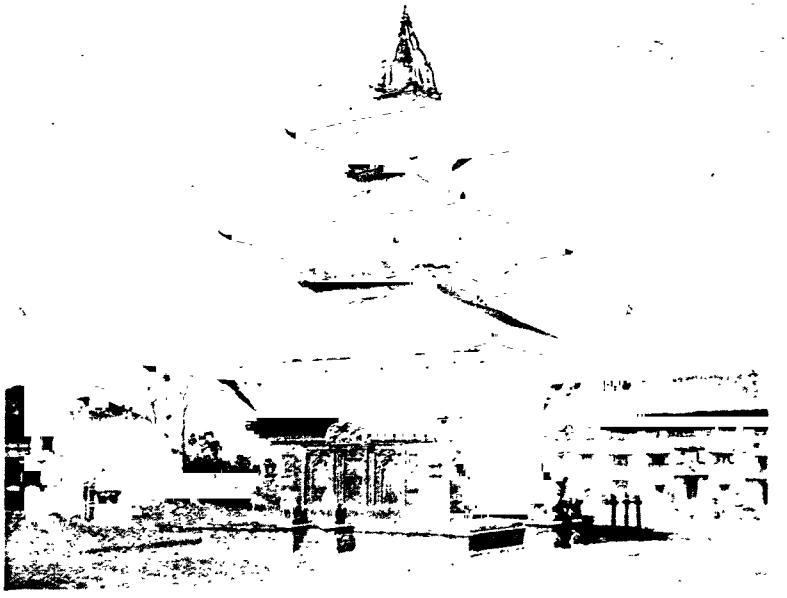


A WINDOW OF CARVED WOOD, BHATGAON

based upon "wooden" principles and necessities, which has too lightly been regarded as the invention of the Chinese. It cannot even be said that the latter improved upon their model. As I write I look down upon the

[1] It will occur to a visitor to Peking that in the T'ien Ning szu, just outside the western wall of the Chinese city, there remains a temple of pagoda form which was certainly founded before the close of the Sui period in A.D. 617. But venerable as the existing structure is, it is impossible to attribute it in its present form to a date earlier than A.D. 1000.

yellow roofs of the Forbidden City of Peking. In number and size these naturally eclipse the similar structures of Nepal. But magnificent as they are, they offer no instance of more than a triple roof, and in all that historic expanse there is nothing which can for a moment compare in beauty and richness with Changu Narayan or with the royal square of Patan. Another building is described from the store of material that Wang Hiuen-t'se collected in the following way. " In the capital of Nepal there is a building of many stages which is more than 200 chih in height.[1] It is 400 feet in circumference. Ten thousand men can be drawn up upon it. It is divided



A NEPALESE TEMPLE

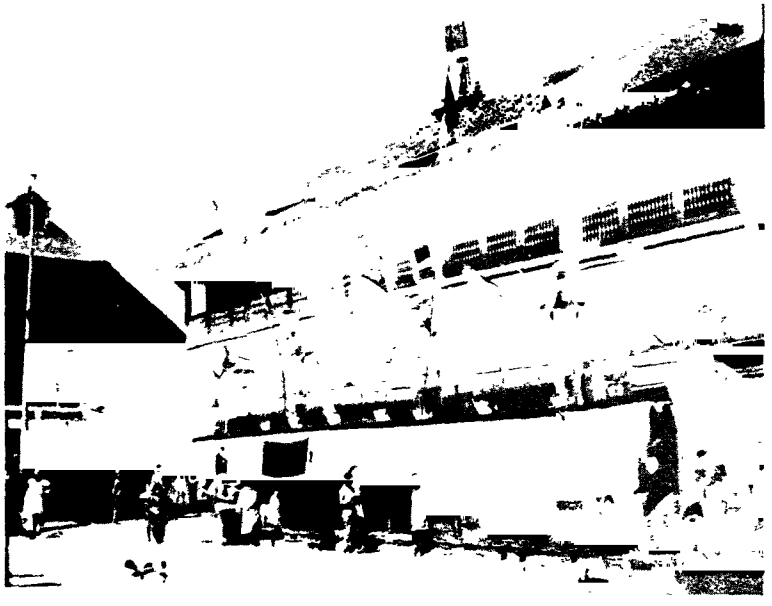
into three terraces and each terrace is divided into seven stages." The fineness of the sculpture in the four pavilions which attend this tower, and the wealth of the decoration in precious stones and pearls is referred to.[2]

M. François Benoit has dealt with the problems presented by Nepalese architecture in his admirable summary, *L'Architecture: l'Orient Medieval et Moderne* (H. Laurens, Paris, 1912). He notes that the cathedral in Lhasa—it bears different names, the Jo-kang, the Lhabrang, and, in a

[1] The chih varied from 11.5 to 15 in., with an average of 12. The height may therefore be taken to have been about 200 feet.

[2] It is difficult to form a conception of the shape of this building. Allowing for some exaggeration, it might have taken the form of a square Altar of Heaven surmounted by a very much larger Temple of Heaven. In any case the mere size of the building suggests that many storeyed work had long been known in Nepal

stricter sense still, Lha-sa, or the place of God—was built by Srong-Tsan-Gambo to shelter the holy images which his Nepalese and Chinese brides had brought with them to his capital. It is impossible to guess what the original architecture may have been; but in the existing eastern cell where the famous " golden idol " is enshrined, the arrangement, though on a very much larger scale is similar to that of the external shrine at the cardinal points of the Patan stupas. It may also be added that a custom found more largely in Nepal than in China is here adopted. I refer to the barring of the entrance by a flexible wrought-iron grille. The iron curtain in front of the golden shrine of the cathedral in Lhasa is of peculiar con-



TEMPLE OF AKAS BHAIRAB, KATMANDU

struction. It suggests the linking together of a large number of snaffles, a design which may be seen in a modified form in the screens protecting the eastern shrines of Swayambhunath. M. Benoit also finds the influence of Nepal in Burma, in China, and possibly even in India. Perhaps the modern tendency to derive similar architectural formulas that exist in different countries from a single source has not sufficiently taken into consideration similar climatic or economic conditions. But of the unquestionable influence of India upon Nepal in its later architecture, a better illustration cannot be given than that which the temple of Radha Krishna at Patan offers. Its resemblance to some of the work at Fatehpur Sikri must be obvious to anyone who has visited Agra.

The four most typical temples of purely Nepalese construction are the

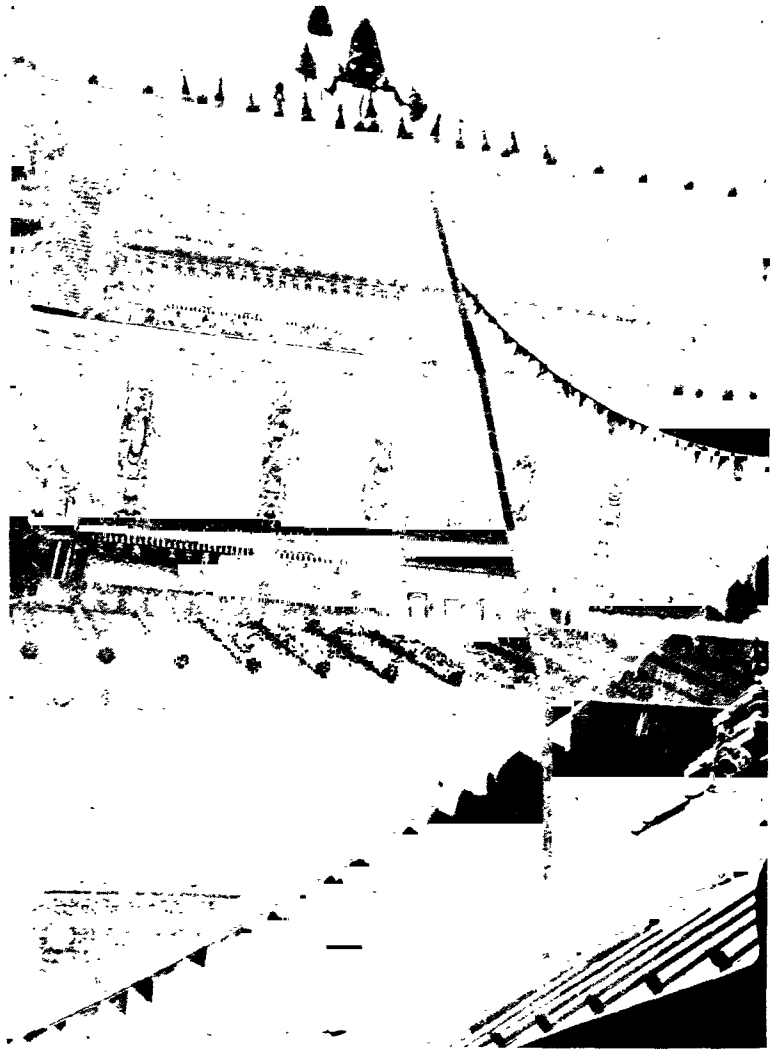
Taleju close to the Royal Palace inside Katmandu, the shrines of Machendranath in Patan and of Changu Narayan to the north of Bhatgaon, and the Nyatpola or "five-roofed temple" in that city. Except one small shrine near the bridge, there is scarcely anything of the first rank in Pash-



GATEWAY SHOWING WOOD CARVING IN THE TEMPLE OF BARAHI

pati. In general the Nyatpola of Bhatgaon may be taken as an illustration of the usual design of Nepalese religious architecture. It is not as beautifully carved as Changu Narayan, but it offers the characteristic feature of a five-fold base composed of rectangular terraces threaded by a steep ascent guarded by five pairs of conventional figures. At the top a square chamber within a colonnade of wooden pillars supports the lowest and

heaviest roof. This again is surmounted by another much lower chamber with its roof, and so in diminishing proportion until the fifth or uppermost roof crowns the structure and is itself ensigned by a gold finial.



KURWABAT, BUDDHA-BHAGAWAN TEMPLE, PATAN

Each of these roofs is supported by struts projecting at an angle of 45 degrees or more from the entablature which crowns the pillar work of the lower storey. It is in this work that Nepalese art has had its especial triumph. It is not necessary to describe in detail the vigorous and graceful sculptures

which may be seen in many of the plates of this book ornamenting these struts. Elsewhere the Newar craftsman betrays an equal capacity to carve in relief or in the round. But these ornamental brackets are probably the most striking characteristic that Nepalese architecture possesses.

Apart from the temples, the viharas or monastic settlements exhibit a style which is also peculiar to this country. In the centre of a square courtyard, two storeys in height, there will generally be found a closely



HOUSE FRONT, KATMANDU

slatted cage containing an image. This structure is presumably intended solely to protect the figure from defilement, like the stone lattice-work that shelters each of the upper images at Borobodoer. Smaller grilles admit light but defeat the curiosity of strangers wherever a window is pierced in the wall of the vihara. The roof of the domestic, as well as the religious structure, projects considerably. This is perhaps intended to protect the inmates from the sun as well as the rain.

Houses are mostly of three storeys and the projecting penthouse—eaves they can hardly be called—in which each roof ends, is stayed by a dozen props, each of which may be material for exquisite carving and in every

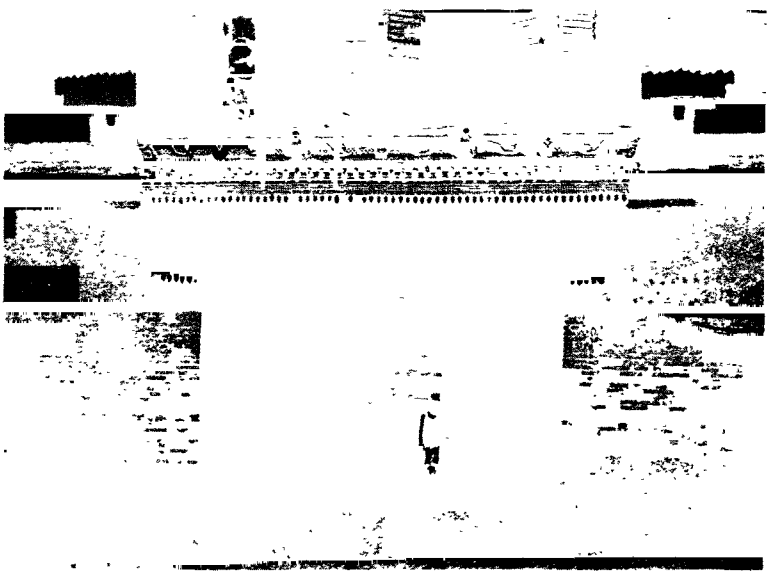
case receives a conventional ornament. In general the houses are built of plain red brick of a singularly rich cardinal maroon colour. The lowest stage is as a rule open in front whether it is used as a shop or as a lounge.



A CORNER AT BHATGAON

The entablature is supported by four pillars, each of which may be the object of good conventional ornament. The spandrels formed by low arches over the three bays are also generally well ornamented. In the distance the steep ladder which serves as a staircase may be seen. The first floor is generally lighted by a broad low window of which the sill and

the lintel are carried horizontally into the brickwork beyond the breadth of the window. These are often beautifully decorated. The second and third storeys are usually lighted by a three-bayed window considerably larger than that of the first floor. The third storey, however, is of much less height than the second, while the attic—which is lighted by a single dormer-window—is of insignificant height. Such a house as this in a town has generally two superimposed roofs. The first floor has, as a rule, no such protection from the sun and rain, which may be the reason why its window is generally smaller than those of the upper floors. The characteristic Nepalese effect is maintained by a series of struts which support the two



A RICHLY CARVED WOODEN DOOR AT KATMANDU

roofs at intervals of perhaps three feet. In the country the roof often presents the characteristic "jerked head" of a Sussex farmhouse, and sometimes by a reverse process the ridge pole is cut between the two ends and a flat roof created, terminated at each end by pyramidal gables.

The domestic architecture of Nepal is picturesque beyond that of any other country. A fine tradition has been built up out of the possibilities and necessities of this wooded, rainy, and sunlit Himalayan State, not the least effective characteristic of which is a beautiful alternation of light and shade that modern European architecture seems unable or unwilling to secure. The shadows beneath the long eaves and the open structure of the ground floor contrast beautifully with the rich sunlit expanse of the crimson walls. Ornament has been kept strictly to its proper place. No doubt a practical reason could be found for the Nepalese habit of prolonging



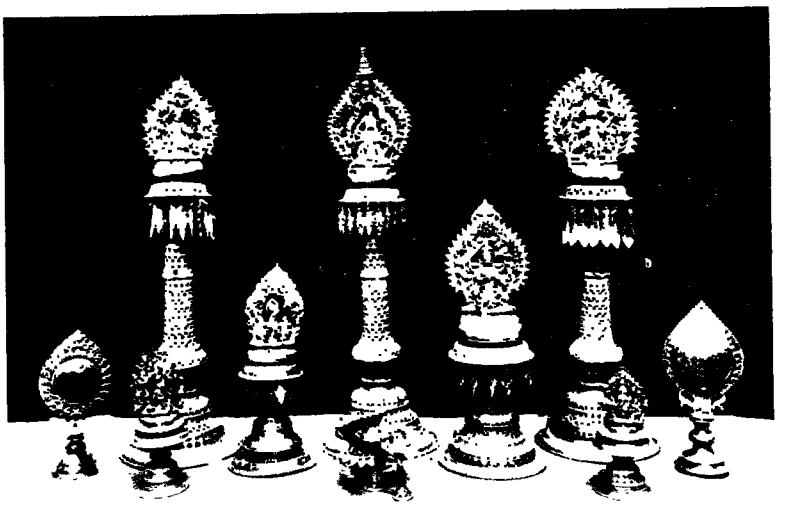
BRASS WORK AT THE TEMPLE OF MACHENDRA

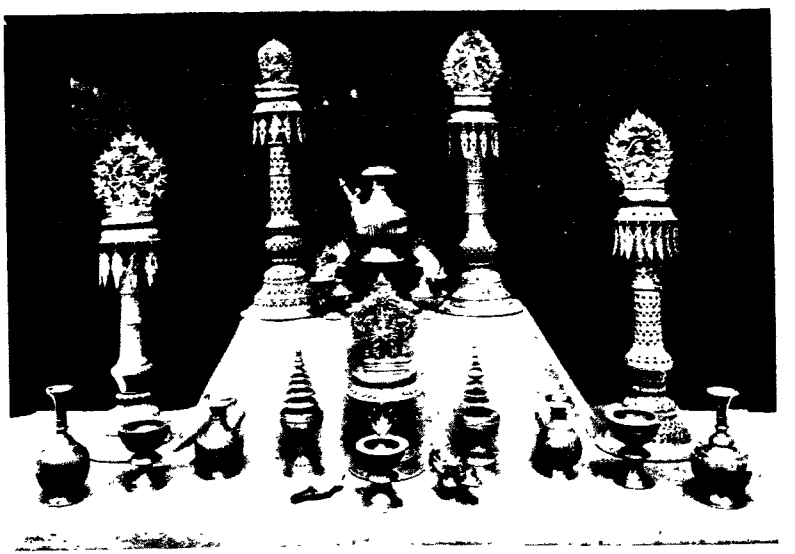
the lintels and sills of doors and windows, but they need no further justification for the artist than the beautiful arabesques for which they offer a field and the foliated volutes which in the finer examples lend an apparent



BRASS FIGURE OF TARA, SWAYAMBHUNATH

support to the windows they accompany. The gadrooned and tapered pillars of the old palace in Katmandu have a quality that is rare even in the marbles of Shah Jehan, and the curiously engrailed and invecked shallow cusps of the low arches have no counterpart anywhere that I can





NEPALESE BRASS WARE

remember. It is not impossible that the cantilever timber bridge, which is still the regular type for medium sized crossings in Nepal, had its influence upon these long flattened brackets.

The spandrels of the doorways are often deeply carved, though in most cases clogged with alternate coatings of paint and dirt. The arch of the door is in some cases ornamented in a way that is probably not found elsewhere. Slung in the corners of the arch are sometimes to be found beautifully modelled pieces of wood carvings *à jour*, in a form either geometrical or arabesque. In special cases it may take the form of an animal. Inside, in the case of the larger houses, there is a courtyard in the centre of which may be found, as a rule, a neglected statue or the stub of a pillar. Glass is now used in all but the poorer buildings.

The excellence of the Nepalese copper and bronze craftsmen—which has led to a permanent colony in Lhasa where much of the best Tibetan work is made by them—has contributed greatly to the decoration of the architecture. Of this the golden door of Bhatgaon is the most prominent illustration, but there is scarcely an important structure which does not boast some of this handiwork. Especially admirable are the demi-lunes, or escutcheons of gilded copper, which crown the principal doors and enshrine veranda openings. More magnificent than any other examples of work in the round are the figures of human beings, gods, garudas, and deified characters, peacocks, and cobras which surmount the tall graceful shafts in the Darbar Squares and the forecourts of the chief temples. Of statues in the round the finest is without doubt the bronze Tara which faces the western side of Swayambhunath.

Of lesser work in bronze much has already been written, and in addition to the plates given here reference should be made to the exceptionally good photographs of Nepalese brass work that are contained in Mr. Percy Brown's *Picturesque Nepal*. Of "natural" pictorial work there is nothing better than the copies of European portraits that illustrate the Darbar Hall in the Hanuman-Dhoka. Exception may be made of the curious portrait of Prithwi Narayan, which hangs in the old Diwan-i-Am of the Palace. I failed to get a good photograph of it, and so made a sketch which is reproduced in the first volume of this book.[1] The style is, of course, purely Indo-Persian, but there is no reason to doubt that it was painted by a Nepalese artist.

There is a school of Nepalese religious painting which is closely modelled upon, or rather allied to, that of Tibet. The Nepalese work is not so fine, but in colour it is as good as that of Tibet. As to the drawing and composition it must be remembered that no scope or latitude is permitted by Buddhist tradition. It is therefore difficult to be certain, except after considerable acquaintance with both schools, to which any given painting should be attributed.

[1] Page 60, vol. i.

APPENDIX XXI

TWO RECORDS OF THE INVASION OF NEPAL BY THE CHINESE IN 1792

I

Written by the King, and engraved upon a stone slab below the Potala, Lhasa [1]

THE monument of the deeds fully accomplished ten times.

Now that the Gurkhas have submitted to me, the Imperial army has been withdrawn, and the completion of this brilliant tenth achievement has been set out in the Letter. Though the fame of this matter was great, it has not been fully manifested. Therefore the proclamation has been inscribed on this monument, that the monument may serve as a moral for the minds of men.

It comes to my mind that my mind was formerly attached to the Yü-kur writing. According to the writing of Che-u-kur the acts of the respectful and sympathetic Amban, and of the Owner of the country, able to perform all things, are set down here. It is written in a chapter of the Lü A-u that, when the mind is in a good state, the mind and the deeds are joined together. However, he who acts in accordance with the above precepts will obtain the approval of the Heavenly Protector [2] and will gain reward. As my conduct was on those lines, I gained all the merits necessary for carrying out the ten wars to a successful conclusion. It is fitting that they should be carved on this monument.

The merits of the ten times are as follows:

Two victories over the Chung-kar.
One victory over Hu-i Se.
Two victories over Tsa-la and Chu-chen.
One victory over Ta-i Wan.
Two victories over Mi-han-tan and An-tan.

Now I have fought twice with the Gurkhas. I have made an end of them, and they have tendered their submission to me. This completes the ten times. Three of the internal victories are of lesser importance.

Now as regards the submission of the Gurkhas in the Female Earth-Bird year. Although they brought troops for looting Ü and Tsang,[3] the A-u Hu-i not daring, Pa-chung did not go into the matter thoroughly, but arranged it in a hurry. So the Gurkhas were not frightened.

Again, having obtained loot last year, they came back. The wicked Minister was degraded, and the famous Chang-chun was sent. The latter

[1] I am indebted to Sir Charles Bell, K.C.I.E., for his kind permission to take this record from his book, *Tibet, Past and Present*, 1924.

[2] *I.e.*, the Emperor of China.

[3] The two main provinces of Central Tibet. Lhasa is in Ü ; Shigatse in Tsang.

arranged on a large scale for provisions and wages. Fu-kang men appreciated my gifts highly, and did not consider fatigue or fear.

During the winter of last year additional soldiers of Solon [1] and Sze-chuan came quickly, batch by batch, along the Sining road, and arrived in the country of the thieves [2] during the fifth month of this year. Immediately on their arrival they retook the country of Ü and Tsang, and captured the territory of the thieves. They traversed the mountains, so difficult to push through, as though they were moving over a level plain. They crossed rivers with great waves and narrow gorges as though they were small streams. They climbed up the peaks of mountains and descended again in the pursuit. They captured the important places and at the same time captured the roads in the gorges. Not considering injuries to hands or feet, they fought seven battles and gained seven victories. The thieves were panic-stricken.

After that, when the troops arrived close to Yam-bu,[3] the chief leaders of the thieves were sent. They submitted respectfully and represented that they would conduct themselves according to our orders. Although they carried out the orders of the great Commander-in-Chief, they were not allowed to enter our encampment. The reason for this was that last year they seized Ten-dzin Pal-jor [4] and those with him by means of a falsehood; and so they were not allowed to enter.

Owing to the great heroism of the mighty army the thieves were helpless. He could have had them removed from his presence, and could have made an end of them, letting not even one of them escape. However, that was not the wish of the Heavenly Protector. Even if all those territories had been obtained, as they are more than a thousand distances from the frontiers of Ü and Tsang, it would have been difficult to cultivate them and to guard them. As for ordinary, simple people, even if they obtain a thing, the end will not be gained.[5] Therefore orders were given, the respectful submission was noted, and the army was withdrawn. Thereby the work was completed.[6]

[1] Sir Charles Bell makes the following note: "A district in the upper part of the Tibetan province of Gyarong, annexed by China in 1863. It is therefore evident that there were Tibetan troops in this army that conquered the Gurkhas. It appears also that several Tibetan officers took part, including Do-ring Shap-pe, Yu-to Shap-pe, and Chang-lo-chen De-pön (Colonel)." This latter statement is perfectly true; but the troops from "Solon" were actually a well-known contingent from a district in the north of China. It appears that the Solon men were in especial request for distant or dangerous enterprises. I am indebted to Baron A. Staël Holstein, of Peking, for this observation and for calling my attention to the following extract from the Peking Chronicles.

[2] *I.e.*, the Gurkhas. [3] *I.e.*, Katmandu, the capital of Nepal.

[4] The Do-ring Shap-pe. It is said that the Chinese sent him with the Yu-to Shap-pe and Chang-lo-chen De-pön as peace envoys to the Gurkhas, and that the Gurkhas seized them and carried them off to Nepal.

[5] *I.e.*, "even if Nepal be annexed to Tibet, the Tibetans will not be able to hold it."

[6] European writers, following Chinese authorities, put the Gurkha army at eighteen thousand men and the Chinese at seventy thousand. Tibetans in general put the Gurkha army at about four thousand, and the Chinese army at about nine thousand, of whom half or rather more were Tibetans.

Formerly, in the time of King Thang Tha-ï Tsung, there was a conference with the Chi-li.[1] As it was shown that they [the Gurkhas] were conquered and powerless, he [the Chi-li] said[2] that they would always remain on good terms [with China]. . . It is not fitting to take the Chi-li as an example.[3] The frontiers of Ü and Tsang are not near to China. They [the Gurkhas] fearing to lose their lives, were compelled to submit respectfully. A pretended submission, made in order to obtain peace, will not suffice. A great victory has now been obtained. The thieves have offered a heart-felt submission, and this is believed and accepted. Affairs have been arranged in accordance with the three points of King Tha-ï Tsung of Thang-gur

Need I write the former affairs of the Tor-gö,[4] how they became afraid of us and followed us? How they came to agree with us and to follow us, this has all been written already. Now the Gurkhas having admitted their fault, and wishing to save their lives, fear us and follow us. Thus agreeing with us and following, the two qualities are complete. The failing was theirs, and they have admitted their fault: that is how the matter stands.

If this matter be considered, it will be seen that the people of Ü, abandoning military pursuits, devote themselves solely to literature. Thus they have become like a body bereft of vigour. This is unfitting. If a people abandon military pursuits and make literature their chief object, they become unable to safeguard their former position. This should be known.

The manner of going and the manner of returning[5] are clearly written in the book entitled *The Planets and Stars*. Now understand this and do not forget it.[6] It is to be considered again and again at the time of making war, that it may be of advantage.

Owing to the knowledge gained during fifty-seven years of warfare these ten deeds have been fully completed. This is the gift of the Heavenly Protector. Thus the kindness of the Heavenly Protector is exceedingly deep. I also have faith in it. They [the Gurkhas] thought they could achieve a great deal by violence, but the favour of the Heavenly Protector remained. It is hoped that this will tend to turn people into men of complete justice. Besides this, there is nothing to be said.

This has been written by the King on an upper date[7] in the first month of winter in the fifty-seventh year of the reign of the Heavenly Protector, that is to say, in the Male Water Rat year.

[1] Apparently the British. The Tibetan word for foreigners of European extraction is "Chi-ling."

[2] The non-honorific word for "said" is used here—the word applied to the common people to indicate contempt for the representative of the Chi-li.

[3] *Semble*, in keeping Indian territory for themselves, after conquering it.

[4] A Mongolian tribe conquered by the Chinese.

[5] *I.e.*, the rules of human conduct.

[6] As a matter of fact the Tibetans, with but few exceptions, do not even know that this inscription relates to the campaign against the Gurkhas. They know only that it was erected by a former Amban.

[7] *I.e.*, during the first half of the month.

II

A DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF THE MILITARY OPERATIONS OF THE SACRED [MANCHU] DYNASTY [SHÊNG-WU-CHI]. COMPILED BY WEI YÜAN, NATIVE OF SHAO-YANG [HUNAN PROVINCE]. THE EXPEDITION AGAINST THE GHORKHAS [NEPAL] IN THE CH'IEN-LUNG REIGN.[1] LITERALLY TRANSLATED (1926) BY MR. H. S. BRUNNERT.

Wei Yüan [T. Mo-shên] died A.D 1856. *He served as a magistrate in the provinces. He wrote the "Shêng-wu-chi," a descriptive account of the military operations of the Manchu dynasty, and also the "Hai-kuo t'u-chih," a record of foreign nations, founded on the notes of Lin Tsê-ksu.*[2]

TO the west of the provinces of Ssŭch'uan and Yünnan lies Wu-ssŭ Tsang[3]—Tibet; to the south-west of the latter—Ghorkha [Nepal], and to the south-west of Nepal—"The Five Indies."

India is the Ancient Buddhist Kingdom. It lies to the west of Onion Range,[4] [Ts'ung-ling shan] and, on the south, is bounded by a big sea and the distance between India and Tibet is fully equal to 2000 *li*. The opinion hazarded by some persons that Tibet is the Ancient Buddhist Kingdom is not true.

If one is journeying from Ta-chien-lu, in Ssŭch'uan, westwards, there are more than 20 stations to Anterior Tibet, 12 stations more to Central Tibet, another 12 stations to Ulterior Tibet; after 20 stations more is situated the iron suspension bridge at Chi-lung,[5] which is the remotest frontier place in Ulterior Tibet: to the west of this bridge lies the land of Ghorkas [Nepal].

The original name of Ghorkha is Pa-lê-pu[6] country. In old times it was divided into three parts or tribes: Yeh-lêng-pu, Pu-yen-pu, and K'u-mu-pu.[7] In the 9th year of the Yung-chêng reign (1731) each tribe presented to the Throne memorials written in golden characters, also native products, in token of tribute, but afterwards the three tribes were amalgamated[8] into one, and this country then became the neighbour of Ulterior Tibet. Its dimensions are: from East to West—several thousand *li*; from South to North—more than one thousand *li*. The Capital is called Yang-pu; it lies approximately at 11-12 days' journey from the frontier. This country also has some Buddhist monuments; therefore, the Tanguts[9] yearly came in pilgrimage to worship at the pagodas and whitewash them.

From ancient times Nepal had no relations with China; the beginning

[1] This is contained in chapter v of the Account, and has been translated by C. Imbault-Huart, *Histoire de la conquête du Nepal.*

[2] *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, by Herbert A. Giles, p. 871, no. 2300.

[3] Signifying "central" and "pure."

[4] The Belurtagh Mountains in Turkestan.

[5] Name of a place: *Kirong.*

[6] Parbatiya.

[7] These are Patan, Bhatgaon, and Katmandu respectively.

[8] By the Ghorkhas.

[9] The Tibetans.

of the hostilities between them dated from the 55th year[1] of the Ch'ien-lung reign, when Nepal invaded Tibet.

In the 46th year[2] of the Ch'ien-lung reign the Panch'ên Lama of Ulterior Tibet came to the Capital of China to congratulate the Emperor on the occasion of his 70th anniversary; donations to the Pontiff came from "inside and outside,"[3] like seas overflowing and mountains "heaping." When the Panch'ên Lama passed away in the Capital, his remains were escorted back to Tibet. As to his treasures, they all became the property of his elder brother Chung-pa Hutukhtu. But the latter gave no donations either to the Monasteries or to the Tangut soldiery; besides, he declined the claim of his younger brother Shê-ma-rh-pa to have his share in the division of treasures, on the ground that he [Shê-ma-rh-pa] had embraced "the Red Religion." Angered by this refusal, Shê-ma-rh-pa brought his complaints to the Ghorkhas, and used the hoarded treasures of Ulterior Tibet and the Chung-pa's arrogance as incitements to them to invade this country.

In the 3rd month of the 55th year[4] of the Ch'ien-lung reign, the Ghorkhas, using as the pretext the increase of taxes on merchandise and the admixture of dust in the table-salt, sent troops and invaded the frontier area. The Tangut soldiers were not able to make any resistance. As for the officers whom the Government appointed, in order to help in the extermination of invaders—*e.g.*, Officer of the Guards Pa-chung, Tartar Generals Ao-Hui, Ch'êng-tê, and others—they tried to settle the matter amicably and to get peace through bribery. So they secretly advised to the Tibetan Abbots[5] and other ecclesiastics privately to pay the Ghorkhas a yearly subsidy of 15,000 in gold in order to stop the military operations.

At that time the Dalai Lama could not agree to the suggestion. Nevertheless, Pa-chung ventured to deceive the Emperor by presenting a memorial to the effect that the rebels had surrendered. So far was this from being the case that he actually persuaded the Ghorkha chieftain to bring tribute, in order to be appointed Prince[6] of the country [Kuo-wang]. In this "War" not a single soldier was lost, but a million was spent on soldiers' rations.

In the 7th month the Ghorkhas sent an Envoy to Tibet to bring the tribute and to present a letter to the Imperial Resident there, requesting that the stipulations of the Treaty [with Pa-chung] be complied with. But General Ao-Hui, fearing the disclosure of the above mentioned facts, put this letter aside and did not memorialize the Throne.

Next year[7] Tibet again did not observe the Treaty, as regards [? in spite of the receipt of] the yearly subsidy. In consequence, the Ghorkhas again raised troops and penetrated deeply into Tibet, under the pretext of punishing the country for the breach of the Treaty.

To the south west of Tashilumpo, in Ulterior Tibet, are situated: Ch'ü-to-chiang-kung[8]—to the East, and a mountain range, bearing the

[1] 1790. [2] 1781. [3] From the capital and from the provinces. [4] 1790.
[5] K'ar-pu. [6] Ruler. [7] 1791. [8] Name of a place.

name of P'êng-ts'o-ling—to the West, both possessing important strategical positions, consisting of sheer precipices, successive ridges and defiles. The rebels' infantry, to the number of several thousands, debouched from a place, named Nieh-la-mu.[1] At that time, the Government troops, both Tibetan and Chinese, had only to divide themselves into two detachments, the one defending Ch'ü-to-chiang-kung, to prevent the enemy from advancing; the other making a detour to the P'êng-ts'o-ling mountain range, in order to cut off the enemy's retreat. In that case, the Ghorkhas, who had invaded the country very deeply, but were unable to get reinforcements, would be forced to disperse without a combat.

But Pao-t'ai, the Imperial Resident in Tibet, on learning about the rebels' advance, in the first place had the Panch'ên Lama removed to Anterior Tibet; then, panic-stricken by the rebels' movements, he memorialized the Emperor, supplicating to have both Pontiffs removed out of Tibet: Dalai Lama—to Hsi-ning,[2] and Panch'ên Lama—to T'ai-ning respectively, being ready to abandon the Tibetan territory to the rebels.

As the city of Tashilumpo is situated on a mountain and has a river in front of it, thus possessing a strong strategical position, the Lamas, to the number of several thousands, had only to occupy the city walls and guard them, waiting for the reinforcements to arrive. But Chung-pa Hutukhtu had already fled, taking with him all his treasures. As for Chi-lung Lama[3] and other ecclesiastics, they all alleged that, as their divinations had showed, the Heavenly Mother was against fighting. In consequence, the population became quite downhearted, and the rebels succeeded in plundering the city of Tashilumpo mercilessly. This caused great consternation throughout the whole of Tibet, and both Pontiffs urgently memorialized the Throne about the critical state of affairs.

The Officer of the Guards, Pa-chung, was just then accompanying the Emperor to Yehol, and hearing that the rebels had invaded Tibet, he committed suicide by throwing himself into a river. At that time Ao-Hui held the post of Governor General of the province of Ssŭch'uan and Ch'êng-tê that of Tartar General there. Both shifted all the guilt on Pa-chung, saying that, being master of the Tangut language, he had conducted privately all the negotiations, so that he alone was responsible, and that they had had no knowledge of them at all.

When the Emperor ordered them to proceed to Tibet to exterminate the invaders, they advanced by easy stages and were in no hurry to enter the Tibetan territory. But His Majesty knew that both were quite unreliable. So he commanded Duke Fu-k'ang-an to assume the post of Tartar General and Duke Hai-lan-ch'a to be his Military Assistant; also, to mobilize the Manchu troops of the Solon[4] tribe and the native drilled forces for the extermination of rebels. As for the supplies of the army the Emperor ordered them to be provided: by Sun Shih-i, the Governor General of the Ssŭch'uan province;[5] for the Eastern region of Tibet, by

[1] *Nilam.* [2] In Kansu. [3] Chief councillor.
[4] From the region of the Amur. [5] A.D. 1720-96.

the Imperial Resident in Tibet, Ho-Lin; for the Western region of Tibet, *i.e.*, for the area lying outside the frontier place of Chi-lung, by the former Governor General of the Ssŭch'uan province, Hui-Ling. Pao-t'ai was ordered to wear the cangue[1] in front of the army. Moreover, the main forces were to enter Tibet by way of Kokonor steppes, thus shortening the journey by 30 stages, in comparison with the advance *via* Ta-chien-lu in Ssŭch'uan.

The rebels, relying on the precedent of the last year's war, when peace had been obtained through bribery, returned to their country, taking with them all the booty and leaving one thousand men to guard the frontier.

Ao-Hui, Ch'êng-tê, and others, though at the head of 4,000 soldiers, neither attacked the enemy's forces laden with booty, nor routed the rebels left for the defence of the frontier; they only reduced the small fortified place of Nieh-la-mu, held by about a hundred rebels, and then memorialized the Throne to the effect that the enemy had retreated. They intended that the matter should be regarded as closed, and did not mention the presence of the rebel forces at such two places as Chi-lung and Yung-hsia. But the Emperor rebuked them and refused to act upon their suggestion.

In the 2nd month of the next year[2] the Tartar General and his Military Assistant, advancing through Kokonor entered the territory of Ulterior Tibet.

In the 4th intercalary month 2,000 Solon soldiers also 5,000 soldiers quartered in Chin-ch'uan,[3] all assembled on Tibetan territory. To these numbers are to be added 3,000 Government troops from Tibet itself; 70,000 piculs of wheat, and more than 20,000 cows and sheep were bought on the spot to secure, for one year, the provisioning necessary for 10,000-15,000 soldiers, so as to avoid any uncertainty about the transportation of supplies from the interior of China.

During the 5th month the rebels, who had been left to guard the frontier, were several times defeated, and the Government troops completely recovered the Tibetan territory. In the beginning of the 6th month the main forces penetrated deeply into the enemy's territory.

Out of fear that the rebels might make an encircling movement and attack our troops in the rear, the Commandants of Forces Ch'êng-tê and Tai-sên-pao and Brigadier-General Chu-shên-pao began to advance by the eastern and western roads respectively, in order to divide the enemy's forces; while the main army began its advance by the central road. Hai-lan-ch'a formed the vanguard from 3 detachments of troops; Fu-k'ang-an followed him with 2 detachments.

At the iron suspension bridge, 80 *li* distance from Chi-lung, they approached the enemy's first mountain pass. The rebels broke the bridge and made a resistance, using the natural advantages of the place. While Fu-k'ang-an, with the main force, was standing in front of the enemy, Hai-lan-ch'a, using bamboo rafts, crossed the river up-stream and, mak-

[1] A heavy square wooden collar worn as a humiliating punishment.
[2] 1792. [3] Ssŭch'uan.

ing a detour through the mountains, appeared above the rebels' camp. Fu-k'ang-an, on his side immediately took advantage of the situation thus created to construct a bridge. Then, having captured the enemy's post, they made a joint attack on the rebels' camp and pursued them for a distance of 160 *li* to the place named Hsieh-pu-lu. As on the road there existed no place suitable for a camp, they did not meet a single enemy.

After pursuing the rebels another stretch of 100 and a few score *li* they reached the mountain-range Tung-chüeh-ling, where two cliffs, "standing like walls," were separated by a river, with deep water and a swift current. Our soldiers climbed them by by-paths, braving dangers equal to those presented by the iron suspension bridge. Then, taking advantage of a dark and rainy night, they divided their forces into two parts and both up and down stream threw bridges across the river made out of dead trees, which enabled our troops to cross and capture an important strategical position.

On the 9th day of the 6th month our troops reached the Yung-ya mountain. The Ghorkha barbarians, stricken with consternation, then despatched envoys to our camp, offering submission, but the Tartar General and his Military Assistant sternly rejected this offer and for several days did not send any answer.

Afterwards our troops again attacked the rebels from three directions, routing them in six engagements, and then passed over the big mountain. Successively they killed 4,000 rebels and invaded more than 700 *li* of their territory. Our troops were by this time nearing the enemy's capital city, Yang-pu.

Up to this moment they had had the mountains on their eastern and western sides, these mountains being separated by a river; but after they had reached the Yung-ya mountain, they had now mountains on their southern and northern sides, these mountains also being separated by a river. The rebels were holding both mountains, and in the centre there was a bridge.[1]

In the beginning of the 8th month our troops made an attack from three directions, took the mountain on the northern side of the river, and routed the rebels to the north of the bridge. The enemy's capital was then situated beyond the big mountain on the southern shore of the river forty or fifty *li* away.

The rebels, numbering ten battalions, were holding the mountain very strongly. Hai-lan-ch'a proposed to guard the river and make a camp there, but Fu-k'ang-an did not consent to this plan. He crossed over the bridge and attacked the enemy; then, in spite of rain, he climbed the mountain to 20 *li* distance and reached a very steep place. The enemy, taking advantage of his position on the summit of the mountain, poured down trees and stones "like rain," and at the same time those rebels who were separated by river and mountain made an attack from three directions.

Our troops sometimes fought and sometimes retreated. The number of

[1] See account of this fight, vol. i, pp. 68-69.

killed and wounded was very great. Hai-lan-ch'a, from across the river, came then to the assistance, and O-lê-têng-pao, holding the bridge, fought stubbornly; and succeeded to repel the enemy.

At that time the enemy's country bordered, on the southern side, upon an Indian land named "P'i-lêng"[1]; this land had long ago become Britain's dependency and repeatedly had had quarrels with the Ghorkhas. When Fu-k'ang-an, at the head of his troops, had entered the enemy's territory, he sent to all the countries bordering upon the Ghorkhas, *i.e.*, Chê-mêng-hsiung[2] and Tsung-mu-pu-lu-k'ê—on the south-east, Pa-tso-mu-lang—on the west, Chia-ka-rh and P'i-lêng—on the south—the intimation to attack the Ghorkhas simultaneously, promising to divide between them the Ghorkhas' lands, after peace had been restored.

About this time the Ghorkhas also had addressed themselves to P'i-lêng, asking to help them in their critical situation. But P'i-lêng, pretending that they would come to the assistance with their soldiers, in reality invaded secretly the Ghorkhas' frontier.

The Ghorkha barbarians, being forced to withstand two powerful enemies, were afraid that they could not succeed in it; moreover, they apprehended that this news would rouse our troops' energy. Therefore, they again sent envoys to our camp to ask humbly for mercy.

At that moment our troops had just suffered a reverse, whereas the enemy's country presented more and more dangers to them; besides, after the 8th month, the big snow in the mountains would make the return most difficult. Therefore, the rebels' request for surrender was granted.

They gave back the former treaty; restored all the treasures, plundered in Tibet: the golden spires of pagodas and the golden tablets, seals, etc.; released Tan-chin, Pan-chu-rh,[3] and others, formerly held by them; gave back the corpse of Shê-ma-rh-pa and promised to present, as tribute, tame elephants, horses, and musicians, asking the eternal observance of the stipulations and the withdrawal of our troops.

Originally our Emperor had intended to divide the Ghorkha country between the chieftains of various native tribes and to bestow the title of Prince of the 2nd degree on Fu-k'ang-an, but on hearing that the rebels' request for surrender had been granted he gave his sanction to this settlement [and withdrew his army], leaving behind 3,000 Tibetan soldiers and 1,000 Chinese and Mongol soldiers to guard the Tibetan frontier. From that time began the garrisoning of Tibet by the Government troops.

There is a big road leading from Ulterior Tibet to Ghorkha, *via* Ting-chieh,[4] but persons using this road must make a detour through Pu-lu-k'ê-pa[5] and other tribes, and it takes more than a month's time. Therefore our troops, advancing from Chi-lung, took the nearer road, along which there were precipices on the left and torrents on the right; it was impossible,

[1] "P'i-lêng" is the Chinese form of "Feringhi" or "Frank," by which name most of Asia describes the European.

[2] Sikkim. [3] Kalon: Councillor of State. [4] Tingri.

[5] This is an astonishing misstatement, unless by Brukpa (Pu-lu-k'ê-pa) all semi-Tibetan tribes along the Central Himalayas is meant.

even for a single person, to ride: the Tartar General himself and his Military Assistant also were walking on foot all the time. As the tame elephants which had been sent as tribute used the big road, they arrived in Ulterior Tibet in the spring only of the next year.

As for the Wu-la-ling mountain-range, one must spend a whole day's time to cover the distance of 120 *li* in order to ascend and descend it; as soon as it is getting slightly dark, instantly it is impossible to find the right road; moreover, the accumulated snow forms walls, "like the covered way through a city gate," to the depth of several tens of chang.[1] Men going to and fro do not dare to utter a word, otherwise an avalanche "as big as a house" would crush them to death. When the Ghorkhas, after having plundered Tibet, were returning to their country, nearly all 2,000 persons, who had passed over this mountain-range were frozen to death; indeed, to the south of the Onion Range[2] Merciful Heaven has put a boundary between the centre and the west. The dangers are doubled as compared with those of Chin-ch'uan, and surpass by far the dangers presented by Turkestan. The military forces of the Han and T'ang dynasties had not reached this region. Fortunately their [Ghorkha] officers and men were going barefooted; they had the habit previously to agree upon a date and then to retreat after a slight engagement, whereas our troops, regardless of this usage, were first in making surprise attacks on the enemy and, in the long run, came out victorious in several engagements.

Beginning from that big punitive expedition and till now the Ghorkhas have been bringing us tribute uninterruptedly.

Their [Ghorkha] country borders: on the west—upon Cashmere [Kashmir] of Northern India and to the south—upon Chia-ka-rh of the Eastern India, named in the Annals of the Ming Dynasty "Pang-ka-la," alias "Mêng-chia-la"[3]—an old dependency of England, with a capital city named "P'i-lêng" [author's note: alias "Ka-li-kê-ta"[4]].

In the 60th year of the Ch'ien-lung reign,[5] the English Ambassador,[6] who was bringing tribute, himself made the following declaration: "Two years ago, when your Tartar-General, leading the troops, had reached the land of Ti-mi tribe, situated to the south-west of Tibet, our country's soldiers also rendered assistance. If, in future, you again stand in need of employing foreign troops, we are willing to exert our strength."[7] Then for the first time did our Government learn that, during the previous punitive expedition against the Ghorkhas, they also had had troubles from foreigners on their southern frontier.

When, in the 20th year of the Tao-kuang reign,[8] the English barbarians had invaded the provinces of Kuang-tung and Chekiang, the Ghorkhas, on their side, also sent Envoys to the Imperial Resident in Tibet, to make the following declaration: "Our country borders upon the land of P'i-lêng,

[1] A measure of ten Chinese feet. [2] Ts'ung-ling: see *supra*.
[3] Bengal. [4] Calcutta. [5] 1795. [6] Earl Macartney.
[7] No record of any such statement by Lord Macartney can now be traced.
[8] 1840.

which is a dependency of Li-ti, and at the hands of which it repeatedly suffered insults. Now, upon learning that hostilities have commenced between Li-ti and the Metropolitan Dependency, and that the latter has gained several victories, we are willing to lead our troops to make an attack on the Dependency of Li-ti, in order to render assistance in the punitive expedition undertaken by your Emperor." At that time the Imperial Resident in Tibet did not know that "Li-ti" meant "England"; or that "the Metropolitan Dependency" meant "the Kuang-tung province of China"; or that, in consequence, "A Dependency of Li-ti" meant "Bengal [Mêng-Chia-La] of Eastern India." Therefore, he rejected their offer, answering that "the barbarians were attacking one another, and that the Heavenly Dynasty[1] never interfered in such a matter."

The capital city of England is situated beyond a great western ocean, but England's Dependency—India—borders upon the land of Ghorkhas. As there was a hereditary enmity between these two countries, and the English barbarians did not fail to seize their opportunity when China attacked the Ghorkhas—the Ghorkhas, on their side also, were willing to assist China when this country attacked the English barbarians.

PEKING: 16.1.1926.

APPENDIX XXII

TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN NEPAL AND TIBET, 1856

A

THE following is a translation of the Nepalese text. There are three other translations, one from the Tibetan text, one by Sir Charles Bell, and the third by C. U. Aitchison, which differ slightly from the Nepalese in some particulars.

We, the undermentioned Nobles, Bharadars, and Lamas representing the Gorkha Government and the Tibetan Government[2] have mutually settled a Treaty of the following ten Articles, and with Supreme Being as witness we have affixed our seals unto it of our own free will and choice.[3] The Emperor of China shall continue to be regarded with respect[4] as heretofore. So long as the two Governments continue to abide by the terms set forth herein, they shall live in amity like two brothers. May

[1] China.

[2] The Tibetan text here inserts "having assembled together" and Sir Charles Bell has "held a conference."

[3] The Tibetan text omits "of our own free will and choice." Instead it inserts "being satisfied."

[4] Aitchison here has "We further agree that the Emperor of China shall be *obeyed* by both States as before."

the Supreme Being not allow that side to prosper which may make war upon the other; and may the side be exempt from all sin in making war upon the other side which violates the terms contained in this agreement [Treaty].

(Here follow the names and seals of the signatories.)

SCHEDULE OF THE ARTICLES OF THE TREATY

Article I

Tibet shall pay a sum of Rupees ten thousand annually to the Gorkha Government.[1]

Article II

Gorkha and Tibet have both been regarding the Emperor of China with respect.[2] Tibet being merely a country of Monasteries of Lamas and a place for recitation of prayers and practice of religious austerities, should troops of any other Raja invade Tibet in future,[3] Gorkha will afford such assistance and protection as it can.

Article III

Tibet shall not levy any taxes (on routes), duties (on merchandise), and rates (of any other kind) leviable by Tibet on the merchants and subjects of the country of Gorkha.[4]

Article IV

Tibet shall return to the Gorkha Government all Sikh soldiers held as prisoners and also all officers, soldiers, women, and guns[5] of Gorkha that were captured and taken during the war; and the Gorkha Government shall return to Tibet all the soldiers of Tibet captured in the war, as also the arms, the yaks whatever there may be belonging to the Rayats of Kirong, Kuti, Jhunga, Taklakhar, and Chhewar-Gumbha,[6] and on the completion of this Treaty all the Gorkha troops that are in Taklakhar, Chhewar-Gumbha, Kerong, Jhunga, Kuti, Dhyaklang, and up to[7] Bhairab Langur range shall be withdrawn and the places evacuated.

[1] The Tibetan text inserts the words "in cash"; but Aitchison has the words "as a tribute"; and Sir Charles Bell "as a present."

[2] Aitchison here has "borne allegiance"

[3] The Tibetan text has "should any other Government invade" while Sir Charles Bell says "if any foreign country attacks."

[4] Aitchison adds "and others trading with its country."

[5] The Tibetan text and Sir Charles Bell both add "servants."

[6] Aitchison follows the Nepalese text here in the names of places, but the Tibetan has "Pu-rang and Rong-Shar" instead of "Taklakhar and Chhewar-Gumbha," while Sir Charles Bell for the first three has "Kyi-rong, Nya-nang, Dzong-ga," and follows the Tibetan text for the last two. Aitchison renders "Dhyaklang" (of the Nepalese and Tibetan texts) "Dhakling," while Sir Charles Bell calls it "Tarling" and adds another place, "Latse," which is not recorded in any other text.

[7] Aitchison has "this side of" instead of "up to," while Sir Charles Bell does not mention the Bhairab Langur range at all.

Article V

Henceforth not a Naikya [Headman] [1] but a Bharadar shall be posted by the Gorkha Government at Lhassa.

Article VI

The Gorkha Government [2] will establish its own trade factory [3] at Lhassa which will be allowed to trade freely in all kinds of merchandise from gems and ornaments to articles of clothing and food.

Article VII

The Gorkha Bharadar at Lhassa shall not try and determine suits and cases amongst subjects and merchants of Tibet; [4] and Tibet shall not try and determine suits and cases amongst Gorkha subjects, merchants, the Kasmeries of Nepal,[5] residing within the jurisdiction of Lhassa. In the event of dispute between the subjects and merchants of Gorkha and those of Tibet, the Bharadars of both Gorkha and Tibet shall sit together and jointly adjudicate the cases. All incomes (fines, etc.) [6] from such adjudications realized from the subjects and merchants of Tibet shall be taken by Tibet, and those realized from the Gorkha subjects and merchants and Kasmeries shall be taken by Gorkha.

Article VIII

A Gorkha subject who goes to the country of Tibet after committing murder of any person of Gorkha [7] shall be surrendered by Tibet to Gorkha; and a Tibetan subject who goes to the country of Gorkha after committing murder of any person of Tibet [8] shall be surrendered by Gorkha to Tibet.

Article IX

If the property of Gorkha subjects and merchants be plundered by any person of Tibet, the Bharadars of Tibet shall compel the restoration of such property to the Gorkha subjects and merchants; should the property be not forthcoming from the plunderer, Tibet shall [9] compel him to enter into arrangement for restitution [of such property].[10] If the property of Tibetan subjects and merchants be plundered by any person of Gorkha, Gorkha shall [9] compel the restoration of such property to the

[1] The Tibetan text has "Newar Naikya," while Aitchison has a note added by Col. Ramsay that a Naik meant a person of inferior rank.

[2] Aitchison adds "with the free consent of the Government of Tibet."

[3] Sir Charles Bell has "will open shop."

[4] Aitchison has "will not interfere in the dispute," etc.

[5] The Tibetan text has "Mussulmans" for "Kasmeris," while Sir Charles Bell has "Mahomedans of Katmandu." Aitchison has "Kashmiris" but omits "of Nepal."

[6] Aitchison has "amdani."

[7] The other texts all omit "of any person of Gorkha."

[8] The other texts all omit "of any person of Tibet."

[9] The Tibetan text and Sir Charles Bell here insert "after making enquiries" and "after enquiry."

[10] The Tibetan text and Sir Charles Bell add "within an extended time," while Aitchison has "and will be allowed a reasonable time to make it good."

Tibetan subjects and merchants. Should the property be not forthcoming from the plunderer, Gorkha shall compel him to enter into an agreement for the restitution [of such property].[1]

Article X

After the completion of the Treaty neither side shall act vindictively against the person or property of the subjects of Tibet who may have joined the Gorkha Durbar during the war, or of the subjects of Gorkha who may have so joined the Tibetan Durbar.[2]

This the third day of Light fortnight of Chaitra in the year of Sumbat 1912.[3]

N.B.—Bharadars are the high Civil or Military officers under the Government of Nepal or of Tibet.

In this translation " Tibet " is used for " Bhote."

B

As the matter is of some importance I add here another translation from the Tibetan text recently given to me by the Maharaja of Nepal in order that any discrepancies may be recognized. It is followed by a few notes from the same source.

SVASTI

Document setting forth the alliance and agreement under ten heads between Gurkha and Tibet, agreed to at the meeting of Nobles, Priests, and Laymen, duly signed severally and jointly by the Shri Gurkha Court and the Shri Tibetan Court.

Taking the Precious Rarity as Witness we have jointly and severally affixed our seals in sign of faithful promise.

Whilst conforming to what has been written concerning the continued respect as before towards Shri the Great Emperor, the Courts jointly and severally continue in mutual agreement like brother-children.

May from whatever individual of each Court who, not observing this, makes war-trouble, Shri Rarity withhold its Blessing.

If any one of both does not abide by what is stipulated in this document and violates it, he who makes war against him is without sin.

The authorized bearer of Shri the Gurkha Maharaja's intention, His

[1] The Tibetan text and Sir Charles Bell add " within an extended time," while Aitchison has " and will be allowed a reasonable time to make it good."

[2] Aitchison enlarges somewhat on this version and has : " all subjects of Tibet," etc., " shall be respected both in person and in property, and shall not be injured by either Government."

[3] Aitchison has : " Dated Sambat [1912] Chaitra Badi 3rd [2nd day] Sombar. Corresponding with the 24th of March 1856." The Tibetan text reads : " This the 10th day of the Second Month of the Medhuk year " ; while Sir Charles Bell states : " Dated the 18th day of the 2nd month of the Fire-Dragon year."

Honour Shri Madhara Jang Kumar Kumar Tamaja Shri Tayim Minitar Yen Kamanda Incib Janarala Janka Bhadur Kuwar Radna (seal).

His Honour Shri Madar Jang Kumara Kumarangta Maja Shri Minitar Janarala Bam Bhadur Kuwarra Rana (seal).

Seal of His Honour the Shri Gururaja Pandita Dharmadikara Shri Bijai Pandita.

His Honour Shri Madhara Jang Kumara Kumarangta Maja Shri Kamengdhar Incib Janarala Kisina Bhadur Kuwar Rana (seal).

His Honour Shri Madhar Jang Kumara Kumarangta Maja Shri Kamendhar Incib Janarala Rana Utip Shingha Kuwar Rana (seal).

His Honour Shri Madhar Ja Kumara Kumarangta Maja Shri Janarala Jagta Samsher Jang Kuwar Rana (seal).

Shri Madhar Ja Kumara Kumarangta Maja Shri Janarala Dhir Samsher Jang Kuwar Rana (seal).

His Honour Shri Madhar Ja Kumara Kumarangta Maja Shri Janarala Bhagtabir Kuwar Rana (seal).

His Honour Madhara Jang Kumara Kumarangta Maja Shri Leptenta Janarala Bhakhata Jang Kuwar Rana (seal).

Seal of Shri Metsau Hariya Rana Sher Saha.

Seal of Shri Karnel Tilipi Karma Shingha Tharpa.

Seal of Shri Karnel Dili Shingha Bhasa Nyeta.

Seal of Shri Karnel Kulman Shingha Bhasa Myeta.

The Tibetan Lamas and Nobles who have come to Nepal.

Seal of Private Secretary Ngagwang Gyal Tshan, representative of the Shri Potola Lama.

Seal of Ngagwang Samdub, Abbot of Shri Depung Monastery.

Seal of Lozang Rabgyang, Chairman of the collected houses of Shri Depung Monastery.

Seal of Lozang Thuchen, Abbot of Shri Sera Monastery.

Seal of Lozang Jamyang, Chairman of the collected houses of Sera Monastery.

Seal of Ngagwang Nyima, Abbot of Shri Gaden Monastery.

Seal of Rabgyay Nyima, Chairman of the collected houses of Shri Gaden Monastery.

Seal of Lozang Gyaltshan, Abbot of Shri Tashilhumpo Monastery.

Seal of Gile tagsa, Chairman of the collected houses of Shri Tashilhumpo Monastery.

Seal of Jamyang Monlam, representative of the Precious Great Chair Lama of Shri Sakya Monastery.

Seal of Gyaltshan Tondub, representative of the Incarnation-Lama of Shri Tshecholing.

Seal of Duke She-tag, executive Minister of the Shri Lhasa Palace.

Seal of Shri Minister Pallhun.

Seal of Shri Minister Taiji of the Samdub Podang.

Seal of Shri Minister Taiji of the Tashikhangsar.

Seal of Nyima Tondub, Treasurer of Shri Tashilhumpo.

Seal of Chief Secretary Dumpa-se, the nephew of Minister Shri Duke Shetag.

Setting forth the alliance and agreement:

First. Tibet to pay annually to the Gurkha Court ten thousand silver ales.

Second. Whilst the Gurkha Country and Tibet are both respecters of Shri the Great Emperor, as this Tibet especially has become solely a dwelling place of Lama-monasteries and celibate religious hermits, therefore from now onwards, when a war-maker of another Court arises in Tibetan territory, the Gurkha Court to protect and bind as far as possible.

Third. Declaration that from now onwards Tibet will not take from Gurkha subjects and traders, trading taxes, road taxes, or any kind of tax.

Fourth. The remaining Singpa soldiers who have been taken prisoners by Tibet, and the Gurkha soldiers who have been taken prisoners in the present war, officers and men, with women, of all descriptions, to be sent back by Tibet to the Gurkha Court. All Tibetan soldiers, and all arms and yaks of the people left behind at Kyitong, Nyanang, Dzongka, Puring, and Rongshar to be sent back by the Gurkha Court. After the conclusion of this alliance and agreement, the Gurkha troops to give up the territories of Puring,[1] Rongshar, Kyitong, Dzongka, Nyanang, to withdraw to this side of the Darling pass and to be called back.

Fifth. In Lhasa from now onwards the Gurkha Court not to appoint a Nepali Head but a Nobleman.

Sixth. In Lhasa from now onwards the Gurkha Court to have shops. Trade in jewelry, ornaments, textiles, food of all kinds, to be permitted as much as desired.

Seventh. If trouble arises amongst Lhasa subjects or traders, the Gurkha Head not to be permitted to judge. When trouble arises amongst Gurkha subjects, traders, or Kaches from Yambu, the Tibetan Court not to be permitted to judge. When trouble arises amongst Gurkha and Tibetan subjects together, this to be judged in a meeting of Gurkhas and Tibetan Noblemen together. At the occasion of the judgment the fine of the Tibetan subjects to be received by the Tibetan Noble. The fine of Gurkha subjects, traders or Kaches, to be received by the Gurkha Noble.

Eighth. If a Gurkha subject having committed murder goes to Tibetan territory, he is to be handed over to Gurkha by Tibet. If a Tibetan subject having committed murder goes to Gurkha territory, he is to be handed over to Tibet by Gurkha.

Ninth. When property or treasure of a Gurkha subject or trader is robbed by a Tibetan subject the various Tibetan Official Nobles to order search to be made in order to restitute them to the Gurkha subject who is

[1] According to Aitchison's version of the Nepalese treaty the names should read as follows: Taklakhar, Chhewar-gumbha, Kyirong, Jhunga, Kuti, Dhyaklang, Bhairab Langur. Thus the meaning of the last stipulation of Clause 4 is "give up . . . Jungha (?), Kuti, and retire to the Nepalese side of the Bhairab Langur or watershed forming part of the north-eastern frontier of Nepal."—P.L.

the owner of the property and treasure. When the robber cannot restitute the property or treasure, the Tibetan Noble to fix a date for the later restitution of the items to be received. When property or treasure of a Tibetan subject or trader is robbed by a Gurkha subject the various Gurkha Official Nobles to order search to be made in order to restitute them to the Tibetan subject who is the owner of the property and treasure. When the robber cannot restitute the property or treasure the Gurkha Noble to fix a date for the later restitution of the items to be received.

Tenth. The two Courts, jointly and severally, not to show anger after the conclusion of the treaty and agreement, towards property or life of Tibetan subjects who at the occasion of the present war have come siding with the Gurkha Court, and of Gurkha subjects who have come siding with the Tibetan Court.

Fire-Dragon year, second month, eighteenth day.

NOTES.

1. Preamble.
"The Precious Rarity" is the Tibetan word for God.
2. Gurkha Signatures.
All the Gurkha names of signatories have been transcribed from the Tibetan text in which they are written very freely.
3. Tibetan Signatures.
The Tibetan names and titles are all correctly written.
4. First clause.
"Ale," the name of a silver coin.
5. Second clause.
"Respecters." This word means only that, and not "subject" or "worshipper."
6. Third clause.
Here and elsewhere the text may be understood as "subjects *who are* traders," or "(ordinary) subjects *and* traders." The context is in favour of the second rendering. In Tibetan there is no marked difference between the two expressions.
7. Fourth clause.
"Singpa," probably Sikhs. That is the modern meaning of the word.
8. Fourth clause.
"The Darling pass." From the Tibetan text it may be understood that Darling is one of the districts from which the Gurkha troops have to withdraw, like the previously mentioned districts. If this is meant, the last part should run "give up Dzongka, Nyanang and Darling, and withdraw to this side of the [unnamed] pass or passes."
9. Fifth clause.
Nepali, here evidently used in the sense of Newari. The Gurkhas are Nobles and the Nepalis not, in this use of the term.
10. Sixth clause.
"Have" shops. Literally, "put" or "keep" shops. The meaning is that Gurkha subjects may trade.
11. Seventh clause.
"Subjects *or* traders," as in No. 3, might also mean "Subjects *who are* traders." The name "Kache" means in Tibet both a Kashmiri and a Mohammedan. It is likely that the latter meaning applies here. Yambu, probably Katmandu, or the whole Valley of Nepal, or even the whole country.
12. Ninth clause.
"Robbed" is, technically, taken with violence, not merely "stolen."

APPENDIX XXIII

THE TREATY OF 1923

THE text of the Treaty concluded between the British Government and Nepal is here given, together with the speeches delivered on the occasions of its signature on 21st December 1923. The ceremony of signature took place in the Singha Darbar in full state. The British Envoy, Colonel W. F. T. O'Connor, was escorted in a carriage and four from the Legation to the Singha Darbar by a Nepalese officer, the Nepal Government Mir Munshi, and ten sowars, a royal salute of thirty-one guns being fired from the Tundi Khel as the procession left the Legation grounds. Arms were presented by a guard of honour at the Singha Darbar, and the Envoy was received by His Highness the Maharaja at the steps of the Grand Council Hall and conducted to his seat.

The whole assembly rose to its feet for a moment as a mark of respect before the Treaty was read aloud by Bada Kaji Marichi Man Singh. Then followed the signature by the Maharaja and Colonel W. F. T. O'Connor and the delivery of congratulatory speeches by the latter and His Highness, the assembly remaining standing until the conclusion. A salute of nineteen guns was then fired and the entire body of troops outside presented arms. " Attar and pan " were then presented by His Highness to the Envoy, and after a few minutes' conversation Colonel O'Connor was escorted back to the Legation.

Two days' general holiday, illuminations at night, the distribution of food and clothes to the poor, and a remission of three months from all except life sentences, were then announced in honour of the event.

TEXT OF TREATY OF 1923 BETWEEN NEPAL AND GREAT BRITAIN

WHEREAS peace and friendship have now existed between the British Government and the Government of Nepal since the signing of the Treaty of Segowlie on the 2nd day of December One Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifteen; and whereas since that date the Government of Nepal has ever displayed its true friendship for the British Government and the British Government has as constantly shown its goodwill towards the Government of Nepal; and whereas the Governments of both the countries are now desirous of still further strengthening and cementing the good relations and friendship which have subsisted between them for more than a century; the two High Contracting Parties having resolved to conclude a new Treaty of Friendship have agreed upon the following Articles:

Article I. There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the Governments of Great Britain and Nepal, and the two Governments agree mutually to acknowledge and respect each other's independence, both internal and external.

Article II. All previous Treaties, Agreements, and Engagements, since and including the Treaty of Segowlie of One Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifteen, which have been concluded between the two Governments are hereby confirmed, except so far as they may be altered by the present Treaty.

Article III. As the preservation of peace and friendly relations with the neighbouring States whose territories adjoin their common frontiers is to the mutual interests of both the High Contracting Parties they hereby agree to inform each other of any serious friction or misunderstanding with those States likely to rupture such friendly relations, and each to exert its good offices as far as may be possible to remove such friction and misunderstanding.

Article IV. Each of the High Contracting Parties will use all such measures as it may deem practicable to prevent its territories being used for purposes inimical to the security of the other.

Article V. In view of the long-standing friendship that has subsisted between the British Government and the Government of Nepal, and for the sake of cordial neighbourly relations between them, the British Government agrees that the Nepal Government shall be free to import from or through British India into Nepal whatever arms, ammunition, machinery, warlike material, or stores may be required or desired for the strength and welfare of Nepal, and that this arrangement shall hold good for all time as long as the British Government is satisfied that the intentions of the Nepal Government are friendly and that there is no immediate danger to India from such importations. The Nepal Government, on the other hand, agrees that there shall be no export of such arms, ammunition, etcetera, across the frontier of Nepal either by the Nepal Government or by private individuals.

If, however, any Convention for the regulation of the Arms Traffic, to which the British Government may be a party, shall come into force, the right of importation of arms and ammunition by the Nepal Government shall be subject to the proviso that the Nepal Government shall first become a party to that Convention, and that such importation shall only be made in accordance with the provisions of that Convention.

Article VI. No Customs duty shall be levied at British Indian ports on goods imported on behalf of the Nepal Government for immediate transport to that country provided that a certificate from such authority as may from time to time be determined by the two Governments shall be presented at the time of importation to the Chief Customs Officer at the port of import setting forth that the goods are the property of the Nepal Government, are required for the public services of the Nepal Government, are not for the purpose of any State monopoly or State trade, and are being sent to Nepal under orders of the Nepal Government.

(ii) The British Government also agrees to the grant in respect of all

trade goods, imported at British Indian ports for immediate transmission to Katmandu without breaking bulk *en route* of a rebate of the full duty paid, provided that in accordance with arrangements already agreed to between the two Governments, such goods may break bulk for repacking at the port of entry under Customs supervision in accordance with such rules as may from time to time be laid down in this behalf. The rebate may be claimed on the authority of a certificate signed by the said authority that the goods have arrived at Katmandu with the Customs seals unbroken and otherwise untampered with.

Article VII. This Treaty, signed on the part of the British Government by Lieutenant-Colonel W. F. T. O'Connor, C.I.E., C.V.O., British Envoy at the Court of Nepal, and on the part of the Nepal Government by General His Highness Maharaja Sir Chandra Shumshere Jung, Bahadur Rana, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., D.C.L., Thong-lin Pimma-Kokang-Wang-Syan, Prime Minister and Marshal of Nepal, shall be ratified and the ratification shall be exchanged at Katmandu as soon as practicable.

Signed and Sealed at Katmandu, this the Twenty-first day of December in the year One thousand nine hundred and twenty-three Anno Domini corresponding with the Sixth Paush Sambat Era One thousand nine hundred and eighty.

The following were the addresses delivered by the Envoy and the Maharaja on the occasion of the Signature of the Treaty:

SPEECH MADE BY THE ENVOY AFTER THE SIGNATURE OF THE TREATY, 21ST DECEMBER 1923

YOUR HIGHNESS AND GENTLEMEN,

The new Treaty between Great Britain and Nepal has now been signed and sealed, and I esteem it a high privilege to have the honour of representing my Government and of being associated with Your Highness in this auspicious ceremony. The last formal Treaty between Great Britain and Nepal was signed at Segowlie in the month of December 1815, one hundred and eight years ago, and was ratified in March 1816; and during the long interval which has since elapsed, uninterrupted peace has prevailed between our two countries, and the friendship which was then begun has been steadily strengthened and cemented with the passage of time.

Such a prolonged period of peace and friendship between two neighbouring countries cannot but be to the benefit of both. It implies the constant progress of commercial traffic across the frontiers; the steady improvement of personal and diplomatic relations; and the building up of a tradition of mutual goodwill and understanding which becomes year by year more stable and less liable to disturbance.

I do not propose here to refer in detail to the services which Nepal has rendered from time to time to Great Britain, but the generation in which we live can never be forgetful of the world crisis from which we have

so recently emerged, and I feel therefore that I cannot allow this opportunity to pass without some special mention, however brief and imperfect, of Nepal's attitude and services to the Allied Nations during the Great War. For so small a country Nepal's efforts may well be described as magnificent, and in proportion to the resources and population of the country they compare favourably with those of any of the Allies. A Nepalese contingent, the strength of which averaged over 10,000 men, served in India and on the frontiers of India from early in 1915 until they were reviewed by His Excellency the Viceroy at Delhi in January 1919 and returned to their native country. The number of the Gurkha Battalions of the Indian Army, normally twenty, was doubled for the period of the War, and Gurkhas were enlisted in many other corps and served everywhere with credit. It has been estimated that no less than 200,000 men, or nearly one quarter of the total of the men of the fighting classes of Nepal, served in some capacity during the Great War.

It is needless for me to descant at length on the services of these most gallant troops. The fighting qualities of the Gurkhas are known and appreciated throughout the world. These are matters of history and are within the personal recollection of all those now present in this Durbar, and I see here, as I look around, and as I saw on the breasts of the troops whom I passed just now outside, the British medals and decorations so well and bravely earned by many Nepalese subjects of all ranks.

Nor was Nepal backward in supplying assistance in other forms. Gifts of money, machine guns, and the indigenous products of the country, such as timber, etc., followed one another in quick succession and in generous profusion. In fact, Nepal's services to the British Empire are worthy of the bold and warlike nation which has rendered them, and there is no need for me to assure Your Highness that they never have been, and never will be, forgotten by my Government and fellow subjects.

It is my pleasant duty, therefore, as the representative of Great Britain in Nepal, to congratulate Your Highness and all Nepalese subjects on the proud position thus occupied by your country, and on the independence so well maintained and the reputation so bravely gained by the valour of the Nepalese fighting men.

Courage and valour indeed are fine qualities, but they are of little avail unless wisely directed. And it is in this matter of wise and skilful guidance that Nepal has been so fortunate in having as her Prime Minister during the critical times through which we have passed, so prudent a diplomat and so enlightened a statesman as my friend Sir Chandra Shumshere Jung, Bahadur Rana; and the British Government is no less fortunate in possessing as their ally so true and loyal a friend. This friendship was put to the acid test on the outbreak of the Great War, and nobly it rose and responded to the call. Not only has it stood the strain, but it has emerged stronger than before. Nepal in helping the cause of civilization has at the same time confirmed her own sturdy independence and has enhanced a reputation already high and honourable amongst the nations of the world;

and the results of Your Highness's bold and sagacious policy redound at once to your own personal honour and to that of your country.

The Treaty which we have just signed, whilst it has secured a satisfactory settlement by mutual agreement of various questions which were outstanding between the two Governments, may fitly be termed, as indeed it has been termed by His Highness, a " Treaty of Friendship," and it may be regarded as symbolizing a situation so honourable to Nepal and so gratifying to both the parties concerned. And it is my earnest hope that for many long years to come it may fulfil its purpose and may be instrumental in binding yet closer the ties of mutual respect and friendship which now unite Great Britain and Nepal.

SPEECH BY THE MAHARAJA OF NEPAL AFTER THE SIGNING OF THE TREATY

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, BHARADARS, OFFICERS, AND GENTLEMEN,

You have heard the contents of the new Treaty and seen us put our hand and seal to the document. The structure of our friendly relations with the British Government, built as it is upon the solid foundation of mutual regard and esteem as much as sympathy and trust, may now be said to have received by this Treaty a magnificent dome crowning the whole. These friendly relations which have now lasted for more than a hundred years, pregnant with momentous events, have helped to remove whatever barriers there were to a thoroughly good understanding of each other, and have thus led up to the signing of this Treaty of Friendship. It is fervently hoped that, strengthened and reinforced by to-day's work, this friendship between the two Governments will continue unabated and grow in solidarity for centuries to come. Let us bow in all humility to the Almighty for having watched over us during all these years and supplicate Him, with every sincerity, to make this occasion auspicious and to prosper both the Governments in their undertakings of to-day, aye, and for ever.

COLONEL O'CONNOR,—Your concise, though eloquent, recital of the near past makes us live the days over again They were strenuous days with their burden of hope and fear, hope to prove equal to the self-imposed task of helping our friend, and fear lest we might fail on account of the limited resources of our mountainous country. It would be affectation on my part to deny the pleasure that we feel in listening to the assurances, now repeated, that the appreciation of our efforts at the time has carved an abiding place in the memory of the British nation. Please accept our warm and sincere thanks for the kind words—I may say, too kind words—about my own share in the matter, and for your congratulations to us on this occasion. More than to any one present here it is known to me how much we are indebted to your zeal, tact, patience, and sympathy, and the large share you had in bringing about the conclusion of this Treaty. In offering you thanks on behalf of my Sovereign, myself, and the people of Nepal I hope you will realize the depth of my feeling, and the very real pleasure I have in doing so.

GENTLEMEN,—There is not much to add to what has already been said by our friend, Colonel O'Connor, about the Treaty. The conclusion of it I take as an indication of our steadfast confidence reposed in the honesty of purpose and the high sense of justice which ever characterized the mighty British Government. While we have here the acknowledgement in an unequivocal manner of the place we occupy as an independent nation, it dispels for all time the misconceptions about this that seemed to have hovered over our country.

The significance and importance of the other clauses will also have been made clear to you. The motive underlying them is our one desire to live in peace with all our neighbours; and good neighbours would not, as a matter of course, like to see their respective territories used to the prejudice of the other. Situated far inland as our country is, the British Government have given us the friendly assistance of allowing us to utilize freely their Indian ports for imports of our military requirements and trade needs. I value all these very much, as no doubt you all do, but what I value most is the goodwill at the back of all which, like a speckless mirror, reflects the mind from which it emanates.

I cannot pass on without expressing my appreciation of the tactful manner in which Colonel O'Connor has conducted the negotiations throughout the long discussions, protracted over so many months. He had, as representative of Great Britain, to uphold the claims of his own Government; and as I had to do the same on behalf of my country, there were occasions when we found ourselves in opposition. It was at such times as these that we learnt to appreciate more fully the patience and fairness of Colonel O'Connor. But for his diplomacy and unvarying courtesy these discussions might have led to a deadlock. Colonel O'Connor, however, while doing his duty to his own Government, was able at the same time to weigh fairly the claims of Nepal—a matter of no small difficulty at times—and his personality has been a very strong factor in enabling us to bring the negotiations to this happy conclusion.

I turn now to the pleasant duty of offering our hearty felicitations on this happy occasion to our friend Colonel O'Connor, who now is with us here as the representative of Great Britain and of requesting him kindly to convey the same, with expressions of grateful thanks, to His Excellency the Viceroy and His Majesty the King Emperor of India on behalf of His Majesty the King, myself, and the people of Nepal.

TO GENERAL HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA SIR CHANDRA SHUMSHERE JUNG BAHADUR RANA, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., D.C.L., PRIME MINISTER, MARSHAL OF NEPAL

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND,

On the 27th August last I wrote to inform His Majesty the Maharajadhiraja of Nepal and Your Highness that I had conferred on our Envoy at the Court of Nepal full powers to conclude a new Treaty between the

British Government and the Government of Nepal. I now write to convey, through Your Highness, to His Majesty the Maharajadhiraja of Nepal, my warm congratulations on the successful termination of the negotiations, and to express my firm conviction that the Treaty now concluded will serve still further to cement the bonds of traditional friendship which have existed between the two countries for so many years.

I remain, with much consideration,

Your Highness' sincere friend,

READING

Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

Delhi.

The 21st December 1923.

Copy of Telegram dated 22-12-23.

From Viceroy's Camp,
Rangoon.

TO HIS HIGHNESS THE PRIME MINISTER OF NEPAL, NEPAL, RAXAUL

I have much pleasure in transmitting to Your Highness for delivery to His Majesty the Maharajadhiraja of Nepal the following message from His Majesty the King Emperor. Begins: To His Majesty the Maharajadhiraja of Nepal on the occasion of the conclusion of a new Treaty of Friendship between my Government and the Government of Nepal I desire to convey to Your Majesty an expression of my sincere pleasure of this confirmation of the traditional friendly relations between us together with my earnest hope that these relations may long continue and may contribute as I am sure they will to the prosperity and peace of my Empire and of Nepal. George R.I. Ends.

VICEROY.

Copy of Reply Telegram dated 25-12-23.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY, VICEROY'S CAMP

The graceful message from His Majesty the King Emperor conveyed in Your Excellency's kind telegram of the 22nd instant has been duly communicated to His Majesty the Maharajadhiraja and I am desired to request the favour of Your Excellency to please transmit the following message from him. Begins: To His Majesty the King Emperor of India. Your Majesty's very kind and inspiring message has considerably heightened the happiness felt on this auspicious occasion of the conclusion of the new Treaty of Friendship between Great Britain and Nepal so long and so cordially united in firm bonds of amity and concord, and while offering my sincerest thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious message, I take the

opportunity to respectfully reciprocate the sentiments contained therein and fervently hope that the ties of friendship thus strengthened and re-strengthened may become with God's blessings as everlasting as the mighty Himalayas. Tribhubana Bir Bikram Shah Deva. Message ends.

CHANDRA SHUM SHERE,
Nepal.

HIS HIGHNESS'S SPEECH ON THE OCCASION OF THE EXCHANGE OF THE RATIFIED COPIES OF THE TREATY AT KATMANDU, 8TH APRIL 1925

By command of my Sovereign I have the honour to deliver to you the copy of the Treaty duly ratified, signed and sealed by His Majesty the Maharajadhiraja, to be taken to its destination.

COLONEL O'CONNOR AND GENTLEMEN,

By the grace of God we have now completed the last formality in connection with the Treaty of December 1923. It is indeed very gratifying to think of the happy relations subsisting between the two Governments—may God in His great mercy continue the same for ever! I heartily reciprocate all that my friend Colonel O'Connor has said on the subject, expressive as they are of pleasure and satisfaction at the fruition of our united efforts towards drawing the traditional friendship still closer.

GENTLEMEN,

The period during which our friend Colonel O'Connor was at the head of the Legation was a time of readjustment of a world thrown out of its gear, and in which epoch-making changes were being wrought everywhere. You have listened to a vivid summary of the period which no doubt will bring to your minds the anxious and troublesome days in which we then lived. Under the stress of such difficult times we had to work together, and our friendship naturally became more intimate. That friendship and sympathetic attitude, that unfailing good humour, and the great qualities of his head and heart, permitted a smooth handling of many a delicate and important issue, the last and greatest of them being this Treaty.

Colonel O'Connor, please accept my grateful thanks for all the help you have extended to lighten my work in our dealings with the great British Government, and also for the very kind expressions regarding me and my work, and the kind thoughts you entertain towards us and our country. Let me assure you that you are leaving behind as happy and pleasant memories of yourself, as you say you are carrying of us. We pray that you may live a long and happy life to enjoy the blessings of peace and rest.

COLONEL O'CONNOR'S SPEECH ON THE OCCASION OF THE EXCHANGE OF RATIFIED COPIES OF THE TREATY IN KATMANDU, 8TH APRIL 1925

(Before the exchange of the ratified copies of the Treaty.)

I rise to inform Your Highness that I have received from my Government the copy of the Treaty which was concluded between Great Britain

and Nepal on 21st December 1923, duly ratified, signed and sealed by His Majesty the King Emperor; and I understand from Your Highness that the other copy has similarly been ratified by His Majesty the Maharajadhiraja. I therefore have the honour, in accordance with the instructions which I have received from my Government, of handing to Your Highness the copy ratified by my Sovereign for preservation in the archives of Nepal.

(After the ratified copies of the Treaty have been exchanged.)

YOUR HIGHNESS AND GENTLEMEN,

It is with mingled feelings of pleasure and regret that I conclude the last official duty which falls to my lot in my capacity of British Envoy at the Court of Nepal—pleasure to think that this last ceremony marks the last stage in the conclusion of the Treaty of Friendship which I have been privileged to conclude on behalf of my Government with His Highness the Prime Minister;—regret that my happy time as Envoy in this country should now have terminated.

Your Highness will, I hope, pardon me if I give expression for a moment to my personal feelings on this occasion. It is now over six years since I first assumed the duties of Resident in Nepal. At that time (December 1918) the Great War had only just terminated, and its cinders were still smouldering. The troops which Your Highness had despatched to the support of your friend, Great Britain, and of the Allied cause generally, were still in India, under the able leadership of two of your relatives, my friends Sir Baber Shum Shere Jung and Sir Padma Shum Shere Jung, and I had the pleasure of being present at Delhi in February 1919 when these gallant troops were reviewed by Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief. Many clouds were at that time still lowering in the political horizon, and the subsequent events which occurred during 1919 are still fresh in our memories—more especially as Nepal, with her unfailing friendship, again sprang to the support of her ally in a time of crisis and difficulty. Since then the world has gradually quieted down and peaceful relations have taken the place of the troubled diplomacy of war time, and the pleasant ceremonies in which we have just shared—that at the Hanuman-Dhoka on Monday, and the exchange of ratified copies of the Treaty to-day—are symbolical of the changed conditions prevailing in the world's atmosphere generally. I count myself fortunate to have had the privilege of representing my Government in Nepal during this critical period, and of observing the attitude of the leaders and people of this gallant country under conditions both of peace and of war. All that I have seen has only confirmed me in my belief that in Nepal Great Britain has a true and faithful friend and ally, and that this Treaty of Friendship is the final summary of years of comradeship and mutual respect and confidence.

I cannot close these remarks without a reference to my friend, your honoured Prime Minister Sir Chandra Shum Shere Jung, whose too kind references to myself in his speech on Monday deeply moved and affected

me. Nepal is indeed fortunate that her destinies during all these troubled and critical years have reposed in hands at once so capable and so tactful. Alike in war and in peace Sir Chandra has guided the fortunes of Nepal with skill, prudence and courage, and her present prosperous and honourable position amongst the independent countries of the world is due in a great measure to his diplomacy and ability; and it is pleasant to find that France as well as England has recognized his outstanding merits.

May I add a personal word of thanks to him also for his unvarying courtesy and kindness to me during my term of office in Nepal. It has been a real pleasure to co-operate for the mutual advantage of our two countries with so wise a ruler and so courteous and tactful a diplomat. All the memories of Nepal which I shall carry away with me are happy and pleasant, and amongst the most cherished of these will be the recollection of the friendly relations which I have had the honour of enjoying with your Prime Minister, both in his capacity of a kind and true friend and of a wise and capable statesman.

APPENDIX XXIV

LIST OF EUROPEANS WHO HAVE VISITED NEPAL, 1881-1925

[*The following names have been given to me by the Nepal Government. I have not added to them or made any corrections except in a few obviously necessary cases. It may roughly be said that in the course of forty-four years about one hundred and fifty-three persons, excluding Residents, Envoys, and the official Surgeons, have visited Nepal for military, official, or antiquarian purposes. Fifty-five have visited Katmandu as the guests of the Maharaja.*]

1881.

Col. T. E. Webster, 9th Native Infantry, Gorakhpur (April), to inspect the Nepal Escort; Staff Officer, name not known (April), as Orderly Officer to Col. Webster; Mr. H. E. M. James, Postmaster-General, Bengal (January), to inspect the Nepal-Raxaul postal line; Mr. Mills, Engineer, to inspect the Residency buildings; Mr. White, Engineer, to inspect the Residency buildings and to prepare estimates, etc.: His Honour Sir Richard Temple, Lieut.-Governor of Bengal (in Mr. Girdlestone's time, 1872-88), as guest of the Resident.

1882.

Col. T. E. Webster, 9th Native Infantry, Gorakhpur (March), to inspect the Nepal Escort; Staff Officer, name not known (March), as Orderly Officer to Col. Webster.

1883.

Col. P. H. F. Harries, 11th Native Infantry, Lucknow (March), to inspect the Nepal Escort; Staff Officer, name not known (March), as Orderly Officer to Col. Harries.

1885.

Col. E. Venour, 5th Bengal Light Infantry, Fyzabad, to inspect the Nepal Escort; Staff Officer, name not known, as Orderly Officer to Col. Venour; Professor C. R. Bendall, on the staff of the British Museum, London (1884-85), for archaeological research.

1886.

Col. W. F. Burtleman, Commanding Bengal Light Infantry, Fyzabad (April), to inspect the Nepal Escort; Staff Officer, name not known (April), as Orderly Officer to Col. Burtleman.

1887.

Col. W. F. Burtleman, Commanding Bengal Light Infantry, Fyzabad (March), to inspect the Nepal Escort; Staff Officer, name not known (March), as Orderly Officer to Col. Burtleman.

1888.

Col. A. G. Stead, Commanding 11th Bengal Infantry, Fyzabad (March), to inspect the Nepal Escort; Staff Officer, name not known (March), as Orderly Officer to Col. Stead.

1889.

Maj.-Gen. Sir Charles Gough, Commanding Audh District, Lucknow (March), to inspect the Nepal Escort; Staff Officer, name not known, (March), as Orderly Officer to Maj.-Gen. Gough; Mr. B. R. Fainimore, Superintendent Engineer, to inspect the Residency buildings; The Hon. L. M. St. Clair, Engineer, on duty with Nepal Government in connection with waterworks project.

1891.

Col. A. D. C. Baich, Commanding Officer, Fyzabad, to inspect the Nepal Escort; Staff Officer, name not known, as Orderly Officer to Col. Baich.

1892.

H.E. Sir F. Roberts, Commander-in-Chief, to visit Nepal at Maharaja Bir's invitation; Lady Roberts and Staff Officers, names not known.

1893.

Col. E. A. Money, Commandant, 3rd Bengal Cavalry (April), to inspect the Nepal Escort; Staff Officer, name not known (April), as Orderly Officer to Col. Money; Major P. A. Weir, Engineer, on duty in connection with building works in progress at the Residency.

1894.

Col. E. A. Money, Commandant, 3rd Bengal Cavalry, to inspect the Nepal Escort; Staff Officer, name not known, as Orderly Officer to Col. Money; His Honour Sir Charles Elliott, Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, Lady Elliott, Capt. Currie, A.D.C. (November), to visit Nepal.

1895.

Col. E. H. Bingham, 13th Bengal Infantry, Fyzabad (December), to inspect the Nepal Escort; Staff Officer, name not known (December), as Orderly Officer to Col. Bingham.

1896.

Col. A. H. Turner, Commanding at Fyzabad (November), to inspect the Nepal Escort; Staff Officer, name not known (November), as Orderly Officer to Col. Turner.

1897.

Col. T. Pickett, Adjt.-Gen., Audh District, Lucknow (November), to inspect the Nepal Escort; Staff Officer, name not known (November), as Orderly Officer to Col. Pickett.

1898.

Professor C. R. Bendall, on the Staff of the British Museum, London (December), for literary and archaeological research, and Mrs. Bendall; Professor D. E. Boeck, a German gentleman (December), and Professor Sylvain Lévi, a French gentleman (March), for research of Sanskrit MSS.

1900.

Col. Campbell, Commanding at Fyzabad (April), to inspect the Nepal Escort; Staff Officer, name not known (April), as Orderly Officer to Col. Campbell.

1901.

Col. G. F. S. Gwatkin, Colonel on the Staff at Fyzabad (November), to inspect the Nepal Escort; Capt. M. D. Graham (November), as Orderly Officer to Col. Gwatkin.

1902.

Col. C. A. Mercer, Colonel on the Staff at Fyzabad (October), to inspect the Nepal Escort; Staff Officer, name not known (October), as Orderly Officer to Col. Mercer; Col. R. C. Sanders, Indian Medical Service (February), for medical attendance on the Maharani of the Prime Minister.

1903.

Col. C. A Mercer, Colonel on the Staff at Fyzabad (November), to inspect the Nepal Escort; Capt. C. Crogton (November), as Orderly Officer to above; Col. G. F. A. Harris, Indian Medical Service (December), for medical attendance on the Maharani of the Prime Minister.

1904.

Maj.-Gen. E. Locke Elliot, Commanding 8th Lucknow Division, to inspect the Nepal Escort; Capt. W. R. Brakespear, R.O., Gorakhpur, as Staff Officer to Maj.-Gen. Elliot.

1905.

Lieut.-Col. J. M. Stewart, 1/9th Gurkha Rifles, to inspect the Nepal Escort; Capt. W. R. Brakespear, R.O., Gorakhpur, as Staff Officer to Lieut.-Col. Stewart; Lieut.-Col. J. W. Cowley, 7th Gurkha Rifles (November), as guest of Resident.

1906.

Lieut.-Col. H. Rose, 1/3rd Gurkha Rifles (November), to inspect the Nepal Escort; Capt. B. U. Nicolay, R.O., Gorakhpur (November), as Staff Officer to Lieut.-Col. Rose; Capt. M. E. Dopping Hepenstall, 1/3rd Gurkha Rifles (June), to train the Nepal Escort; H.E. Lord Kitchener, Commander-in-Chief, Maj.-Gen. Martin, Adjutant-General in India, Col. W. R. Birdwood, Military Secretary, Capt. Wylie, A.D.C., Mr. Wheeler, Clerk (November), at the invitation of the Prime Minister.

1907.

Col. P. M. Carnegy, 2/4th Gurkha Rifles (November), to inspect the Nepal Escort; Capt. B. U. Nicolay, R.O., Gorakhpur (November), as Staff Officer to Col. Carnegy; Lieut. G. C. Wheeler, 2/9th Gurkha Rifles, to train the Nepal Escort; Mr. R. E. Holland, Secretary, F. and P. Department; Dr. Pedler, Dentist (September), to attend General Jit Sham Sher; Mr. J. H. Burkill, of the Indian Museum, Calcutta (December), to collect samples of the products of Nepal.

1908.

Maj. F. Murray, 1/8th Gurkha Rifles, to inspect the Nepal Escort; Capt. G. W. S. Shedock, R.O., Gorakhpur, Staff Officer to Maj. Murray;

Lieut. B. Orton, 39th Garhwalis, to train the Nepal Escort; Mr. Perceval Landon (November); Madame Isabelle Massieu, a French lady (September), to study ethnological geography; The Hon. C. Hobhouse, of the Royal Commission on Decentralization, Mrs. Hobhouse, and Mr. Cohen (January), as guests of the Resident; Mr. Searight, Engineer, to inspect the Residency buildings.

1909.

Col. R. C. Sanders, Indian Medical Service (February), for medical attendance on the Maharani; Dr. Bonwill, Dentist (August), for medical attendance on the Prime Minister.

1909-1910.

Mr. B. Pontet, Electrical Engineer, for service under Nepal Government; Lieut.-Col. W. G. Walker, 2/9th Gurkha Rifles, to inspect the Nepal Escort; Staff Officer, name not known, as Orderly Officer to Lieut.-Col. Walker; Lieut. H. W. Bell-Kingsley, 1/4th Gurkha Rifles, as Training Officer, Nepal Escort; Miss McNaughton, with one maid (December), as guest of the Resident; Dr. A. C. Inman, of London (October or November), to attend His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's Rani.

1910.

Mr. Percy Brown, A.R.C.A., Principal, Government School of Art, Calcutta (October), for literary research; Mr. J. Marshall of the Mills Equipment Co., Ltd. (November), with samples of army equipment; Mr. T. E. Lynch, Engineer (March), to erect the electric plant at Pharping; Lieut.-Col. G. S. Boisragon, 1/5th Gurkha Rifles (November), to inspect the Nepal Escort; Maj. M. R. W. Nightingale, R.O., Gorakhpur (November), as Staff Officer to Lieut.-Col. Boisragon; Lieut. W. B. Northey, 1/1st Gurkha Rifles (November), as Training Officer, Nepal Escort; Mr. R. C. Wodgson, Engineer, Champaran division (May), to inspect Residency buildings; Mr. Rutherford (May), as guest of the Resident; Mr. H. A. Kelso, Superintendent of Police, Champaran (June), as guest of the Resident; Mr. Walker and Mrs. Walker (April), as guests of the Resident; Mr. H. A. Sams, Indian Civil Service, Postmaster-General, Bengal (April), to inspect the Nepal State Post Office.

1911.

Maj. S. Hunt, Indian Medical Service (1st to 28th December), for medical attendance on the late Maharaja Deva; Col. Brown, Indian Medical Service, and Mr. H. J. Waring (August), for medical attendance on the late Maharaja Deva; Capt. C. M. T. Hogg, 1/4th Gurkha Rifles, as Training Officer, Nepal Escort; Lieut. Corse Scott, 2nd U.R. (June); Mr. R. N. Warren, of Pipra Factory, Champaran (May); Lady McMahon and niece (March); H.R.H. Prince Antoine D'Orléans (April); Capt. P. F.

Narbury, 34th Poona Horse, and Mrs. Narbury (April), as Resident's guests; Mr. H. Pedler, L.D., S.R.C.S., Dental Surgeon, Calcutta (May), to attend the Prime Minister.

1912.

Madame Alexandra David Neel, a French lady (November), for study of Buddhist philosophy; Lieut.-Col. Sir Leonard Rogers, Indian Medical Service (November), called in by the Prime Minister; Mr. D. T. Keymer, of Messrs. Keymer, Son and Co. (March), in response to an invitation; Maj. E. D. Money, 2/1st Gurkha Rifles, to inspect the Nepal Escort; Mrs. Money; Maj. M. R. W. Nightingale, R.O., Gorakhpur, as Staff Officer to Maj. Money; Capt. H. T. Molloy, 5th Gurkha Rifles, as Training Officer, Nepal Escort.

1913.

Mr. M. L. Smith, Dental Surgeon, of Calcutta (May), to attend the Prime Minister; Mr. J. Taka, M.A., D.Litt., Professor of the Tokio University, Mr. Ekai Kawaguchi, of Japan, two Japanese, names not known (January-February), to study Sanskrit MSS.; Mr. R. S. Underhill, Ropeway Engineer (January), employed by Nepal Government in connection with Ropeway scheme; Col. W. Beynon, D.S.O., 1/2nd Gurkha Rifles, to inspect the Nepal Escort; Capt. A. J. Chope, R.O., Gorakhpur, as Staff Officer to Col. Beynon; Lieut. G. B. Davidson, 2/8th Gurkha Rifles, as Training Officer, Nepal Escort; Miss Cholmondeley, Miss Rathbone, and Mr. P. R. Cadell, Indian Civil Service, Municipal Commissioner, Bombay (March); Baron Maurice de Rothschild, Baroness Rothschild, with European servants (March-April), as Resident's guests; Mr. H. H. Stevens, Engineer, to inspect the Residency buildings.

1914.

Lieut.-Col. F. G. Lucas, D.S.O. (November), to inspect the Nepal Escort; Maj. E. Ridgeway, R.O., Gorakhpur (November), as Staff Officer to Lieut.-Col. Lucas; Lieut. N. H. King-Salter, 1/6th Gurkha Rifles (October), as Training Officer, Nepal Escort; Mr. Parr, of Bhelwa Factory (June); Miss Lowis, from Bettia, and Miss Richardson (November); Mr. C. A. Bell, Political Officer, Sikkim (November); Mr. T. Chitty, Justice, High Court, Allahabad (September); Mr. Meyrick, of Monine Factory, Motipur (June); Mr. Wakenham, Gonda, United Provinces, and Mrs. Wakenham with a baby (April), as guests of the Resident.

1915.

Miss Parr, a sister of Mr. Parr of Bhelwa Factory, as guest of the Resident; Mr. F. A. Betterton, Engineer, Champaran (March), to inspect the Residency buildings.

1916

Mr. F. A. Betterton, Engineer, Champaran (June), to inspect the Residency buildings.

1917

Lieut.-Col. Sir Leonard Rogers, Indian Medical Service (October), called in by the Prime Minister; Dr. A. Collis, Dental Surgeon (February), called in by the Prime Minister: Mr. Bayley, Secretary to the Bengal Government, and Mrs. Wheeler (May), as guests of the Resident; Mrs. Baker, as guest of the Head Clerk; Mr. H. Wardle, Engineer, Champaran Division (November), to inspect the Residency buildings.

1918.

Dr. A. Collis, Dental Surgeon, of Calcutta (December), called in by the Prime Minister; Maj. J. M. Stewart, R.O., Gorakhpur, on Recruiting duty; 2nd Lieut. W. E. Legge, 2/5th Gurkha Rifles (June), as Training Officer, Nepal Escort.

1919.

Mr. R. E. Holland, Secretary, F. and P. Department (April), to discuss some political matters with the Prime Minister; Lieut.-Col. Sir Leonard Rogers, Indian Medical Service (June), called in by the Prime Minister; Maj. Brook Northey, R.O., Gorakhpur, on Recruiting duty; Lieut. L. D. Widdicombe, 2/9th Gurkha Rifles (April-June), as Training Officer, Nepal Escort; 2nd Lieut. C. C. Williams, 2/2nd Gurkha Rifles (July-October), as Training Officer, Nepal Escort; Mr. Fremantle, Mr. Harding, Mr. Atkinson, of Champaran, and Maj. Cooper (May), as Resident's guests; Mr. J. V. Collier, Deputy Conservator of Forests, United Provinces, on duty in connection with the extraction of sal sleepers.

1920.

Maj. Brook Northey, R.O., Gorakhpur, on Recruiting duty; one Lieut. who accompanied Maj. Northey; Lieut. A. L. Fell, 3/2nd Gurkha Rifles, as Training Officer, Nepal Escort; Mr. J. V. Collier, Deputy Conservator of Forests, on duty; Mr. A. E. Marshall, Engineer, to inspect Legation buildings; Mr. Sullivan, Superintendent of Post Offices (December), to inspect Nepal-Raxaul postal lines; Dr. A. C. Inman, of London, called in by the Prime Minister, and Mrs. Inman (April-November).

1921

Dr. F. W. Thomas, Librarian, India Office, London (May), for literary research; Lieut. H. F. C. Armstrong, 2/2nd Gurkha Rifles, as Training Officer, Nepal Escort; Capt. G. F. Hall, M.C., to inspect the Legation buildings; Mr. J. V. Collier, Deputy Conservator of Forests, on duty.

1922.

Mr. Sullivan, Superintendent of Post Offices (January), to inspect Nepal Post Office; Maj. Brook Northey, R.O., Gorakhpur, on Recruiting duty (twice); Mr. S. J. Bemfor (March); Lieut.-Col. Hunt, X-ray doctor on duty to Nepal Government; M. Sylvain Lévi, French Professor, to study Sanskrit MSS., and Mme. Sylvain Lévi; Capt. A. L. Donaldson, 2/2nd Gurkha Rifles, as Training Officer, Nepal Escort; Mr. J. J. Newton, Superintendent of Post Offices (January), to inspect Nepal Post Office; Capt. G. F. Hall, M.C. (May), to inspect Legation buildings; Mr. J. V. Collier, Deputy Conservator of Forests, on duty with the Nepal Government; Mr. A. E. Clarke, Head Master, Kshattriya School, Benares; Mr. Hemfry and Mr. Kemp, of Champaran (April), as guests of the Envoy.

1923.

Capt. Harvey, 2/1st Gurkha Rifles (April), as Training Officer, Nepal Escort; Mr. Hemfry, of Champaran, and Mr. Luby, Judge, Mazaffarpur, as guests of the Envoy; Mr. F. A. Betterton, Engineer, to inspect Legation buildings, and Mrs. Betterton (May); Mr. J. V. Collier, Deputy Conservator of Fo ests, on duty with the Nepal Government; Col. M. B. Bailey, 1/4th Gurkha Rifles (15th October), to inspect the Nepal Escort.

To this list the names may be added of Dr. P. Lockhart Mummery, in January, and of Mr. Perceval Landon, in May 1924; of Mr. C. T. Allen, of Cawnpore, Mr. M. Weatherall, of Darjiling, and of M. Daniel Lévi in 1925. In 1907 the name of Col. the Hon. C. G. Bruce, guest of the Resident, should have been included.

APPENDIX XXV

COINAGE

THE following account of the coinage of Nepal has been taken from a statement kindly prepared for this book by Mr. H. G. Bannerji, whose exceptional knowledge of the antiquities as well as of the present day economic system of Nepal renders his article of great value.

Copper, silver, and gold coins form the currency of Nepal. So far, no currency notes have been issued. Owing to its contiguity with British territory on three sides of its frontiers, and the extensive trade it carries on with its neighbours, British Indian rupees find free circulation in the Tarai, where, for convenience sake, the collection of Government revenues is made in that currency.

There are different denominations in the coinage of each of these three

kinds of metals. Mr. E. H. Walsh in his *The Coinage of Nepal*, published by the Royal Geographical Society in 1908, has given an elaborate description of Nepalese coins as found up to the time of his writing the book.

The earlier coins had not the clear-cut and uniform shape that the present currency presents. The silver and gold coins called mohars and ashrafis respectively in local terms are finished with milled edges. The copper coins, too, have undergone a change and present a better design.

The mohar and the pice are the coins mostly used in the country and are minted in larger quantities than pieces of other denominations. The double mohar or rupee, the suka (half mohar) and suki (quarter mohar) are the most popular silver coins. In copper, the recently issued five-pice piece and the double-pice are largely used. The other pieces, both of silver and copper, do not find much currency, the former for inconvenience in handling, their sizes being too small, and the latter owing to the ruling high prices of articles of daily necessity, there being hardly anything in the bazaar which coins of smaller value than a pice could buy.

With the exception of the bakla (one-tola piece) and the patla (half-tola piece), the gold coins (ashrafis) are not in general circulation. Their value fluctuates with the market price of gold.

Much has been done by the Maharaja to standardize the coinage, as well as the weights and measures. A scheme for a reformed and up-to-date mint is ready. Of the rough machinery in use whatever proves to be usable will be retained.

The mohar rupee, which is the unit of payment, now weighs approximately 171 grains, and is exactly four-fifths fine; so that the mint par of exchange with the British Indian rupee should be 120½ mohar rupees to 100 Indian rupees. The exchange, however, fluctuates around 124 mohar rupees.

The bazaar seer in the Valley is the equivalent of the weight of 70 mohar rupees, and three such seers go to make one " dharni," which is very nearly equal to 2½ Indian seers.

Curiously enough there is a decimal relation between the primary coin of a mohar rupee and the subsidiary copper pice. One hundred pice make one mohar rupee; the sub-division is thus different from that of the currency where four pice make one anna, and sixteen annas make one rupee. Mr. Walsh, in the book referred to, mentions two systems of currency, viz., the " Pachis gandi " and the " Sorah gandi." The latter system was not actually a currency, but a fictitious sub-division used in accounts, the silver coinage corresponding to it not being usually employed in bazaar transactions. As its name implies the " Sorah gandi," or sixteen anna system, is a multiple of four, and as the sub-divisions of bazaar weight are also based on multiples of four, the adoption of it in accounts naturally followed. The Government accounts also were formerly kept in the " Sorah gandi " system. The Maharaja has changed all that, and now the mohar rupee and its decimal fractions are written and totalled separately from the Indian rupee account.

To trace the gradual evolution of coin-types in Nepal a survey of what took place in Hindu India will be of some assistance. The earliest

Hindu coins were without any inscription[1] and with simple devices such as the bull, lion, elephant, and some religious symbols. The Gaṇas and Janapadas, some of which existed prior to the foreign invasion, retained to a certain extent the purity of these coin-types. Of the two classes to which the Audumbara coins undoubtedly belong, the earlier show certain symbols only, and the latter the symbols with the name of the clan and, in a few specimens, of their kings.[2] Seven out of the eight classes of the Mālava coins of the first series depict simple devices such as the sun, a *bodhi* tree, a jar, bull, lion, etc.[3] The evolution can be better perceived in the Yaudheya coins. The first class of coins, the oldest of the three classes into which their coins are divided, shows a device of a bull and a pillar on one side and an elephant and a *nandipada* on the other, and bears the inscription of their clan-name. The second class shows some symbols on one face and a representation of a god or goddess on the other, sometimes with the name of the deity. The third class presents images of gods on both sides. It will generally be found that the coin-types in the earlier period consisted of devices connected with the religious belief of the people or the Government, which often introduced symbols of Hindu and Buddhistic faith in order to conciliate the two communities. Subsequently to this, the image of a god or goddess was inserted. Thus in Nepal the coins with the bull, etc., should precede the coins with an image of a deity, in keeping with the practice in India. But some have held that the latter class of coins is subsequent to the coins of Jishṇu Gupta, because there is one in the series with a *nandipada* and trident, as the symbol was interpreted, which corresponds to a similar symbol occurring in the coins of Jishṇu Gupta.[4] May it not be held with equal cogency that Jishṇu Gupta copied the symbol from the Paśupati coins which preceded his time? Śiva-worship was much earlier than any other form of religion, and the coins with the legend Paśupati are undoubtedly Śivaite. The worship of the bull is enjoined in the Tantras, together with the Dikpālas, in the installation of the *Śiva-linga*.[5] In India, the Hūṇa Mihirakula worshipped the bull,[6] probably as a Śaiva. As being the vehicle of Śiva, the bull itself, as well as the divine weapons, was worshipped by the followers of Śiva and Śakti. The change in type from the standing bull to the recumbent one in some Paśupati coins, and the presence of a prominent trident in others, clearly connect these with Śankara Deva and probably with Dharma Deva, the grandfather and great-grandfather of Māna Deva. Many Vaṃśāvalīs mention the dedication of a huge trident and a *nandi* or bull to Paśupati by Śankara Deva.[7] The symbols are so prominent in the coins[8] that a connection must suggest

[1] *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 41. [2] *Prāchīna Mudrā*, p. 111.
[3] *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, pp. 170-174, quoted in *Prāchīna Mudrā*.
[4] *Coinage of Nepal*, p. 681.
[5] *Mahā-Nirvāṇa Tantra or Tantra of the Great Liberation*, p. 339, *ślokas* 44-45, translated by Arthur Avalon. [6] *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 18.
[7] Wright's *History of Nepal*, p. 123; Sylvain Lévi, *Le Népal*, vol. ii, where it is mentioned that Kirkpatrick's Vaṃśāvalī says that the Nandi at Pashupati was dedicated by Dharma Deva and the Trident by Śankara Deva.
[8] *Vide* Plate I, Nos. 9 and 10, in *Coinage of Nepal* by E. H. Walsh.

itself to one conversant with the traditions in the Vaṃśāvalīs. The worship of *vāhanas*, such as the bull of Śiva, the lion of Mahāśakti, and the garuḍa of Vishnu, is enjoined in books of ritual and Tantras.[1] The *śastras* or weapons carried by the deity are also objects of worship.[2] Similar injunctions are to be found in Buddhistic Tantras and books on ritual. There is a considerable religious merit in dedicating *vāhanas* and *śastras* in stone, metal, etc., and anything else for the service of the divinity.[3] The commemoration of such meritorious religious acts was perhaps thought to be best achieved by representation on coins, as these, being in circulation, would be most seen by the people. It may be noted here that the *vāhanas* dedicated are generally represented even to this day as sitting in front of the divinity. Thus the standing bull types of the Nepal coinage, at least some of them, should be considered to have been introduced prior to the recumbent type, on the analogy of Indian coins of similar type. The standing bull type of coin with the legend of Pasupati can still be obtained in some quantity, which suggests that these were in circulation for several successive reigns.[4] Besides, a change from the standing bull to the recumbent type would be more natural and in keeping with the tradition of the country and the practice in India, where the very early coins show the standing type. The Tantras provide *sthūla* or gross, and *sūkshma* or subtle worship.[5] The *sthūla* worship has several stages, comprising adoration of forms in three dimensions (the grossest), then of painting on the flat, then of the emblem, and lastly of the *yantra* or diagrammatic body of *mantras*.[6] This offers *the key to the evolution of coin-types in Nepal and also in early Hindu India.* The tri-dimensional form, called by the western world Tantric, falls again, according to Arthur Avalon, into two divisions, the one relating to the external objects associated with the divinity, and the other with the image of the divinity, the meditational or the *dhyāna* form, presented for the benefit of the Sādhaka or one who strives to attain unity with the Supreme Being.[7] The coins of Nepal may, on this principle, be classified as (1) those with the *vāhana* and *sastra* or *praharaṇa* device; (2) those of the image-type taken in its wider sense; and (3) those with the *yantra* device. Māna Deva the Lichchhavi first introduced the image-type. But this was not a wide departure from the practice of his predecessors, for the Tantras teach that Śiva and Śakti are but twin aspects of the same reality.[8] Whoever of his successors to the throne of Nepal introduced the

[1] *Vide Pūjāvidhi* in *Ahnika-Kṛitya* by Śyāmā-charaṇa Kaviratna (Gurudas Library, Calcutta), also *Mahā-Nirvāṇa Tantra*, p. 326, sec. 254-257; p. 339, sec. 44-45; p. 311, sec. 136, etc. [2] *Vide*, for instance, *Mahā-Nirvāṇa Tantra*, p. 251, sec. 124.

[3] *Mahā-Nirvāṇa Tantra*, pp. 297-299.

[4] Kushana coins were long circulating in the Panjab even after the reigns of the Kushanas ceased, and these are found in large quantities in excavations, owing to the large number of them issued during successive reigns; *vide ante.*

[5] *Mahā-Nirvāṇa Tantra*, Introduction, pp. lxxvi and lxxvii.

[6] *Indian Art and Letters*, vol. i, no. 2, of Nov. 1926, pp. 75 and 76-77 in the article *Psychology of Hindu Religious Ritual* by Sir John Woodroffe, who under the press-name of Arthur Avalon has edited books on Tantra.

[7] *Indian Art and Letters*, p. 76. [8] *Indian Art and Letters*, p. 70.

vantra device, followed the same principle, as *yantra*, *mantra*, and *devatā* are the same.[1] It is true that in some coins of the Deva and Malla Rājas subsequent to the Lichchhavis there is a return to the *vāhana* and *praharaṇa* types, but this exception rather proves the principle. The image-type coins perhaps were not considered quite auspicious, and were therefore discarded. The coinage of Hindu India proceeded up to the second stage, at which foreign influence made itself felt so as to stop the natural further transition that took place in Nepal. From the divinity they were diverted to the ideal of sovereignty, which began to be represented in all its splendour with highly poetic similes extolling the diviner attributes of the king himself.[2]

Some of the images depicted on Nepalese coins can be tolerably well identified from *dhyānas*; but though it is known that the *yantra* of each *devatā* is different, the difficulty in ascribing each *yantra* as it occurs on coins to its proper *devatā* is great. The Tantra-worship, though open to all, is yet a secret worship. It is written, " Verily, verily and without a doubt, the Veda Shastra and Puranas are like a common woman free to all, but the doctrine of Shambhu [*i.e.*, the Tantra] is like a secret house bride, to reveal which is death."[3] This spirit of secrecy is common among Hindu and Buddhistic Tāntrikas, which makes it practically impossible to obtain any information from them. The esoteric meaning of things can be learned by the initiated only. No doubt the Lichchhavis, the Thākurīs, the succeeding Sūryavaṁśī kings, the Mallas, and the rest knew these as well as the Kshatriya rulers of the present time do. The goddess Māneśvarī, installed by Māna Deva I of the Lichchhavi clan, may be cited as an instance. She was his *ishṭa-devatā*,[4] but renamed *Māneśvarī* to keep secrecy. Similarly the *yantra* often underwent slight changes to make it appear different from what it really represents. It would be a wearisome and unprofitable task to attempt to identify the several hundred diagrams of *yantras* which appear on the so-called Newar coins.[5] But the general similarity which these bear to the several illustrations in the works of Tantra referred to corroborates the view that they and their predecessors, the image-type and the *vāhana* and *praharaṇa* devices, are Tantric in origin, and result from a continuous development from the simple to the complex. The representations of some divinities in coins of foreign invaders, as for instance of Śiva in coins of Gondopharnes and Kadphises II,[6] show a departure from the meditational forms given in the Tantras, due probably to the secrecy which the adepts observed, particularly towards foreigners. The Lichchhavis, though

[1] *Mahā-Nirvāṇa Tantra*, Introduction, p. xxiv.

[2] *Vide* inscriptions on Kushana and Gupta coins, etc., *Prāchīna Mudrā*, *ut supra*, as also Catalogues of Coins in the Indian and British Museums.

[3] *Principles of Tantra*, by Arthur Avalon, Introduction, p. ix; *Mahā-Nirvāṇa Tantra*, Preface, p. xiii, and p. 279, sec. 167; also *vide* note below on coin of Śiva Deva II.

[4] *Ishṭa-devatā* is the special tutelary divinity whose worship is enjoined on the novice at his Tantric initiation. *Vide Mahā-Nirvāṇa Tantra*, p. 260, sec. 204. The initiate, upon full initiation, can worship the divinity in *yantra*; *ibid.*, p. 258, sec. 183.

[5] *Coinage of Nepal*, p. 683.

[6] Vincent Smith, pp. 131-132; *Prāchīna Mudrā*, pp. 86-87.

Vrātya Kshatriyas,[1] did not labour under the same disadvantage, as they were entitled to study and practise the Hindu form of worship. The Guptas, much lower in caste, probably the lowest,[2] were within the circle, and thus could obtain more correct information, though in some of their coins with the image of Śiva they showed no better knowledge than their predecessors of foreign origin. At all events, the similarity between some of the Lichchhavi and Gupta coins must be traced to their common religious belief, and not to imitation. This observance of secrecy, however, greatly hampers the study of coins from the point of view of religious history, and whatever could be found and recorded here is due to the help of the enlightened Prime Minister, Maharaja Chandra Sham Sher Jang Bahadur Rana.

According to the principle here enunciated and in keeping with the tradition preserved in the Vaṃśāvalīs, the early coins of Nepal require to be arranged anew. The coins with standing bull-type will come first. Who first introduced them cannot be ascertained; but that these were Lichchhavi coins may be conjectured from the representation of the sun, which invariably occurs in this type. The Lichchhavis prided themselves on being Sūryavaṃśīs,[3] and so they adopted the sun to show their descent from that god. The Śaiva symbol of a humped bull with a crescent above occurs on these coins. In some the bull stands to the right, and in others to the left, probably indicating that the change was introduced by a succeeding king, which the variation in legend also indicates. These coins should belong to the same period as Vrisha Deva,[4] or an earlier date.

The coin with the trident on the obverse and the sun on the reverse should belong to Śankara Deva, and appears to be prior to the one with the recumbent bull, as the Vaṃśāvalīs relate that the trident was dedicated first and the Nandi erected some time afterwards. Some ascribe the Nandi to Dharma Deva, the son of Śankara Deva. He dedicated a great *Vrishabhadhvaja*, according to some Vaṃśāvalīs,[5] and was a great devotee of Nārāyaṇa, visiting the four Nārāyaṇas every day. He was told in a dream to worship the Jala-śayana Nārāyaṇa (the god lying on the waters), by which he would acquire the same merit as through visiting the four Nārāyaṇas, and thenceforth he worshipped that god and Vajra Yoginī.[6] Among his contributions to Buddhistic buildings is the repair of the Dhanada Chaitya.[7] The statement that the Nandi was dedicated by Dharma Deva appears to be more probable, and the coins with recumbent bulls were perhaps introduced by him, as that supposition explains the existence of two kinds of coins of this type agreeing in the obverse device but differing in the reverse device.

[1] That is, fallen Kshatriyas according to the verse of Manu quoted in notes on Lichchhavis, *History of Mediaeval Hindu India* by C. V. Vaidya, p. 377, also Lévi, *Le Népal*, vol. ii, under heading Lichchhavis. [2] C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 41.

[3] Inscription of Jaya Deva at Pashupati; see Fleet, *Corpus Ins. Ind.*, vol. iii.

[4] For illustration *vide Coinage of Nepal*, Plate I, No. 10.

[5] The Vaṃśāvalī from Bada Kaji, as also the palm-leaf Vaṃśāvalī mentioned by C. Bendall, *op. cit.* fol. 21A.

[6] The Vamśāvalī from Bada Kaji. [7] Wright's *History of Nepal*, p. 124.

At all events, the coin with the recumbent bull and the symbol said to be a crude representation of the *nandipada* and trident in imitation of the one in Jishṇu Gupta's coin[1] no doubt belongs to Dharma Deva. That the symbol cannot be by any stretch of imagination a trident will be apparent at a glance. The curled design on either side of the centre, which shows two closely touching round balls with a long projecting handle, does not show the three points of a trident. The figure is, without doubt, a *vajra*. In the Tantric books the *vajra*-figure is defined as being formed by placing two current Nagari sixes face to face against the handle.[2] The central part shows this sort of device. The scroll-like part on either side represents the strips of cloth usually placed on each side of any article dedicated to the divinity. The practice is current to this day in Nepal. As according to the Vaṃśāvalīs Śankara Deva was a thoroughgoing Śaiva, he was not likely to have introduced a *vajra*, even in its Hindu form, on his coins; but his more tolerant successor, Dharma Deva, might have done so, in the same way as he carried out repairs of chaityas. Besides, the *vajra* would be an emblem of veneration for him as a devout Vaishṇava.[3]

Next in order is the coin with the legends *Mānānka* and *Śr Bhoginī*. The legend *Mānānka* shows that the coin was issued by Māna Deva. The resemblance between this form and the *Parākramānka* of Samudra Gupta's inscription and the *Vikramānka* of some of Chandra Gupta II's coins points, it has been said, to Gupta influence.[4] But the reason for such correspondence has already been explained. The legend *Śrī Bhoginī*, from the type on the coin and the notice in the Vaṃśāvalī, appears to be connected with the goddess represented on the coin. *Bhoginī* occurs as a name for the manifestation of Mahāśakti as *Kamalātmikā*,[5] which is another aspect of Mahā-Lakshmī. In his hymn to the goddess Māneśvarī, Māna Deva applies to her the title *Prakāśa-teja Lakshmī*.[6] Thus though a very infrequent name is used to hide the identity, it would appear that this aspect of Mahāśakti is represented by the image, which, to preserve secrecy still further, is given the form of Lakshmī sitting on a lotus and carrying a lotus in her hand according to the *dhyāna* or meditational form[7] of the Lakshmī-aspect. The lion has in front a lotus-flower on a stalk with a few leaves.

[1] *Coinage of Nepal*, p. 681, and description of coin on p. 720, No. 10.

[2] *Mantra-mahodadhi* (Venkateśvar Press, Bombay), in the chapter on definition.

[3] *Dhvaja*, *vajra*, and *ankuśa*, *scil.* the flag, the thunderbolt, and the goad, are the special signs to be seen in the footprints of Vishṇu.

[4] Lévi, *Le Népal*, vol. ii, pp. 106-107.

[5] *Śākta-pramoda* (Venkateśvar Press), detailing the 1000 names of this goddess on p. 376, 74th śloka, 2nd line, mentions *Saumya-bhoga-Mahābhāga-Bhoginī Bhogadāyikā* as some of them.

[6] Mention of the hymn will be found in Lévi's *Le Népal*, vol. ii. The Vaṃśāvalī from Bada Kaji gives a few couplets.

[7] Raj Guru Hemraj Pandit is of opinion that a double meaning was intended by the use of the legend, as he has found a mention in some Vaṃśāvalī that the name of the wife of Māna Deva was Bhoginī. The image was associated with a lion on the reverse. Some take the lion to be the obverse, but Mr. Walsh takes it correctly as the reverse; *vide Coinage of Nepal*, p. 717.

The association of the lion with Mahā-Lakshmī is not uncommon,[1] though she is connected more often with the elephant.[2]

The *Guṇānka* coins follow in order. There is a change in a second series of this coin from the Lakshmī type to the Kamalātmikā, which has been by a misconception identified as the figure of the king.[3] Though indistinct, the representation nearly resembles the *dhyāna* form of the goddess seated cross-legged, bearing a lotus in each of the two upper arms, the lower arms resting on the thighs. The other coin continues the representation of the goddess, as in the time of Māna Deva. The *ishṭa-devatā* of the dynasty appears to have remained unchanged from Māna Deva to Guṇakāma Deva. As the coins of Nepal are based on religion, the idea of the figure of a king appearing on a Nepalese coin is absurd. The complete portrait of the goddess can be seen in a coin of the Gauda king Śaśānka,[4] where the goddess is seated on a lotus, as in the Guṇānka coins, with an elephant on either side pouring water over her head.

In the *vajra* device on one of the Pasupati coins, and perhaps in the lion-device on the Mānānka coin, a spirit of compromise on the part of the kings may be detected. Those symbols are acknowledged by the Buddhists as within their list of symbols for worship, and so reconcile them. It is not known whether the copper coinage described was the main currency, or only a subsidiary one. It may have been the main currency, as in some parts of India, such as Vidiśā.[5] The value of copper in those days was much higher than at present, almost twenty times more,[6] and for internal currency they might have served as standard coins. If any gold coin was current, it has left no trace. Some sort of silver coin was current about the time of Śiva Deva II and Amśuvarman; but whether it circulated in the period of Māna Deva or earlier cannot be ascertained. However that may be, subsequent to the Gunānka coin another Paśupati coin can be ascribed to a king by the help of Vamśāvalīs. King Śiva Deva II was known for his pious acts, the enumeration of which finds a prominent place in the Vamśāvalīs.[7] The restoration of the worship of Vatsalā Devī, a *śakti* specially attached to Paśupati, was an important piece of work. The image of the goddess was not to be found or shown, and so Śiva Deva II, with the help of priests well versed in Tantra, installed the goddess in a *kalaśa*.[8] The *pūjā* is still performed on a *kalasa*, within which the *yantra* of the Devī is reported to be hidden. Śiva Deva was also, as is every true Tāntrika, a great devotee of Śiva, and installed Nṛityanāthas, Bhairavas, Śiva-lingas, and Bhūtas, and to hide his persuasion installed Gaṇeśas, Iśvarīs, and Śaktis with equal

[1] Lakshmī on a lion appears in a coin of Chandra Gupta I: *vide Prāchīna Mudrā*, p. 132, and *Catalogue of Coins in British Museum*, pp. 8-11, quoted there.
[2] *Vide* Guṇānka Coins, Plate I, Nos. 2 and 3, *Coinage of Nepal*.
[3] *Coinage of Nepal*, p. 718.
[4] *Prāchīna Mudrā*, p. 149; also *Catalogue of Coins in British Museum*, pp. 147-148, Nos. 606-612, quoted in *Prāchīna Mudrā*; and *Coins of India*, Plate V, No. 12, etc.
[5] *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 190. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 189.
[7] Wright's *History of Nepal*, pp. 125-130; also Lévi, *Le Népal*, vol. ii.
[8] Vaṃśāvalī from Bada Kaji.

zeal.[1] The coin with a *kalaśa* on the reverse and the legend of Paśupati and Lakshmī on the obverse was probably introduced by him.[2] The device on the obverse, by the same misconception as has been pointed out in the Guṇānka coin, has been supposed to represent a king with a crown on his head. The goddess Vatsalā is popularly regarded as one of the ten Mahā-vidyās, as was Kamalātmikā, but was so named to keep the identity secret. The doctrine of Vatsalā is kept a mystery, and little can be learned about it; but the worship of the Devī and her installation in a *kalaśa*, with the *yantra* within it, and the appearance of a *kalaśa* on a coin with the Paśupati legend, lend considerable support to the supposition put forward. In some of these coins a part of the *kalaśa* is faintly visible to the right of the goddess, who carries a lotus in her right hand, which further confirms the supposition. Probably this *kalaśa* on the obverse formed an integral part of the die, but, being placed much to one side, has not come out in all coins. All the deities are represented in the descriptions of their meditational forms as crowned, so a crown does not necessarily imply that the image is that of a king. There is some resemblance between the deity as depicted on the coin and that on the Mānānka coin. Besides, the lotus in her right hand identifies the goddess with Lakshmī,[3] a manifestation of Mahā-Devī. This type of coin appears to be the only one issued by Śiva Deva II in at least two series.[4]

It is difficult to fix the Vaiśravaṇa coin from the description of the kings in the Vaṃśāvalīs. This god was a favourite with the Lichchhavis, and an image of him is reported to have been installed in Khotan by a Lichchhavi from Vaiśālī.[5] He figures in the Vedic *sandhyā* prayers; and Kauṭilya gives instructions for the building of a temple to him in the city square. He is a prominent figure in Buddhist scriptures,[6] and is a great Tantric *Sādhaka*.[7] Thus the introduction of his image on the coins of the Lichchhavis is not extraordinary. But he does not figure in the Vamsāvalīs, and no indication is given that any of the kings inclined to his worship. Tradition has not preserved any distinguished record of King Kuveravarman, whose name suggests a connection with this coin;[8] and it is rather unlikely that such a colourless king would have introduced a coin departing from the standing bull-type, which might have been current at the time. A probable supposition is that this coin was introduced by Amsuvarman

[1] "A man may be a Śākta at heart whatever his sect may be," *vide Mahā-Nirvāṇa Tantra*, p. 53, note, also *Tantra-sāra, Kulāchāra-prakaraṇa*, where it is said "Śāktas in their heart outwardly Śaivas, and in assemblies Vaishṇavas," etc., etc. In the preface, p. xiii, the author relates his failure to secure a complete Mahā-Nirvāṇa Tantra from a Nepalese Pandit, who would not agree to the publication of the Shaṭkarma Mantras.

[2] The *kalaśa* of Vatsalā is very like the *kalaśa* on the coin.

[3] *Vide* Plate I, illustration No. 1.

[4] *Vide* Plate I, illustration of coin No. 1, and description of that coin.

[5] Khotan has been identified with the Li-Yul of Tibetan writers, and appears to have been connected with the Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī.

[6] The Svayambhū-Purāṇa mentions Vaiśravaṇa frequently.

[7] *Principles of Tantra*, edited by Arthur Avalon, p. 117.

[8] Cunningham suggested this from Vaiśravaṇa being another name for Kuvera, the treasurer of the gods.

himself soon after he became king upon the death of Śiva Deva II, who, being sonless, nominated him as his successor.[1] He was not bound to respect the titular divinity of the dynasty, as he belonged to a different family, which was probably Vaishṇava, and from respect for which he may have introduced the cow and calf device with the legend *Kāmadhenu*. The design may have been meant for Surabhi, the origin of the Kāmadhenu and all cows, if the Vaishṇava tendency is accepted as correct.[2] The origin of the Kāmadhenu is explained by different legends; in one[3] she is said to be the mother of the bull of Śiva. Thus the design, both of Vaiśravaṇa and the cow and calf, because of the manifold aspect in which those may be viewed, would appeal to the subtle genius of Aṃśuvarman. From the coins which bear his name it would appear that he wished to break away gradually from the current practice in coinage, as he did in language as a grammarian.[4] His close first-hand acquaintance with the religious literature gave him the opportunity to apply his knowledge in practice. After this coin-type, his next must have been the one with the lion-device combined with the cow and calf symbol. Closely following this would be the coin with two lions. The last of the series would be the coin in which the legend *Mahārājādhirājasya* occurs and where he has boldly assumed the royal title, ranged round a raised circular device with a surround of dots. This last device has been interpreted as the sun with rays,[5] though the representation is more like a full moon with stars. A glance at the coin with the standing bull and crescent and the legend *Paśupati* on the other side ranged round with equal spacing between the letters[6] and the trident-type coin with reverse like the above,[7] will make the difference between the devices on Amśuvarman's coins and on those coins quite manifest. On the latter coins the dots are perfectly round; but on the former coins the dots below the letters are elongated like rays, and are prolonged between the letters to the periphery of the coins. It may be observed that up to this date the moon, a common deity of worship on certain auspicious days, is worshipped in Nepal on a raised circular disc with either circular dots or scollops around it. The gradual transition in Aṃśuvarman's coins is also observable in the gradual change in the language of the inscriptions,[8] where, step by step, he assumes the title and attributes of Śiva Deva II and other Lichchhavi kings. In coins, at each step, he retained one device from the preceding: thus he took over the *Kāmadhenu* or *Surabhi* from the coins bearing the *Vaiśravaṇa* legend into the one with

[1] The Vaṃśāvalī from Bada Kaji places Aṃśuvarman immediately after Śiva Deva, following that used by Kirkpatrick.

[2] For the legend connected with Surabhi, the heavenly cow that fed Kṛishṇa, *vide Brahma-vaivarta-Purāṇa, Prakṛiti-khaṇḍa*, ch. 44, also quoted in *Śabda-kalpadruma*.

[3] *Vide Kālikā-Purāṇa*, ch. 91.

[4] Adopting the direction of Pāṇini (which makes optional the doubling of a consonant when *r* precedes it), he wrote his name on coins as *Aṃśuvarman*, with one *ma* instead of two, the usual practice. For other instances *vide* Lévi, *Le Népal*, vol. ii.

[5] *Coinage of Nepal*, p. 719; also Lévi, *Le Népal*, vol. ii.

[6] *Ibid.*, Plate I, No. 10.

[7] *Ibid.*, Plate I, No. 11.

[8] This is elaborately noted by Lévi in *Le Népal*, vol. ii.

the legend *Śryaṃśu*; the lion from the last into the third with the two lions; and the same legend and the lion again into the fourth, with the legend *Mahārājādhirājasya*. It should be noted that the lion in the second series of Aṃśuvarman's coins is a winged one, better known in Tantra as the *śarabha*,[1] and in the Buddhistic scripture as the vehicle of Avalokiteśvara, thus being susceptible of interpretation according to the religious propensity of the people.

The last to be noted amongst the early coins hitherto found is that of Jishṇu Gupta. His coins are very rare. The obverse of the coin has a bull,[2] and not a horse or a lion,[3] as has been supposed by some. The reverse shows a sign interpreted as *nandipada* and trident, which is really a *vajra*.[4] Jishnu Gupta's name is not to be found in any Vaṃsāvalī so far available, but that he succeeded Aṃśuvarman and reigned for some years at least is demonstrated by his coins and inscription. An explanation is suggested here for what it may be worth. The name Aṃśuvarman, the Vaṃśāvalī says, was bestowed by Śiva Deva II on his nephew when he took the boy into his family,[5] so that he apparently bore a different name in his own family. All the Vaṃśāvalīs so far found agree that three Gupta kings preceded Śiva Deva II. It is also mentioned that after Bhīma Deva Varman the "Gopāla Vaiśya Gupta Vaṃśa" came to the throne.[6] The Guptas, according to the Vaṃśāvalīs,[7] were Vaiśyas and Vaishṇavas. Viśva Gupta married his daughter to Aṃśuvarman, who was also a Vaiśya of the Ṭhākurī clan.[8] When Śiva Deva II named Aṃśuvarman as his successor, his collaterals must have been greatly dissatisfied. The Tibetan annals mention that Aṃśuvarman's daughter was married to Srong-btsan-sgam-po, the Tibetan king.[9] Probably Aṃśuvarman, too, was without a son, and, during the lifetime of Śiva Deva II, adopted from his wife's family Jishnu Gupta, who was renamed Kṛitavarman by Śiva Deva II, but who, on his assumption of power, resumed his old name of Jishṇu Gupta. His rivals, the Devas, collaterals of Śiva Deva II, united in ousting him, and in the internecine quarrel some became kings for a short period, till the powerful Vīra Deva usurped the throne. Upon his death, his son Chandraketu had a troublesome time, till he was, in his turn, ousted by Narendra Deva, who came from Tibet on the news of the death of his uncle.

[1] *Puraścharyārṇava*, *ut sup.*, vol. ii, p. 704, and illustration at the end of vol. iii, Appendix, p 17.

[2] It is said to be winged (*Coinage of Nepal*, p. 719), but really the bull bears on its hump the ornaments which are generally supplied in dedicating it; the reproduction of a Nepalese inscription in Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, p. xiv, Appendix, shows such a decorated bull on the top of the plate.

[3] Lévi, in discussing this coin in *Le Népal*, vol. ii, says that the device is supposed to be a lion, copied from Aṃśuvarman's coin.

[4] Lévi, *Népal*, vol. ii, where the same view is taken. [5] Bada Kaji's Vaṃśāvalī.

[6] Except Wright's *History of Nepal*, where two names occur, *Vishṇu* and *Viśva*, which agree with the proper names in other Vaṃśāvalīs but differ in the family appellation, which instead of *Gupta* is given as *Deva Varman*. Kirkpatrick mentions Vishṇu Gupta in place of Viśva Gupta. [7] Bada Kaji's Vaṃśāvalī.

[8] Lévi, *Le Népal*, vol. ii; Wright gives the name as Viśva Deva Varman, p. 130.

[9] Lévi, *Le Népal*, vol. ii.

Such a reconstruction of the situation is largely conjectural, but would fairly well explain all definitely known facts of the period.

These early coins do not help us to frame a chronology owing to the absence of a date on any of them. The Vaṃśāvalī dates, even when mentioning astronomical elements such as the phases of the moon, positions of planets, days of the week, etc., are not verifiable, as the date of the year is missing. Even where the year is mentioned, the era according to which it is reckoned is open to doubt, and has not been settled satisfactorily. The intercalary month Paushya, which occurs in some inscriptions and colophons of manuscripts, is peculiar. An explanation has been sought on the supposition that in Nepal in those early days the Brahma-siddhānta system of astronomy was in vogue, instead of the Sūrya-siddhānta.[1] This intercalary Paushya is to be found in manuscripts of the thirteenth century, and even later.[2] If we take the year in Māna Deva's inscription to be of the Vikrama era, the early coins enumerated above will belong to the third century A.D., or perhaps earlier, extending to about the eighth or ninth century A.D.[3]

No specimen of any coin has yet been found for the long interval between Jishṇu Gupta's coin and the one of Jagat-prakāsa Malla dated Nepal Samvat 752 (A.D. 1632); but coins were struck by some kings and were in circulation practically throughout the period. The evidence of literature is so positive that one cannot very well deny their existence. However that may be, from the period when the specimens were obtainable a change in type had already been introduced and *yantras* had begun to figure in the coins. The *yantra* is a diagram, and consists of certain permanent elements and other variable ones. It is described from the centre outward at times of *pūjā* or worship. The elements have esoteric meaning: in one aspect they represent the five elements, in another the colour, in still another the attributes or *guṇas*, and so forth.[4] The combination of the representations totals up to the particular divinity with which the *yantra* becomes identical. Broadly speaking, there is a triangle, inverted, in the centre; round this is a circle circumscribing it, with eight petals or more, generally in multiples of eight, round the circle; the circle and petals are enclosed in a figure known as *bhūpura*. The *bhūpura* is a square, the sides of which are divided with a space in the middle of each and a parallelogram with its side next the side of the square symmetrically divided, the ends of the divided sides being joined. In the Nepalese coins of the period sometimes the whole of a *yantra* appears on one side, and the whole or part of another on the other side; and sometimes, and this is more common, the central part appears on one side and the square on the other. In the latter case, both are to be combined to give the full representation of the *yantra*.

[1] Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, note to inscription No. II in Appendix I, p. 76.

[2] The intercalated second Paushya is mentioned in some places in the palm-leaf Vaṃśāvalī, as in fol. 458, fol. 44A, etc.

[3] Lévi, *Le Népal*, vol. ii, has proposed for the era of Māna Deva's inscription either the Vikrama or a special Lichchhavi one; of these the Vikrama appears to be the simpler solution.

[4] *Mantra-mahodadhi*, ch. i.

Many variations occur in the above elements. The triangle is sometimes double, one inverted over another, or in its place will be found a five-pointed star with pentagon centre and so on. The *bhūpura* again is sometimes of a single line and sometimes of more than one; the parallelograms sometimes extend to the end of the sides of the square, and sometimes stop about midway. The lines are sometimes straight and sometimes curved. In fact, variations are extensive[1] to suit the no less extensive variations in the manifestations of deity. Thus identification is rendered difficult by this variety, and much more so by the slight changes purposely introduced to guard the secret of the divinity. Other symbols such as the *mangalas*, or auspicious things, *vāhanas*, like the lion, and the *praharaṇas*, or weapons such as the *khaḍga* (sword), trident, etc., also occur, and sometimes the *kalaśa* too, but mostly as secondary to the *yantra*, which is given greater prominence. The dots on the border of the coins appear on the Paśupati coins and nearly all the early coins They reappear on the seals of the *tālapatra* deeds, and continue on all subsequent coins, thus refuting the absurd idea that they were copied from Mohammedan coins by the Mallas and subsequent dynasties in their own coins.[2] In many seals of *tālapatra* documents of the early Nepal Samvats, the elements of *yantras* appear with a *Srī*, *khaḍga*, or trident within, and mark the transitional period, at the same time indicating the hold it had on the imagination of the kings. The *yantras*, besides being emblematic of the divinity, were potent means in the hands of Tāntrikas for doing good or evil, known as *Tāntrika Shaṭ-karma*.[3] *Yantras* for the above purposes are commonly given, carried, or circulated to achieve certain objects, and elaborate rituals are prescribed for their preparation.[4] A passing acquaintance with these diagrams would have prevented some curious misconceptions about some of the coins, which, upon a fanciful resemblance to some Mohammedan coins when looked at upside down, were pronounced to be a copy of the latter.[5] In many of them the central circle appears on one side and the *bhūpura* or special sort of square with wavy sides on the other. The dots between parallel lines emanating from the square and the circle[6] cannot be traced in the Mohammedan coins,[7] neither can the counterpart of a square of the peculiar kind be found therein. Symbols such as *pāśa* (noose), *damaru* (double-headed drum), *matsya* (fish), *patākā* (flag), and *triśūla* (trident), etc., occur on the reverse and obverse of nearly all of them, with sometimes the *śrī*. The vertical and horizontal lines have also their counterpart in

[1] Illustrations of some of these will be found in *Mahā-Nirvāṇa Tantra*. *Pūraścharyārṇava* and *Mantra-mahodadhi* give the largest collection.

[2] *Coinage of Nepal*, p. 688.

[3] These six magical powers consisted of *māraṇa*, destruction, *uchchhāṭana*, driving away, *vaśīkaraṇa*, bringing under control, *stambhana*, arresting or staying, say a storm or striking a man dumb or motionless, *vidveshaṇa*, causing antagonism between two persons, *svastyayana*, curative or helping power in disease, misfortune, danger, etc. *Vide Principles of Tantra* by A. Avalon, p. 112.

[4] More than a half of *Mantra-mahodadhi* is taken up with this, and many curious *yantras* will be found there.

[5] *Coinage of Nepal*, pp. 686-687.

[6] *Vide ibid.*, Pt. II, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, and 10.

[7] *Vide* illustrations, Nos. 1 and 2, on p. 687 of *Coinage of Nepal*.

some *yantras* for *shaṭkarma*. The division of a circle into three parts by two straight lines found in many Gurkha coins has also been held to be the relic of the horizontal lines in the central circle in some Malla coins, reproduced from the meaningless Persian characters on those coins. But in some Pāṇḍya coins supposed to have been issued between A.D. 300 and 600 and in some Kerala coins of probably the eleventh or twelfth century, where Mohammedan influence is precluded, the same sort of divided circle occurs.[1] After the Gurkha conquest the Kshatriya kings continued their predecessors' practice of reproducing *yantras* on coins. Aberrations occurred, especially in some early Malla coins noticed hereafter, but these did not affect the broad principle. The conclusion is that the coin types and devices from earliest times to the present day are based on religion, and their development has been indigenous and on Tantric lines. The worship of Mahā-Devī begun under the name of *Māneśvarī* by Māna Deva I, revived as *Vatsalā* by Śiva Deva II, resumed under the old name of *Māneśvarī* by Jaya Sthiti Malla,[2] and enthusiastically followed by the Gurkhas since their conquest, coupled with the unmistakably Tantric devices on coins continued up till now in the *yantra* variety, make this conclusion positive and irrefutable.

Description of Coins Illustrated

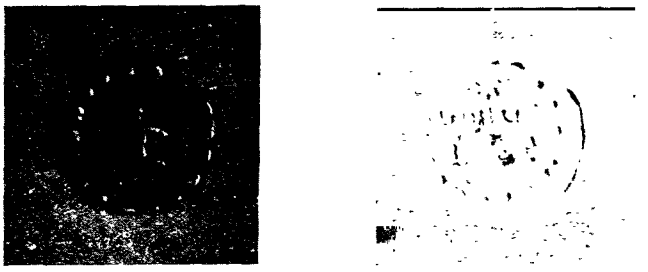
Many of the coins issued in Nepal have been described and illustrated in various catalogues, and the scattered information and impressions have been brought together in a contribution by Mr. E. H. Walsh[3] which makes it superfluous to reproduce them here. Such as are unrepresented in these works, and a few others of interest as conveying some more information, are brought together in the plates attached here. The coins Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 are from the treasure rooms of Pashupati, and were procured by special permission of His Highness Maharaja Chandra Sham Sher Jang. The others are from private collections, the bulk being lent by His Highness.

The coin No. 1 is of copper, weighing about 94.5 grains, and measuring .8 inch across, of medium thickness. The obverse represents a deity, Lakshmī, wearing a crown, radiate, facing front, seated, holding the stalk of a lotus in the right hand, the left akimbo resting on the thigh, close to which is the representation of a small *kalasa*, with a lotus-stalk rising from the top of it; a dotted border. The reverse, the stamping on which is a little to the left, shows within a dotted surround, partially lost because of the shifting of the die, an image of a *kalaśa* with the *āvaraṇa*[4] ranged from the bottom upwards and a lotus-stalk rising from the mouth bearing a lotus-flower. Legend, *Paśupati: Paśu* to the left of the stalk and *pati* to the right in a straight line. In some coins of this type the legend is ranged

[1] Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Pl. V, Nos. 10 and 11, and p. 35, sec. 124 and sec. 125. Also Brown, *Coins of India*, Pl. VII, Nos. 3 and 9. [2] Lévi, *Le Népal*, vol. ii.
[3] *Catalogue of Coins in the British and Indian Museums*, and *Coinage of Nepal*.
[4] The pair of cloth strips attached to the *kalaśa* or other article.

along the dotted surround in a curved line.[1] The image in these coins, though somewhat blurred, closely resembles that in our No. 1.

Nos. 2, 3, and 4 are probably Nepalese. They have features which are to be found in many Nepalese coins, and belong to the *vāhana* or *praharaṇa*



No. 1

type combined with the *yantra* design. The dots round the border, though not exclusively Nepalese, are prominent features of the coins of that country. All are of alloyed silver.

No. 2 weighs about 158 grains and measures 1.2 inches across. Obverse: a circle, in the centre of which is *śrī śrī* in old Newari script with two crescents, one on the top of each *śrī*, with a dot above the crescent; the crescents and dots are to be distinctly seen in No. 4. On the top a



No. 2

khaḍga with its *āvaraṇa*, generally but mistakenly described as a garland; all round, an Arabic legend.[2] Reverse: two squares placed one across another to form an *ashtaka* or complete octagon, inside which is a lion faintly visible with tail erect but curled at the end and face turned to the right. The legend in Nagari has been supposed to read *Nannesarī*; but the supposed *nna* looks very like the Newari *kshma*, as it appears in a coin

[1] *Vide Coinage of Nepal*, fig. 12, Plate I.

[2] Rubbings of this and Nos. 3 and 4 were sent to Mm. Hara Prasad Shastri, C.I.E., who obtained readings from Mr. R. D. Banerji. The readings of No. 2 were reported to be: obverse, '*Alā ud-dunyā wa'd-Dīn as-Sulṭān Abu'l-Muzaffar*. . . . Reverse, mistaken Arabic legend with *Nannesari* in Nagari script on top.

of Lakshmī-narasimha.[1] The letter *ra* is distinct on the coin, though blurred in the impression. The letter between *kshma* and *ra* may be either *na* or *sa*. The name is easily restored, and should be read as *Lakshmī-nara*, which, with the lion within the circle, read as *simha*, will become *Lakshmī-narasiṃha*. The use of the device of a lion as a rebus to a name is not uncommon in Nepalese coins.[2] This Lakshmī-narasimha was the grandson of Mahendra Malla, and became king of Katmandu in N.S. 733, or A.D. 1613.[3] As the use of the figure of a lion as a rebus to his name was made by Lakshmī-narasimha, the practice was perhaps of still earlier date. The Arabic legend, though imperfectly read, stands for some sultan of Bengal of or near the time. When the name is properly read it will probably be found to be one who reigned earlier than Lakshmī-narasiṃha.[4] It appears that Lakshmī-narasiṃha changed the coin type from this to a completely different one, more in keeping with Tantra.[5]

No. 3 in size, weight, and fabric is practically the same as No. 2. The



No. 3

obverse has the repeated *srī* within the circle, on the top of which appears the *khadga* or sword of Devī with a *vitāna* or top cover in the shape of a line; the ends are slightly bent in a *vitāna* where space permits.[6] This is also characteristic of Nepal. There is an Arabic legend round the circle as in No. 2, which reads the same.[7] On the reverse appears the crossed square as in No. 2, with a lion within and on the top the word *Śiva* in Newari script. Interpreted as in the case of the coin now ascribed to Lakshmī-narasiṃha, this coin should belong to Śiva Siṃha.[8] This was the name of the second son of Mahendra Malla and father of Lakshmī-narasiṃha, who became king of Katmandu after his licentious elder brother Sadāśiva Siṃha was expelled.

[1] *Vide* Plate II, No. 9 of *Coinage of Nepal*.

[2] *Vide* for example the coin of Siddhi-Narasiṃha, made up of *Siddhi-nara* and the figure of a lion, read as *siṃha*, in *Coinage of Nepal*, Plate V, No. 2, and description on p. 732.

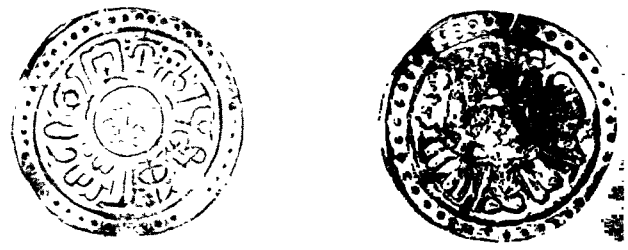
[3] Vaṃśāvalī from Bada Kaji; according to Bendall's list, about A.D. 1631.

[4] *Vide Coinage of Nepal*, Plate II, No. 9. [5] About 1613; *vide ante*.

[6] Illustrations of *vitāna* over *khadga* can be seen in Plate IV, No. 1, and Plate VI, No. 1, in *Coinage of Nepal*. [7] *Vide* footnote to No. 2.

[8] About A.D. 1600 Bendall's list; according to Bada Kaji's Vaṃśāvalī, about A.D. 1580.

No. 4 of Plate III is also about the same size, weight, and thickness as Nos. 2 and 3. The device on the obverse is also the same. The Arabic legend has been read as *'Alā ud-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn as-Sultān Abu'l-Muzaffar Fīrōz*. The reverse is blurred, but the crossed square and the lion within are visible. The legend on top cannot be read, neither can the Arabic



No. 4

legend, which probably is a continuation of the obverse one. The " Fīrōz " may be Fīrōz Shāh of Delhi, or the very short-lived boy king of Bengal, the son of Islām Shāh,[1] but the latter supposition is not likely. It has also been suggested that these coins may belong to some Srohiya kings of Mithila who acknowledged the suzerainty of the Mohammedan Sultans.[2] As no coins of Mithila are described in the History of Tirhut[3] or mentioned in books on coins,[4] the type and character of such, if any existed, are not forthcoming for comparison. On the other hand, the close resemblance to the design of the Nepalese coins as shown in the name ending in a rebus, and the Nagari script, which is very similar to those on coins of Lakshmī-narasiṃha and Siddhi-narasiṃha, suggest the conclusion that these are Nepalese coins. It seems that Mahendra Malla and some of his successors used the Mohammedan coins, keeping the legend on the periphery and changing the centres and tops to their own design, putting in the special traditional religious emblem of the *khaḍga*, the elements of *yantras*, and the lion, both as *vāhana* of Devī, and as rebus, to complete the name. The use of such coins might have given rise to the tradition that permission was obtained from Delhi to strike coins in Nepal.

Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8 are Mohammedan. The rubbing of No. 5 was sent for decipherment, and was said to belong probably to Sikandar Shāh. Another coin, a rubbing of which was sent, was read as belonging to Ghiyāth ud-Dīn A'zam Shāh ibn Sikandar Shāh.[5] These coins bear the marks of the conch-shell, discus, mace, and lotus. No. 5 shows clearly the conch-shell and lotus, both in relief, and the mace as a sunk mark. There

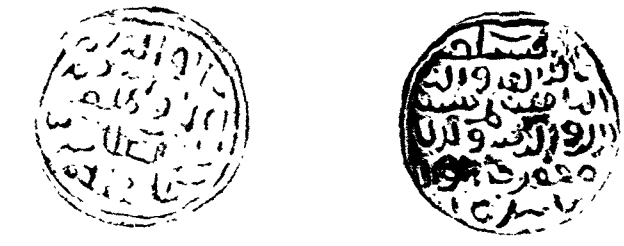
[1] *Vide Bangalār Itihās* by R. D. Banerji, vol. ii. p. 349.
[2] The suggestion came from Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Shastri.
[3] *History of Tirhut*, by Śāma-Narāin Singh.
[4] Such as the coins of India, *Prāchīna Mudrā*, *Bangalār Itihās*, etc.
[5] About A.D. 1332-1400 is the date given by Mm. Hara Prasad Shastri.



No. 5



No. 6

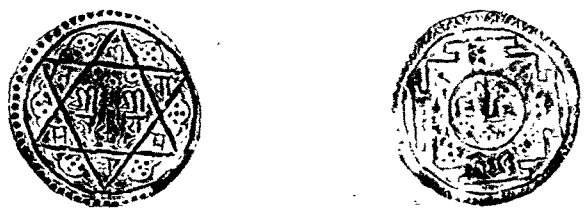


No. 7



No. 8

are many such coins in the treasure room of Pashupati. The symbols punched on them are common to Hindus and Buddhists alike, and might have been affixed as permission to use them in the currency of the country. Apparently these are the coins referred to in the *tālapatra* deeds as current coin or *suvarṇa mūlya*. The dates of such, so far as ascertained, range from the thirteenth or fourteenth to the fifteenth or sixteenth century A.D., or from about after Jaya Sthiti Malla till some time before the time of Mahendra Malla. The class of coin shown in Nos. 2, 3, and 4 might have become current, and was probably known as *mohar* or *ṭanka*, the last a common name for coins in Mohammedan kingdoms. It will be seen from the illustrations of subsequent coins that the indigenous design with an Arabic legend did not last very long, and the kings soon returned to the pure *yantra* device. In that they exercised their ingenuity to produce a bewildering array of *yantras* from their close acquaintance with Tantric literature, both Buddhistic and Brahmanic. Identification of the divinity becomes practically impossible, not only from the variety of designs, but also from the changes purposely introduced to defeat any such attempt.

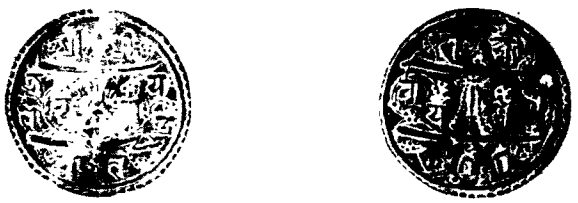


No. 9

No. 9. This is a coin of Jaya Śrīnivāsa Malla, different from the one illustrated and described in the *Coinage of Nepal*.[1] The weight, size, and fabric are the same as for *mohars*. On the obverse appear two intersecting triangles; within the hexagon so formed a *khaḍga* with *āvaraṇa*, on top of which are a lotus and two crescents, one on each side, *śrī śrī* on left and right of the *khaḍga*, forming the top line, and *ja* and *ya* similarly placed forming the bottom line. In the six triangles, *śrī* appears within the top one, *ni* and *vā* on the left and right of the two triangles below, *sa* and *ma* in the triangles below the former pair, and *lla* in the bottom triangle. The triangles are connected by scollops, within each of which are placed four dots round a central one, with the usual dotted margin around. On the reverse: A *bhūpura* or square divided in the middle[2] in its ordinary form, and a circle in the centre of the *bhūpura*; within the circle, an elephant-goad in the middle, with a *kalaśa* with *āvaraṇa* to the left and another to

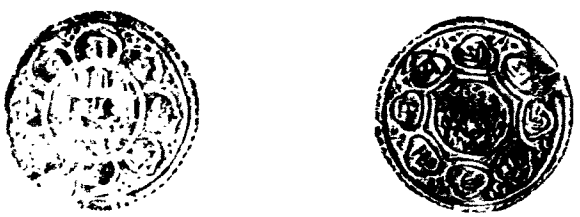
[1] For description *vide* p. 733, and for illustration Plate V, No. 4.
[2] The dividing space in Tantric technology is known as *dvāra* or gate.

the right; in the four corners of the square the conch-shell, discus, lotus, and mace, counter-clockwise; within the bottom *dvāra* is the date N.S. 786. In this the syllables *Nepāleśvara*, each within a *dvāra*, are absent, and probably the coin with that legend was issued later than this one.



No. 10

No. 10, a coin of Jaya Bhūpālendra Malla, has not yet been published. Obverse: circle divided into three parts by lines said to be an imitation of Arabic letters; on the top division, a rayed sun in the centre with a *śrī* on each side; in middle division, a trident in the centre, *ja* and *ya* in the corners of the top line, *bhū* and *pā* on the left and right of the trident, *le* and *ndra* in the corners of the bottom line; in bottom division, *ma* and *lla* on left and right of a lotus on a stalk. Reverse: the circle is divided as in the obverse; in the top division, *la* and *kshmī* on the left and right of an inverted lotus on a stalk; in the middle division, in the centre, a *khadga* with *āvaraṇa* and *vitāna*;[1] *nā* and *rā* on the top line corner, *ya* and *na* on left and right of the *khadga*; in bottom division, date N.S. 808.



No. 11

No. 11. A coin of a somewhat similar device has been described and illustrated in the *Coinage of Nepal*.[2] This one is identical with that described so far as the obverse is concerned, but differs in the reverse, having a circle in the centre instead of an octagon. Unlike No. 9, which, with the obverse diagram placed within the circle of the reverse diagram, will make the

[1] *Vide ante.*

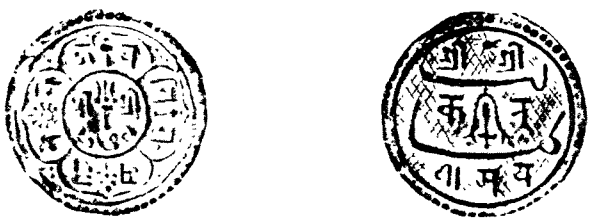
[2] Plate VI, No. 3, and p. 737, *Coinage of Nepal.*

yantra for ordinary *Devī-pūjā* and particularly for Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, the coin No. 11 represents two half-designs of some practically identical *yantra*. The date on the coin is N.S. 842, and this is also the date in the illustration published, though by mistake it has been given in the description as N.S. 833.[1] The *khadga* rests upon a throne (not a lotus, as stated in the description referred to).



No. 12

No. 12 is a silver coin of Yoga-narendra Malla in the shape of an equilateral triangle with the sides about .75 inch and weighing about 20 grains. The obverse has within a triangle a *khadga* with *āvaraṇa*; legend on the top line, *śrī srī* to left and *vīra* to right of the *khadga*, on next line *yo* left and *ga* right, third line *na* left, *re* right, and below *ndra*. The reverse shows a vermilion-casket with *āvaraṇa* and a lotus on top;[2] legend, *śrī ja* and *ya la* left and right above, *kshmī* and *de* in second line similarly placed, and *vī* at the bottom. The letter *la* is read for *ra*. The coin has a dotted surround, and bears no date.



No. 13

No. 13, a coin of Jaya Vishṇu Malla Deva, is different on the reverse from one of which an illustration has already been published.[3] The circle on the reverse is divided into three parts. In the top division are the syllables *śrī śrī* with a sun between them, in the middle a *khadga* with

[1] Plate VI, No. 3, and p. 737, *Coinage of Nepal*.

[2] This vermilion-casket, known in Newari as *sinamu*, has been wrongly described in many instances as either a *kalaśa* or a *kalaśa* in the form of a *stūpa*. The casket is a precious possession of a married Hindu lady as emblematic of Lakshmī and good luck.

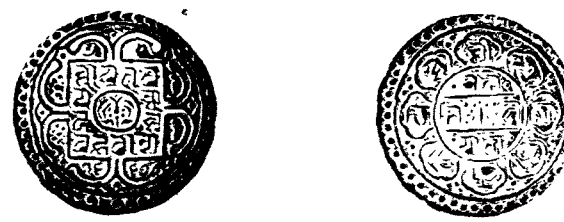
[3] *Coinage of Nepal*, Plate VI, fig. v; description on p. 738.

āvaraṇa and *ka* and *ru* to left and right, in the bottom *ṇāmaya*. The date on this coin and the one previously published appears to be identical, and should be read N.S. 849, and not N.S. 859 as published.



No. 14

No. 14. An illustration of a coin slightly differing from this has been published. The description was not correct in certain respects. The difference lies in the omission on the obverse of *jaya*, which appears in the previously illustrated coin. The ground in this coin is ornamented, while in the other it is plain.[1] On the reverse the mirror to the left and the vermilion-casket to the right of the trident have wrongly been described as a discus and vase for offerings with cover. The two articles are found associated with pictures of Lakshmī in this country and India. In the coins of Nepal, these or one of them are found in coins where the name of a Rani occurs.



No. 15

No. 15 has never yet been noticed, nor has any description or illustration of it been published. It is of silver, size 1 inch, weight 78 grains, the fabric being the same as that of other *mohars*. The obverse contains a circle in the centre, with a *bhūpura* or square; the halves of the top parallelogram over the *dvāras* are curved, and the junction of the outer lines extends to the middle of the opening of the *dvāra*. The legend within the square appears to be as follows: top line, *śrī yu ta va*, next *ya* and *ṇha* (?) to left and right of the circle; then *da* and *śa* similarly placed; the bottom line, *bahudhānya*; below, the date 1667; within the circle, a symbol which may be a lotus or tuft of jewels. The reverse has a circle with eight petals. The circle is

[1] *Coinage of Nepal*, Plate V, No. 11.

divided into three parts, of which the top contains the legend *ratna*, the middle a *khaḍga* with *āvaraṇa* and *ti* and *ta* (?) to left and right of it, the bottom probably *phālā*. In the petals appear *śrī sa vi ja ka dā ya śra*. The date can only be interpreted as a Śaka one, which would be equivalent to N.S. 865 or A.D. 1745. This was the period when there was trouble in Katmandu and also in Patan. As the coin refers in its quaint language to a federation of ten, it was probably issued by the nobles of Katmandu or Patan. The devices point to Patan, but the Vaṃśāvalī speaks of only six Pradhāns of Patan who played the part of king-makers, and unless the number ten is loosely used, the coin cannot be ascribed to them.[1] If it was struck at Katmandu, it should belong to a period just antecedent to the reign of Jyoti-prakāśa, the infant son of Jaya-prakāśa, as his coins of N.S. 866 have been found. There is a tradition that the nobles ruled Katmandu for a short while, and the coin may belong to that period. It is equally probable that it belongs to Patan after Rājya-prakāśa was driven out and Jaya-prakāśa was expelled after one or two years' experience of the Pradhāns with him as their king. The device on the coin, as has been said, supports this view.



No. 16

No. 16 is also a coin hitherto unpublished. It is a half-*mohar* of silver, size about .85 inch, weight about 43 grains. This coin of Chakravartīndra will be found to be without the so-called *bāṇāstra* which tradition affirms to have been speedily fatal to him.[2] On the obverse is a central circle or rather four scalloped segments joined, and above each appears a petal. Between the petals and the intervening space is the legend *Srījayachakravartīndra*; within the central figure, a trident and a lotus-stalk on either side. On the reverse appears a design similar to that on the obverse, and within the four petals *malla deva*; in the centre, a *khaḍga* and lotus-stalks. The coin is undated.

Nos. 17, 18, and 19 are token-coins which must have been current in Nepal. They are of burnt clay, thick in fabric, and of about the size of the illustration. The obverse and reverse have the same design and legend; the thick periphery has also a legend. They have a dotted border.

No. 17. The obverse shows a *khaḍga* with *āvaraṇa* and two crescents, one on each side of the *khaḍga*, and the legend *rāma*, the letters being placed

[1] Wright's *History of Nepal*, pp. 244 *et seq.* and 250 *et seq.* [2] *Ibid.*, p. 220.

one on each side. The reverse contains in the centre the tuft of jewels, a Buddhistic emblem. The legend on the top line is *śrī* to the left of the tuft



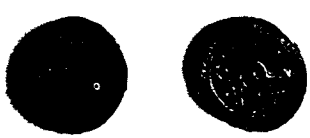
No. 17

and 3 to the right, and below them *de* to the left and *vī* to the right. On the periphery, a lotus with projecting stalks and the words *sim-bha va-jra,* then another lotus as described and the syllable *gaja.*



No. 18

No. 18. The obverse shows in the centre a *khadga* with a crescent on the top. The legend is *śrī hi* in a line to the left and right, on top and below *ta ma,* and at the bottom *la,* probably to be read as *Śrī Hita Malla.* The reverse shows a design like a trident with *āvarana.* The periphery contains the legend *bhā ga va ta*[1] and then *sam* 862.



No. 19

No. 19. Obverse: a double triangle, one inverted over the other, within the hexagon, a *khaḍga* with *āvaraṇa.* Reverse: a circle in the centre with four petals, each entering a *dvāra*; on the periphery appears the legend *śrī ma tha sim kha siya.* In all specimens these two lines appear in the periphery placed diametrically opposite, showing that the impressions were got from a top and bottom die. The words *siṃha vajra gaja* may be interpreted to mean 188,[2] which, if read in reverse order, as the rule is,

[1] The first letter may also be read as *to* or *jo.*

[2] According to convention there are 8 *gajas,* 8 *vajras,* and 1 *siṃha.* But the legend on the coin would suggest a connection with Jaya Sthiti Malla, who (as mentioned in Wright's *History,* pp. 182-183) was a devotee of Nārāyaṇa and Rāma and at the same time a Śākta at heart. He was styled Bāla-Nārāyaṇa in a drama (*vide* Lévi, *Le Népal,* vol. ii). If we

give the number 881, which perhaps is the Samvat.[1] This and the 862 occurring in No. 18 are probably Nepal Samvat, which will place the two coins in the reign of Jaya-prakāśa Malla. The difficulty he had in meeting his expenses is mentioned in all the Vaṁśāvalīs. His vandalism did not spare the treasuries of Pashupati and even the appurtenances of the deity and the pinnacles and gilt articles of the temples.[2] Of course, such token-coins would not have served for payment of his mercenary troops, who would not have been satisfied with anything but gold and silver. But probably these token-coins were a subsidiary currency for very small payments, and give an idea of what a *turu* of Jaya Sthiti Malla may have been like. Perhaps the contemporaries of Jaya-prakāśa, the kings of Patan and Bhatgaon, may also have issued such coins. The name, however, of Hita Malla on the obverse of No. 18 would show that that was his coin. But no such name is to be found in the Vaṁśāvalīs, and if he was a king, his annals are not yet known. Some round leather pieces with a triangular hole punched in the centre and some faint markings on it are believed to have been current as coins in Nepal.



No. 20

No. 20 is a copper coin of about 1 inch diameter and about 162 grains weight, of medium thickness. The interest of it lies in the fact that the legend has been partly read as " Rāna Bahādur Shāh," and if correct would be the illustration of a new coin not yet published.

NEPALI MONEY

4	Dâms	. . .	=	1 pice (paisa)
4	Pice	. . .	=	1 Anna
6¼	Annas	. .	=	1 Sukâ
2	Sukâs	. . .	=	1 Mohar
2	Mohars	. .	=	1 Rupee (Rupaiya)
1¼	Nepali Rupees		=	1 British Indian Rupee

connect the coin with him, the words *gaja*, *vajra*, and *siṃha* may be interpreted as the names of some *maṅgalas*, the reiteration of which is as auspicious as the representation in images. Under this aspect these coins may be the *turu* of his time.

[1] It may also be interpreted as 818, if *gaja* be read first. As the Samvat 862 can be read in No. 18, the other is probably 881.

[2] Lévi, *Le Népal*, vol. ii ; Wright's *History of Nepal*, pp. 288 etc.

FOR WEIGHING GOLD AND SILVER

Gold		*Silver*
10 Lâls	= 1 Mâsâ	8 Lâls = 1 Mâsâ
10 Mâsâs	= 1 Tolâ	12 Mâsâs = 1 Tolâ

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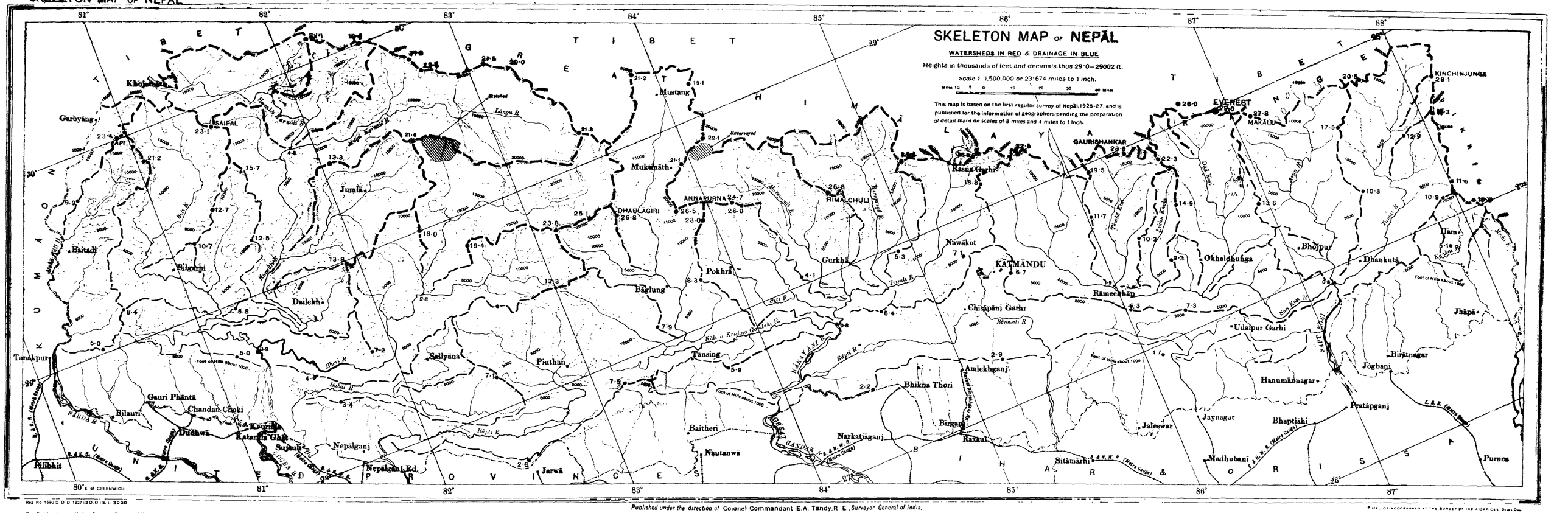
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MAGNETIC NORTH

MAP OF THE VALLEY

Scale of Miles

1 ½ 0 1 2 3 4

(6786) Mahadeopokhri

KATMANDU
PATAN
BHATGAON
BUDANILKANTHA
SWAYAMBHUNATH
BODDHNATH
HARIGAON
GOKARNA
SANKHU
THANKOT
KISIPIDI
BALAMBU
SATUNGAL
KIRTIPUR
NAGAON
PANGA
CHOBAR
CHANDRAGIRI
DEOCHOK
BUDAY
THIMI
NAKADESA or NADI
NALA
SANGA
RANICHOK
LUBHU
SANAGAON
HARISIDDHI
THAIBA
BADAGAON
THECHO
CHAPAGAON
PALU
YANGAON
SONAGUTTI
KHOKNA
BAGMATI
HATHIBAN
PHARPING
DHARMATHALI
TOKHA
JAMACHEL
KHADAWALBHANJYANG
TO RUPING
PANCHMANAYBHANJYANG
TO HABELI
TO NAYAKOT
TOP OF TARESWAR
KAKANI
DHWANGCHEBHANJYANG
TOP OF GHYANGLE
TANDEBHANJYANG
THHAPATHAL
DEWRALI-DANDA
MAHURIBHANJYANG
CHHATREBHANJYANG
SHEOPURI
DHOKABHANJYANG
CHHARTHANJYANG
SANABHANJYANG
CHAITAYPANI
DULALTHOK
MOHANPOKRI
KATTIKAYGAON
THAPLEYDHUNGA
SARKITHOK
LIBIKOT
THARTHOK
SUTACHO
MALUNGAON
PAULIKHARKA
DANDAGAON
KABHRAGAON
LAMICHHANEGAON
ARNIGAON
BUNDAPOKHRI
PHAKAGAON
ADHIKARITHOK
PATAY
SANGLO
TUSAL
SAPANATIRTHA
CHANDESWARI
PARKOTE
THAPAGAON
BHEDIGOTH
SUYOLTAR
KHADAMALGAON
KHANDALGAON
MULTHANA
MAHANKAL
DHITALGAON
KAMARAY
PHUTUNGGAON
CHARGHARAY
MANMAIJU
MADIMPU
NAKHANDOL
GOLDHUNGA
PHULBARI
BANIATAR
NAINDOLE
DHARMAPUR
CHAPALI
TOULIHA
TYPEK
GAMCHA
BHAYITAR
NAYAPATI
PHUYETTAR
ALAKOTE
PAKHATHOK
MAGAZINE
MAHAKAL
GAGOL
KANGESWARI
SUNDHARIJAL
OKHRENI
DIHIDANDA
MANICHUR
DANDAKATI
TUNGANEY
JUJEPANI
SANGAGHOK
NANGLEBHAR
GHUMACHOK
BOJHINI
SAKHAPHEDI
TO JAHARSINGH
KAMLANG
BHEERBAR
TOP OF NARANBAN
BHIRKOTDANDA
THAPLAY
BATASAY
BHIMDHUNGABHANJYANG
BALAJU
RANIBAN
HILAYDOL
KAUDAY
RAMKOT
CHHIPAPASWA
DHANDAPASWA
PUTIKHAR
TOUKHEL
MAJUWA
JHILOWAY
KOLGHAR
KUMAITI
SIGTAR
BANCHANJYANG
JOGITHUMKO
TUTEPANI
MATAKHEL
BANTHOK
LAMEDANDA
TOKANPUR
JHAKHKHEL
ITAKHEL
BALA
MATATIRTHA
TAKHEL
BOSI
SOLITHUM
BAIGOUDA
DHAKSI
MACHHENARPAN
SARANGKHEL
BHALESWAR
TO CHISAPANIGARHI (or SISAGARHI)
CHAKELBHYANJYANG
KATUTHUMBHYANJYANG
CHAMPADEVI
BOSAN
CHALNAKHEL
KARIYABINAYAK
GWALDAH
BASBARI
BUJAKOTE
SATMULE
NAYABHANJYANG
SEKHARAN
GOPALESWAR
DAKHKHALA
BAJRAJOGINI
PHARSIDOL
CHUNDEBI
TOKDAHA
BHUMPI
SALENTAR
ITARI
DUKU
KATUWALDAHA
DEORALIBHANJYANG
TINPANAYBHANJYANG
KURUNCHULI
LAYLAY
BUTA
TIKHABHARIB
BHAJANGAL
SUNDARI GHAT
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BHUTKHEL
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KHOKNA
HATIBAN RANGE
TAKHECHA
DHAPOKHEL
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PATLAYBHANJYANG
TINCHAMKAYDANDA
KHARANAYBHANJYANG
DEORALIBHANJYANG
CHYANGBHANJYANG
PHULCHOK
RAMCHOGANDA
GODAVARI SPRINGS
BHAKUNDARIPPA
NAUDHARA
KOTAN
BHARANTARI GHAT
GEN. SHANKAR
GEN. VISHNU
GEN. MOHAN
GEN. KRISHNA
MAHARAJGANJ
BAHATTAR
TUDALDEBI
THUMBAGHRI
LAZIMPAT
KHICHAPOKHARI
KANTIPATH
KING'S PALACE
DURBAR
SARASWATI
RAJKARYALAYA
MAHANKAL
DILLI BAZAR
TRIBHUVAN RAJPATH
TRICHANDRA COLLEGE
SINGHA DURBAR
BANESWAR
PASHUPATI
GUHESWARI
BISWARUP
RAMCHANDRA
GOUCHAR
ICHOKE
BHAIMAL
PAGALKHANA
SINAMUGAL
TIGNI
SARASVATIKHEL
BASANDOLE
CHANDOLE
RUPATHALI
DUBAKOT
KOLPAKOTE
PIKHEL
BASUKI
LAKACHOK
KHARIPATI
SERAPHAT
RESERVOIR
BANSBARI
BAGESWARI
PHAIDHOKA
JHOWKHEL
SIDHAPOKHRI
SALLAGHARI
TEPPADHIK
JITPUR
SODAL
PAKALPANI
TARANI
RANGE
DAKHINBARAHI
KAMALPOKHRI
MOTITAR
BAHALKOTE
DEBADOL
TIKHATHALI
THANGATHALI
KATUNJAY
GAMCHA
CHORPUR
SIRUTAR
GUNDU
SURYABINAYAK
MANTHALI
THINKOLAN
CHUPINGGHAT
DOLESWAR
KAKRABARI
SIPADOL
NAVLIKESWAR
PATKHOL
ARATTAYJORPANI
BHAJANGAL
NALADHAP
DEVIJAGDON
BHATAYDHIKURO
KATUNJAY
SUNDARIJAL
BASANTAPUR
DURBAR
KATHMANDU
PATAN
BHAKTAPUR
KIRTIPUR
BAGMATI R.
BISHNUMATI R.
HANUMAN R.
MANAURA R.
BALKHU R.
KALIMATI R.
DHOBIKHOLA R.
BANGMATI R.
KHAHARAKHOLA R.
KIRTIPUR R.
SANGLIKHOLA R.
NAKHKHU R.
GODAVARI R.
ALAUMATI
TO DHULIKHEL
RESERVOIR TO BHAKTAPUR
TO RUPING
TO HABELI
TO NAYAKOT
TO TAHARSINGH
TO DHULIKHEL
TO CHISAPANIGARHI (or SISAGARHI)
TO BHAKTAPUR
TO PHARPING
TO CHAKELBHYANJYANG
TO KATUTHUMBHYANJYANG
TO LAMACHEL
TO PANCHMANAYBHANJYANG
TO DEORALIBHANJYANG
TO TINPANAYBHANJYANG
TO CHYANGBHANJYANG
TO RANICHOK
TO SANGA
TO NALA
TO BHAJANGAL
TO BHATAYDHIKURO
TO SUNDARIJAL
TO BASANTAPUR
TO DURBAR
TO KATHMANDU
TO PATAN
TO BHAKTAPUR
TO KIRTIPUR
TO NAGAON
TO PANGA
TO CHOBAR
TO CHANDRAGIRI
TO BALAMBU
TO THANKOT
TO KISIPIDI
TO SATUNGAL
TO DEOCHOK
TO BUDAY
TO THIMI
TO NAKADESA or NADI
TO BHATGAON
TO GOKARNA
TO SANKHU
TO BUDANILKANTHA
TO SWAYAMBHUNATH
TO BODDHNATH
TO HARIGAON
TO KHOKNA
TO SONAGUTTI
TO HARISIDDHI
TO THAIBA
TO BADAGAON
TO THECHO
TO CHAPAGAON
TO PALU
TO YANGAON
TO BAGMATI
TO HATHIBAN
TO PHARPING
TO DHARMATHALI
TO TOKHA
TO JAMACHEL
TO KHADAWALBHANJYANG
TO RUPING
TO PANCHMANAYBHANJYANG
TO HABELI
TO NAYAKOT
TO TARESWAR
TO KAKANI
TO DHWANGCHEBHANJYANG
TO TANDEBHANJYANG
TO THHAPATHAL
TO DEWRALI-DANDA
TO MAHURIBHANJYANG
TO CHHATREBHANJYANG
TO SHEOPURI
TO DHOKABHANJYANG
TO CHHARTHANJYANG
TO SANABHANJYANG
TO CHAITAYPANI
TO DULALTHOK
TO MOHANPOKRI
TO KATTIKAYGAON
TO THAPLEYDHUNGA
TO SARKITHOK
TO LIBIKOT
TO THARTHOK
TO SUTACHO
TO MALUNGAON
TO PAULIKHARKA
TO DANDAGAON
TO KABHRAGAON
TO LAMICHHANEGAON
TO ARNIGAON
TO BUNDAPOKHRI
TO PHAKAGAON
TO ADHIKARITHOK
TO PATAY
TO SANGLO
TO TUSAL
TO SAPANATIRTHA
TO CHANDESWARI
TO PARKOTE
TO THAPAGAON
TO BHEDIGOTH
TO SUYOLTAR
TO KHADAMALGAON
TO KHANDALGAON
TO MULTHANA
TO MAHANKAL
TO DHITALGAON
TO KAMARAY
TO PHUTUNGGAON
TO CHARGHARAY
TO MANMAIJU
TO MADIMPU
TO NAKHANDOL
TO GOLDHUNGA
TO PHULBARI
TO BANIATAR
TO NAINDOLE
TO DHARMAPUR
TO CHAPALI
TO TOULIHA
TO TYPEK
TO GAMCHA
TO BHAYITAR
TO NAYAPATI
TO PHUYETTAR
TO ALAKOTE
TO PAKHATHOK
TO MAGAZINE
TO MAHAKAL
TO GAGOL
TO KANGESWARI
TO SUNDHARIJAL
TO OKHRENI
TO DIHIDANDA
TO MANICHUR
TO DANDAKATI
TO TUNGANEY
TO JUJEPANI
TO SANGAGHOK
TO NANGLEBHAR
TO GHUMACHOK
TO BOJHINI
TO SAKHAPHEDI
TO KAMLANG
TO BHEERBAR
TO TOP OF NARANBAN
TO BHIRKOTDANDA
TO THAPLAY
TO BATASAY
TO BHIMDHUNGABHANJYANG
TO BALAJU
TO RANIBAN
TO HILAYDOL
TO KAUDAY
TO RAMKOT
TO CHHIPAPASWA
TO DHANDAPASWA
TO PUTIKHAR
TO TOUKHEL
TO MAJUWA
TO JHILOWAY
TO KOLGHAR
TO KUMAITI
TO SIGTAR
TO BANCHANJYANG
TO JOGITHUMKO
TO TUTEPANI
TO MATAKHEL
TO BANTHOK
TO LAMEDANDA
TO TOKANPUR
TO JHAKHKHEL
TO ITAKHEL
TO BALA
TO MATATIRTHA
TO TAKHEL
TO BOSI
TO SOLITHUM
TO BAIGOUDA
TO DHAKSI
TO MACHHENARPAN
TO SARANGKHEL
TO BHALESWAR
TO CHISAPANIGARHI (or SISAGARHI)
TO CHAKELBHYANJYANG
TO KATUTHUMBHYANJYANG
TO CHAMPADEVI
TO BOSAN
TO CHALNAKHEL
TO KARIYABINAYAK
TO GWALDAH
TO BASBARI
TO BUJAKOTE
TO SATMULE
TO NAYABHANJYANG
TO SEKHARAN
TO GOPALESWAR
TO DAKHKHALA
TO BAJRAJOGINI
TO PHARSIDOL
TO CHUNDEBI
TO TOKDAHA
TO BHUMPI
TO SALENTAR
TO ITARI
TO DUKU
TO KATUWALDAHA
TO DEORALIBHANJYANG
TO TINPANAYBHANJYANG
TO KURUNCHULI
TO LAYLAY
TO BUTA
TO TIKHABHARIB
TO BHAJANGAL
TO SUNDARI GHAT
TO JANAKHEL
TO ADINATH
TO NAKHU MAGAZINE
TO DHUPOKHARI
TO BHUTKHEL
TO SAIBU
TO CHHESIKOT
TO TAUDAHA
TO KHOKNA
TO HATIBAN RANGE
TO TAKHECHA
TO DHAPOKHEL
TO AKADAHA
TO NAGDAHA
TO DAINAITAR
TO CHUNKHEL
TO NAKHUDOL
TO BAGMATI
TO SAKHADEBI
TO DATIKEBAN
TO JAMIRKOTA
TO SISNERI
TO BISONKHUNARAN
TO PALLACHHAR
TO TIRBENIBHANJYANG
TO PATLAYBHANJYANG
TO TINCHAMKAYDANDA
TO KHARANAYBHANJYANG
TO DEORALIBHANJYANG
TO CHYANGBHANJYANG
TO PHULCHOK
TO RAMCHOGANDA
TO GODAVARI SPRINGS
TO BHAKUNDARIPPA
TO NAUDHARA
TO KOTAN
TO BHARANTARI GHAT
TO GEN. SHANKAR
TO GEN. VISHNU
TO GEN. MOHAN
TO GEN. KRISHNA
TO MAHARAJGANJ
TO BAHATTAR
TO TUDALDEBI
TO THUMBAGHRI
TO LAZIMPAT
TO KHICHAPOKHARI
TO KANTIPATH
TO KING'S PALACE
TO DURBAR
TO SARASWATI
TO RAJKARYALAYA
TO MAHANKAL
TO DILLI BAZAR
TO TRIBHUVAN RAJPATH
TO TRICHANDRA COLLEGE
TO SINGHA DURBAR
TO BANESWAR
TO PASHUPATI
TO GUHESWARI
TO BISWARUP
TO RAMCHANDRA
TO GOUCHAR
TO ICHOKE
TO BHAIMAL
TO PAGALKHANA
TO SINAMUGAL
TO TIGNI
TO SARASVATIKHEL
TO BASANDOLE
TO CHANDOLE
TO RUPATHALI
TO DUBAKOT
TO KOLPAKOTE
TO PIKHEL
TO BASUKI
TO LAKACHOK
TO KHARIPATI
TO SERAPHAT
TO RESERVOIR
TO BANSBARI
TO BAGESWARI
TO PHAIDHOKA
TO JHOWKHEL
TO SIDHAPOKHRI
TO SALLAGHARI
TO TEPPADHIK
TO JITPUR
TO SODAL
TO PAKALPANI
TO TARANI
TO RANGE
TO DAKHINBARAHI
TO KAMALPOKHRI
TO MOTITAR
TO BAHALKOTE
TO DEBADOL
TO TIKHATHALI
TO THANGATHALI
TO KATUNJAY
TO GAMCHA
TO CHORPUR
TO SIRUTAR
TO GUNDU
TO SURYABINAYAK
TO MANTHALI
TO THINKOLAN
TO CHUPINGGHAT
TO DOLESWAR
TO KAKRABARI
TO SIPADOL
TO NAVLIKESWAR
TO PATKHOL
TO ARATTAYJORPANI
TO BHAJANGAL
TO NALADHAP
TO DEVIJAGDON
TO BHATAYDHIKURO
TO KATUNJAY
TO SUNDARIJAL
TO BASANTAPUR
TO DURBAR
TO KATHMANDU
TO PATAN
TO BHAKTAPUR
TO KIRTIPUR
TO BAGMATI R.
TO BISHNUMATI R.
TO HANUMAN R.
TO MANAURA R.
TO BALKHU R.
TO KALIMATI R.
TO DHOBIKHOLA R.
TO BANGMATI R.
TO KHAHARAKHOLA R.
TO KIRTIPUR R.
TO SANGLIKHOLA R.
TO NAKHKHU R.
TO GODAVARI R.
TO ALAUMATI
TO RESERVOIR TO BHAKTAPUR

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GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE REIGNING (SAH) FAMILY OF NEPAL, DRAWN UP TO A.D. 1923

NOTES

Those born of lawful marriage and in equal caste with their parents have no mark against their names.

Those born of lawful but unequal marriage are marked (*b*).

Those born illegitimate are marked (*c*).

For seniority read from left to right.

Names of the deceased are underlined in black.

Names of those who have died young or without leaving issue are omitted, with the exception of those who have figured in any historical incident.

DRABYA SAH
PURNA (PURENDRA) SAH
CHHATRA SAH
RAMA SAH
DAMBAR SAH
KRISHNA SAH
PITAMBAR SAH
SHANKAR SAH
BALABHADRA SAH
RUDRA SAH
PRITHWIPATI SAH
MADHUKARA SAH
BIRABHADRA SAH
UDYOTA SAH
CHANDRARUP SAH
RABIRAMAN SAH
SHANTARUP SAH
SURTAN SAH
NARABHUPAL SAH
VISHNURUP SAH
BIRBAHA SAH
PRITHWI NARAYAN SAH
DALMARDAN SAH
SURA PRATAP SAH
MAHODDAM KIRTI SAH
DALAJIT SAH
(RANA) RUDRA SAH
JIBA SAH
SINGHA PRATAP
BAHADUR SAH
PRANA SAH
SHAM SHER SAH
PUSKAR SAH
(c) SATRUBHANJAN
DRIPUBHANJAN
FATYA JANG SAH
GURU PRASAD SAH
BIRBAHU SAH
RANA SHER SAH
RANA BAHADUR
(c) SHERE BAHADUR
ARIMARDAN
PREM BAHADUR
KHADGA VIKRAM
GURU PRASAD
(c) GUNA BAHADUR
HIKMAT BAHADUR
SURYA PRATAP
DALA VIKRAM
HEM VIKRAM
BABARJANG SAH
KODANDA VIKRAM
HANUMAT DHOJ SAH
HARSHA PRATAP
RANA PRAKASH
SAMAR JANG
DAMBAR BAHADUR
LOKA VIKRAM
(c) UPENDRA VIKRAM
GANGA BAHADUR
GIRVANA JUDHA VIKRAM
(b) RANA UDYOTA
BIRADRINDA
SHYAM BAHADUR
CHET VIKRAM
CHANDRA VIKRAM
TANKARAJIT
SUR BAHADUR
BALA VIKRAM
(c) BIR VIKRAM
DALSAHAJAN
CHANDRA PRATAP
DHWAJA PRATAP
DAMBAR PRATAP
TAMBIR PRATAP
KHADGA PRATAP
KRISHNA PRATAP
EKADITYA PRATAP
RAJENDRA VIKRAM
SHAM SHER JANG
KESHARI JANG
(c) KUMAR JANG
CHITRA DHOJ
VISHNU PRASAD
KHADGA BAHADUR
(c) UDAYA BAHADUR
BAHADUR SAH
RANA VIKRAM
JANGA PRATAP
REF PRATAP
DEVA JANG
SHOBHIT JANG
(c) FATYA JANG
(c) TOR JANG
(c) KHADGA JANG
(c) PURNA JANG
KHAGENDRA JANG
KHADGA VIKRAM
VISHNU VIKRAM
JHAMAK VIKRAM
KALYAN VIKRAM
CHHATRA VIKRAM
KHADGA VIKRAM
PRATAP VIKRAM
MOHAN VIKRAM
JHASENDRA JANG
BHUPA JANG
TIRTHA JANG
MOHAN PRASAD
DAMBAR BAHADUR
LOKA VIKRAM
PADMA VIKRAM
CHHATRA JANG
KHADGA JANG
DORDANDA JANG
TEJ VIKRAM
DEBENDRA VIKRAM
JIT VIKRAM
BHABA VIKRAM
RAJENDRA PRASAD
REF PRASAD
(c) TEJ PRASAD
BIRENDRA PRASAD
DEBENDRA PRASAD
BHUPENDRA PRASAD
BEDA PRASAD
YOGA PRASAD
HOMA PRASAD
JAGAT PRAKASH JANG
KALYAN JANG
SURENDRA VIKRAM
UPENDRA VIKRAM
RANENDRA VIKRAM
BIRENDRA VIKRAM
DEBENDRA VIKRAM
DHIRENDRA VIKRAM
(c) PRAKASH VIKRAM
(c) KARNA VIKRAM
RANA VIKRAM
KRISHNA VIKRAM
RAMA VIKRAM
FANINDRA VIKRAM
GAJENDRA VIKRAM
GHANA VIKRAM
TIKA VIKRAM
BALA VIKRAM
KRISHNA VIKRAM
BHUPATINDRA VIKRAM
(b) JUDHA VIKRAM
(b) KESHAB VIKRAM
(c) BHUPENDRA VIKRAM
MOHAN VIKRAM
(b) CHANDRA VIKRAM
UMESHA VIKRAM
HIRANYA VIKRAM
(c) BABER VIKRAM
(c) ROSE VIKRAM
BUDHI VIKRAM
(c) DIBYA VIKRAM
NODA VIKRAM
JAYA VIKRAM
SHIVA VIKRAM
NARAYAN VIKRAM
HARIHAR VIKRAM
KHADGA VIKRAM
AMBAR VIKRAM
DEVA VIKRAM
LOKENDRA VIKRAM
BUDHI VIKRAM
GAJENDRA VIKRAM
DURGA VIKRAM
TRAILOKYA BIR VIKRAM
NARENDRA VIKRAM
RATINDRA VIKRAM
DEBENDRA VIKRAM
(c) BANENDRA VIKRAM
RABENDRA VIKRAM
KRISHNA VIKRAM
(c) YOGENDRA VIKRAM
(c) RAMESH VIKRAM
(c) LALIT VIKRAM
(c) DOLENDRA VIKRAM
(c) INDRA VIKRAM
MOHAN VIKRAM
RAM VIKRAM
(c) RANA VIKRAM
(c) HOMA VIKRAM
CHANDRASEKHAR VIKRAM
LOKENDRA VIKRAM
KRISHNA VIKRAM
CHHATRA VIKRAM
PURNA VIKRAM
(c) KUMAR VIKRAM
PESHALENDRA VIKRAM
PURNENDRA VIKRAM
(c) GOPAL VIKRAM
PRITHWI BIR VIKRAM
(c) YAKSHA VIKRAM
(c) RANA VIKRAM
TRILOCHAN VIKRAM
BHUBANA VIKRAM
(c) JHARENDRA VIKRAM
(c) BIRA VIKRAM
DEBENDRA VIKRAM
TORENDRA VIKRAM
KRITENDRA VIKRAM
LOKENDRA VIKRAM
GOPAL VIKRAM
JIBENDRA VIKRAM
(c) TEKA VIKRAM
GANESH VIKRAM
YUVARAJ VIKRAM
GOVINDA VIKRAM
PURENDRA VIKRAM
KISHERENDRA VIKRAM
CHANDRA VIKRAM
SHIVA VIKRAM
(c) GAJENDRA VIKRAM
(c) TIRTHA VIKRAM
LALIT VIKRAM
KRISHNA VIKRAM
SURYA VIKRAM
(c) BISHWA VIKRAM
(c) PADMA VIKRAM
(c) KHADGA VIKRAM
(c) KAM VIKRAM
(c) BALADEV VIKRAM
TRIBHUBANA BIR VIKRAM
King of Nepal.
(c) SAGAR VIKRAM
MAHENDRA BIR VIKRAM
HIMALAYA PRATAP BIR VIKRAM
BASHUNDARA BIR VIKRAM
DILIP SAH
BAM SAH
(c) HASTADAL SAH
RUDRA BIR SAH
JVAN SAH
(c) PURNA CHANDRA
GO PRASAD
(c) DALA JANG
SILAM SAH
JAGAT SHER
DAKSHA SAH
(b) MOHAN BIR SAH
(c) NARABHANJAN SAH
(c) BHAKTA KESHAR SAH
KHAGENDRA VIKRAM
GIRIBAR
GHANASHYAM VIKRAM
RANA VIKRAM
JUDHA (JANG) VIKRAM
KRISHNA VIKRAM
KOMAL VIKRAM
HEMA VIKRAM
DALA VIKRAM
PADMA VIKRAM
DURGA VIKRAM
DHAL VIKRAM
KHAGENDRA VIKRAM
VISHNU VIKRAM
BEGA VIKRAM
KSHATRA VIKRAM
PRACHANDA VIKRAM
DIP VIKRAM
HIRANYA VIKRAM
KALA VIKRAM
YAKSHA BAHADUR
TORAN VIKRAM
SAH BAHADUR
UDAYA BAHADUR
HEM BAHADUR
DEBENDRA BAHADUR
MADAN BAHADUR
NARU SAH
AKBAR SAH
YASFA PRATAP SAH
DEVI PRATAP
YAKSHA VIKRAM
CHANDRA VIKRAM
CHITRA VIKRAM
CHUDA VIKRAM
BHIM VIKRAM
RANA VIKRAM
HERAMBA VIKRAM
KHADGA BAHADUR
BIR VIKRAM
BHUJENDRA VIKRAM
(c) KULENDRA VIKRAM
MINA VIKRAM
AMBAR VIKRAM
JABAR JANG
AMBAR JANG
NARENDRA JANG
DURGA JANG
LAL JANG
PREM JANG
CHANDRA JANG
GAJENDRA VIKRAM
MIR JANG
DIP BAHADUR
BHUPENDRA VIKRAM
SHAM SHER JANG
AMBAR VIKRAM
KULA VIKRAM
UDAYA VIKRAM
GAURI VIKRAM
BIR JANG
CHUDA VIKRAM
(c) KHADGA BAHADUR
(c) PUNYA BAHADUR
SURYA BAHADUR
(c) PURNA BAHADUR
(c) SHAM SHER SAH
KOTI JANG
DAMBAR JANG
DILIP JANG
GANESH BAHADUR
DURGA VIKRAM
KRISHNA VIKRAM
TANKA JANG
RAM JANG
KHADGA VIKRAM
RANA VIKRAM
TEJA VIKRAM
JIT VIKRAM
BIR VIKRAM
REBANTA VIKRAM
SHOBHA VIKRAM

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Delhi

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE RANA FAMILY OF NEPAL, DRAWN UP TO YEAR A.D. 1923

NOTES

Those born of lawful marriage and in equal caste with their parents, have no marks against their names.

Those born of lawful but unequal marriage are marked (*b*).

Those born illegitimate are marked (*c*).

For seniority read from left to right. It should be noted, however, that no matter what their respective places be in the family according to their real ages, those of pure descent are given the first places, then come those born of unequal union, and lastly, the illegitimate ones.

Names of the deceased are underlined in black.

Names of those who have died young or without leaving issue are omitted, with the exception of those who have figured in any historical incident.

RATAN KUNWAR
AHIRAM KUNWAR
RAM KRISHNA KUNWAR
RANAJIT KUNWAR
BALA NARSING
B. 2 Feb. 1783; m., 2ndly, dau. of Nain Singh, bro. of Bhim Sen Thapa; d. 24 Dec. 1841.

BHAKTA BIR (by 1st wife)
MAKARA DHOJ
TORAN DHOJ
KULA VIKRAM
SHAM SHER VIKRAM, 3rd Cl. S. of N.
KRISHNA VIKRAM (*b*)
YOGA VIKRAM
TIRTHA VIKRAM

JANG BAHADUR (by 2nd wife). B. 18 June 1817; m., 2ndly, Feb. 1839, the sister of Sanak Singh; Prime Minister 17 Sept. 1846; d. 25 Feb. 1877.

BAM BAHADUR

BADRI NARSING

KRISHNA BAHADUR (Adopted Deva S.S.)

RANA UDIP SINGH (Adopted Dhoj Narsing). B. 3 April 1825; succeeded Jang Bahadur; d. 22 Nov 1885.

JAGAT SHAM SHER

DHIR SHAM SHER

Continued on next sheet **A**

JAGAT JANG

IIT JANG

PADMA JANG

BABER JANG (*c*)

RANA BIR JANG (*c*)

JUDHA PRATAP JANG
PUNYA PRATAP JANG (*c*)
DIPA PRATAP JANG
KIRTI PRATAP JANG
PREMA PRATAP JANG
INDRA PRATAP JANG (*c*)
KUNDRA JANG (*c*)
TUSENDRA JANG
NOKADHAN JANG
DHANA PRATAP JANG (*c*)
BIRA PRATAP JANG
NARAYAN PRATAP JANG
RANA PRATAP JANG (*c*)
HEM JANG (*c*)
NARAYAN JANG (*c*)
RAJ JANG (*c*)
BHAGAWAT JANG
MAHENDRA JANG
PRATHAMA JANG (*c*)
TIR JANG (*c*)
DELHI JANG (*c*)

LOKA PRATAP JANG
JUDHA PRATAP JANG
NARA PRATAP JANG
PUNYA PRATAP JANG
HARKA PRATAP JANG
KHADGA PRATAP JANG
AMRITA PRATAP JANG
LALIT PRATAP JANG

JAGAT PRATAP JANG
DEBENDRA PRATAP JANG
PARTHA PRATAP JANG
BHABENDRA PRATAP JANG
CHANDRA PRATAP JANG (*c*)
SHIVA PRATAP JANG
SHRIRA PRATAP JANG
JHULENDRA PRATAP JANG
LEKHA PRATAP JANG (*c*)
RATNA PRATAP JANG
INDRA PRATAP JANG
PHABENDRA PRATAP JANG (*c*)
KARNA PRATAP JANG
ANANDA PRATAP JANG (*b*)
DHANA PRATAP JANG (*b*)
KRISHNA PRATAP JANG (*b*)
GOVINDA PRATAP JANG (*b*)
CHHATRA PRATAP JANG
HARI PRATAP JANG
AMBA PRATAP JANG
PADMA PRATAP JANG (*c*)
HARI PRATAP JANG
PUNYA PRATAP JANG

JUDHA JANG (*c*)
JAYA JANG
RANAJIT JANG
RANA SHER JANG
PULAK JANG
NARABHUPAL JANG

DAMBAR JANG (*c*)
PRASIDHA JANG
NUR PRATAP JANG
DEVA JANG (*c*)
HARI PRATAP JANG

LALIT JANG (*c*)
JUDHA PRATAP JANG
DRONA PRATAP JANG
YOGA VIKRAM JANG
JANAK PRATAP JANG
TEJA PRATAP JANG (*c*)

RANA JANG (*c*) (became Christian)

HARKA JANG (*c*)
DURGA PRASAD JANG
KUMAR JANG (*c*)
TEJ JANG
BHEKHA JANG
HARKA PRATAP JANG
DEVA PRATAP JANG

BIR JANG (*c*)
TEKA BIR JANG

GIRBIR JANG
DHIRENDRA BIR JANG
SHER BIR JANG
LOKA BIR JANG
DHAULAT BIR JANG
TENA BIR JANG
REPENDRA PRAKASH JANG
NARENDRA BIR JANG (*c*)
KESHAB BIR JANG (*c*)
HASTA BIR JANG (*c*)

BAM VIKRAM
PURNA VIKRAM
SIDDHI VIKRAM
PREM VIKRAM
KHAGENDRA VIKRAM
HIMALA VIKRAM
CHHABENDRA VIKRAM (*c*)
PUSKAR VIKRAM
NEKA VIKRAM
DHARMA VIKRAM
HOMA VIKRAM
JHALAK VIKRAM
SIDDHI VIKRAM
UPENDRA VIKRAM (*c*)

YAKSHA VIKRAM (*c*)
TARKSHA VIKRAM
MEGHA VIKRAM
BHUBANA VIKRAM
GOHA VIKRAM
KAKSHA VIKRAM
KARINDRA VIKRAM
LILA VIKRAM (*c*)
PUNYA VIKRAM
ROHIT VIKRAM
TULA VIKRAM (*c*)
DIBYA VIKRAM (*c*)

TEK BAHADUR (*c*)
KRITENDRA VIKRAM
INDRA VIKRAM
MIN VIKRAM
TRI VIKRAM
CHANDRA VIKRAM
SHOMA VIKRAM
OM VIKRAM
YOGA VIKRAM (*c*)
BUDHI VIKRAM
KHADGA VIKRAM
DORE VIKRAM
GUNA VIKRAM (*c*)
TIRA VIKRAM (*c*)
GIRVANA VIKRAM
YOGA VIKRAM
BHIM VIKRAM (*c*)
LAKSHMAN VIKRAM
DHANBIR VIKRAM
KHADGA VIKRAM (*c*)
CHANDRA VIKRAM (*c*)
DEVA VIKRAM
BHAIRAB VIKRAM
KHAGENDRA VIKRAM
CHUDA VIKRAM (*c*)
CHATENDRA VIKRAM (*c*)

BALA VIKRAM
YUBA VIKRAM
YOGA VIKRAM
DOLA VIKRAM
BHUPENDRA VIKRAM
HARI VIKRAM
CHANDI VIKRAM
GOPAL VIKRAM
PREM VIKRAM
MOTI VIKRAM
PURNA VIKRAM
TEJENDRA VIKRAM
GHANENDRA VIKRAM (*c*)
GHANA VIKRAM, 3rd Cl. S. of N.
GANGA VIKRAM

DRONA BIR JANG
DHARMA BIR JANG
BHIM BIR JANG
DELHI BIR JANG (*c*)
JAGAT PRAKASH JANG (*c*)
CHHATRA BIR JANG (*c*)
MOHAN VIKRAM
SURENDRA VIKRAM
GERUDA VIKRAM
BIR VIKRAM
DHANA VIKRAM (*c*)
TORAN VIKRAM (*c*)
RUDRA VIKRAM (*c*)
DELHI VIKRAM (*c*)

MEGHA JANG (*b*)
BALA JANG (*b*)
BOM JANG (*b*)
YOM JANG (*b*)
MODA JANG (*c*)
DIP JANG
FATYA JANG (*c*)
CHHATRA JANG (*c*)
KHANDAB JANG
KESHAB PRAKASH JANG
BHISMA JANG
NIL JANG (*c*)
SHOMA JANG (*c*)
HEMA JANG (*c*)
PRACHANDA JANG (*c*)
ABHAYA JANG
UDIT JANG
DILIP JANG
PUSPA JANG (*c*)
PRAKASH JANG
PRADHAD JANG
PRAFULLA JANG
INDRA JANG (*c*)
PRASANTA JANG (*c*)
NUR JANG (*c*)
RAN JANG (*c*)
PRASIDHA JANG (*c*)
PRABODH JANG (*c*)
DHARMA JANG (*c*)
JITENDRA JANG (*c*)
DURLABHA JANG (*b*)
BEDA JANG (*c*)
GIRVANA JANG
PADMA JANG
NARENDRA JANG
HARI JANG
JITENDRA JANG
YOGYA JANG
JHALAK JANG (*c*)
YENA PRATAP JANG (*c*)
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DALA VIKRAM JANG (*c*)
LEKHA JANG
KESHAR JANG (*c*)

PIYUSH JANG
PARAKRAMA JANG
JHAPAT JANG (*c*)
NRIPENDRA JANG
YUVARAJ JANG (*c*)
TEJARAJ JANG
SHYAM JANG (*c*)
YOGARAJ JANG
CHUDAMANI JANG (*c*)
LAL JANG (*c*)
TEKENDRA JANG (*c*)
LOKARAJ JANG
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BODH JANG (*c*)
DALAKH JANG
NEPAL JANG (*c*)
MEHAR JANG
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PITAMBAR JANG (*c*)
DHANIBAR JANG
HIMMATHAR JANG (*c*)
JHALAK JANG
JUDHISTIR JANG
DOLAKESWAR JANG
THIR JANG

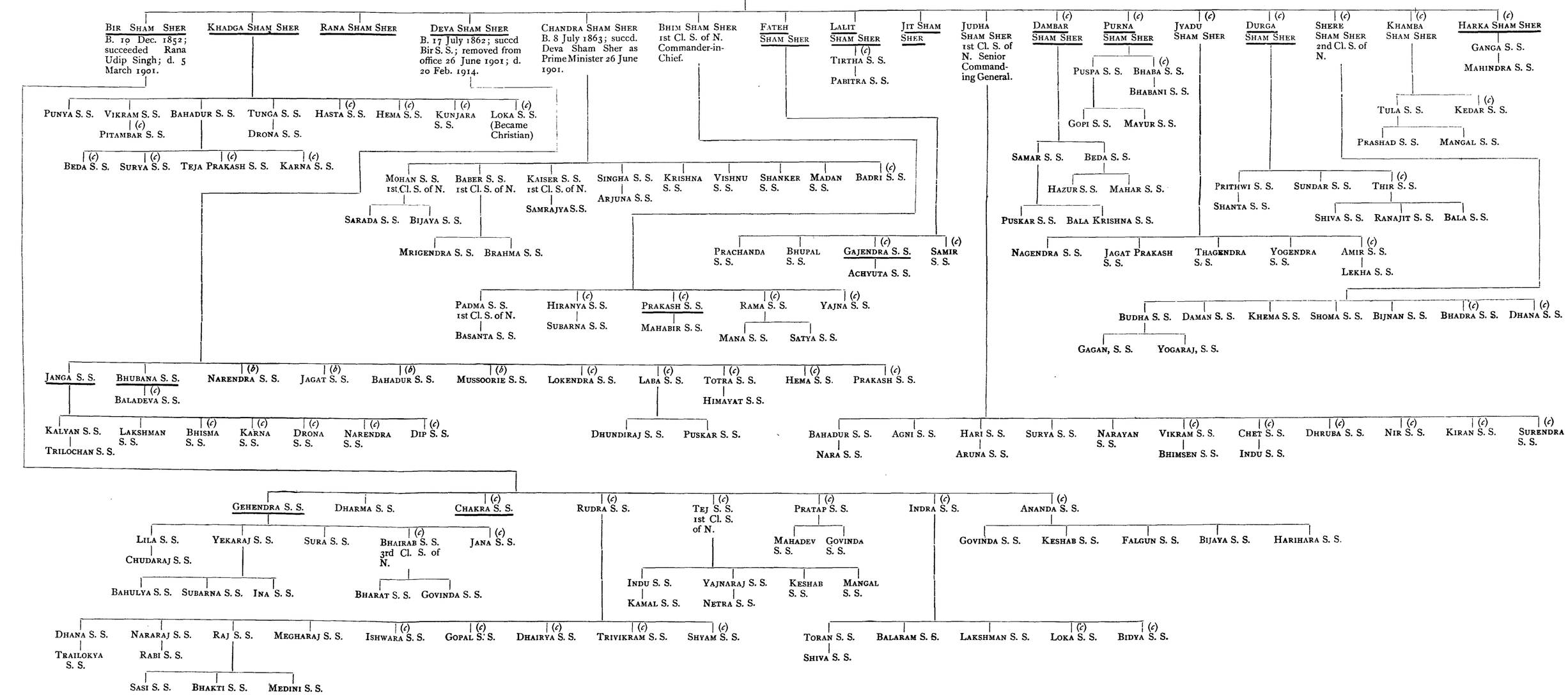
KEDAR NARSING
SHERE NARSING
DEBENDRA NARSING (*c*)
BHUPENDRA NARSING
SHAM SHER NARSING (*c*)
UPENDRA NARSING
DHOJ NARSING
RANA NARSING
GAJENDRA NARSING
KESHAB NARSING
DHIR NARSING
NARENDRA NARSING
CHANDRA NARSING
TODA NARSING
BHAIRAB NARSING (*c*)
GIRI NARSING
INDRA NARSING
KUMAR NARSING (*c*), 3rd Cl. S. of N.
TEK NARSING
PUNYA NARSING
BHAKTA NARSING
JHALAK NARSING
MOHAN NARSING
JUDHA NARSING
KISHORE NARSING (*c*)
JIT NARSING
KHADGA NARSING
PADMA NARSING
AMIR NARSING (*c*)
DEVA NARSING (*c*)
BHIM NARSING (*c*)
SHRI NARSING (*c*)

BIR NARSING
CHANDRA NARSING
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DEVA NARSING
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DIP NARSING
JANAK NARSING
TEJ NARSING
BIRENDRA NARSING
KRISHNA NARSING
SHAMBA NARSING
TRIPURA NARSING
PARI KOHIT NARSING
NARAYAN NARSING
NARAHARI NARSING
DURGA NARSING (*c*)
KASHI NARSING
SUDHIR NARSING
BRAHMA NARSING (*c*)

ANBAR JANG
SHAM SHER JANG
SHANKAR JANG (*c*)
BALA KRISHNA JANG (*c*)
SATYASWAR JANG (*c*)
BHIM PRATAP JANG (*c*)
RANA JANG (*c*)
BHUPENDRA JANG
REPENDRA JANG
BHEKHA JANG (*b*)
JODHA JANG (*c*)
NIL JANG (*c*)
BIDUR JANG (*c*)
KHADGA JANG (*c*)
CHAITANYA JANG
DELHI JANG (*c*)
DIP JANG
UDAYA JANG
SIDDHI JANG (*c*)

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE RANA FAMILY OF NEPAL—*continued*

A



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MAP OF
NEPAL
(WESTERN SECTION)

SCALE OF MILES

10 5 0 10 20 30 40

Railways ——
Roads ——
Passes =

80° 81° 82° 83° 84°

30° 29° 28°

Longitude 82° East of Greenwich

Stanford's Geographical Establishment, London

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MAP OF
NEPAL
(EASTERN SECTION)

SCALE OF MILES

10 5 0 10 20 30 40

Railways ——

Roads ——

Passes ×

84° 85° 86° 87° 88°

29° 28° 27°

Longitude East of Greenwich

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